AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory, OR THE HISTORY OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Affairs OF THE WORLD.

Contemporary with

The Second Part.

CONTAINING

That of the *Roman* Empire, its firſt countenancing and receiving Chriſtian Religion.

FROM

The Converſion of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, to the Fall of *Auguſtulus*, and the Ruine of the Empire in the Weſt.

WITH

An Account of the Polity of the Church, and the ſeveral Laws and Canons of Moment made, during the Reign of the Emperours both in Eaſt and Weſt to this period.

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TO THE

HIGH and MIGHTY

PRINCE,

JAMES the II.

King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*,

Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

GREAT SIR,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties andCorporations that Addreſs themſelves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchſafe to permit a Deſolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Preſence, to congratulate Your Happy and moſt Juſt Poſſeſſion of the Throne of theſe Kingdoms,by laying a ſmall Preſent at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title: both by Right of Succeſſion to our Late Gracious Soveraign, by whoſe Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged,and alſo by the Deſignment of the Author, who intended, had not His Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *to His Royal Highneſs* JAMES *the Duke of* York, which I now moſt Humbly offer to *the Sacred Majeſty of King* JAMES *the Second.*

Whom I beſeech the King of Kings long to Preſerve Beloved of all His Subjects, Dreaded by all His Enemies, and Renowned to all Poſterity in the Hiſtory of future Ages.

So Prayeth with due Reverence,

Your Majeſties

Moſt Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

PREFACE.

THE *Author having all along in his* first part, *intermixed the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs with the Secular, thought it would be moſt uſeful now, to repreſent them by themſelves, ſeparately, in a diſtinct Volume, which is here preſented to the* Reader ; *wherein he hath brought down his account of them, to the Fall of* Auguſtulus *and the* ruine *of the* Empire *in the* Weſt (*where the* Second part *ends*) *ſetting forth how the Great Emperour* Conſtantine *was converted to the Faith, and what means and methods he took to propagate the* Chriſtian Religion, *and deſtroy by degrees the long practiſed Idolatry of the* Pagan *World. With an account of the* Church Polity ; *what was its* Government, *who were its* Governours, *their ſeveral* Offices, Degrees, *and* Orders. *The Affairs of the Church follow from the* firſt *General Council of* Nice *againſt the* Arians, *to the Apoſtacy of* Julian ; *thence to the* Second *General Council, ſummoned by* Théodoſius the Firſt *at* Conſtantinople, *againſt the Hæreſie of* Macedonius : *thence to the* Third , *call'd by* Theodoſius the Second *to meet at* Epheſus ; *againſt the Hæreſie of* Neſtorius ; *and thence to the* Fourth, *called by* Martianus *to* Chalcedon , *againſt the Hæreſie of* Eutyches *and* Dioſcorus ; *and ſo down to the depoſing of* Auguſtulus, *and the Fall of the* Empire *in the* Weſt, *with the diviſion of the* Church *into the* Eaſt *and* Weſt. *The* Decrees *and* Canons *of each Council are ſet down, both for the ſettling good Order and Government, and for ſuppreſſing thoſe Schiſms and Hæreſies which the Devil raiſed by his aſpiring Agents, that by ſowing ſuch* Tares *he might ſpoyl* Chriſts Husbandry.

In

In particular, that ſupream Authority *uſurped by the* Roman Biſhop *is repreſented, how, and by what means it was firſt pretended to, but ever rejected by the whole* Catholick Church: *Which gives to each* Metropolitan *the ſole juriſdiction over his own* Flock, *not any* General Commiſſion *to any* one *whatſoever, for the ſuperviſing of* all, *their* Authority *being* equal, *and their* Power *the* ſame:

Thus far he proceeded, and left it finiſhed under his own hand, as we teſtifie, who have ſeen the Original.

H. London.

Tho. Ruffen.

Sy. Patrick D. D.

Will. Denton M. D.

Rich. Aſhfeild Gen.

THE

THE Church Hiſtory, OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS Contemporary with the Conſtantinopolitan Roman EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion by Conſtantine.

1. SUfferings had hitherto been the Character of the Church, and the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, the more Active and Vigorous they appear'd, the more exquiſite Torments they were ſure to undergo; the Kings and Potentates of the Earth inſtead of being her Nurſing-Fathers, had all along made uſe of their utmoſt Power and policy not only to Curb and Check her growing Greatneſs, but utterly to extirpate her from off the face of the Earth; ſo that what Advances ſhe yet made were in deſpight of the Malice of her Perſecutors, and the Fruits ſhe brought forth were the bleſſed product of the Blood of her Martyrs. But now in compaſſion to her Afflictions, and in pity to the Pangs and Struglings ſhe laboured under, God raiſes up *Conſtantine*, not only to be a Protector, but himſelf a Profeſſor of Chriſtianity, that ſo his Church might have ſome reſpite, and enjoy at leaſt a breathing-while in the midſt of theſe her Terrours and Agonies.

The Church and State united.

2. The Name of Chriſt had mightily prevail'd, and the Church of God was upheld by a moſt powerful Support before ever ſhe leaned on the *Roman* Scepter, the Wings upon which ſhe was Born, and under which ſhe was Cheriſhed and Defended, were ſtronger and more large then thoſe of the *Roman* Eagle, which hitherto had improved the Vigour of its Eyes, ſtrength of its Beak, and ſharpneſs of its Talents in vain, againſt this Bird of Paradiſe. Neither was it out of need of Reputation, that the *Roman* Faſces now was to be vailed to the Croſs, the Churches Majeſty and Glory never more appearing, than when ſhe was moſt clouded by Sufferings and Worldly Prejudice; as the deepeſt and blackeſt Clouds are moſt capable of receiving the reflection of the Suns Beauties, and a thick Air the beſt Medium to diſcover the Brightneſs of Heavenly Bodies. Theſe ſtupendious Miracles that ſtopped and diverted the courſe of Nature her ſelf, both in the bigger and leſſer World; in that by the production of Wonders to the outward Senſes, in this by working Effects perceivable both by the outward and inward Sight, to ſuch as were not blinded by ignorance, prejudice or affectation, de-

monſtrated ſuch incomparable Beauty, as would dazle all the Glories of the World though contracted into one Sun. Miracles wrought upon material Subjects, and ſuch as neither the Art of *Pagans*, nor Skill of the Falſe Gods (who were alſo obnoxious to the ſame Commands) could work, carried with them ſufficient Evidence; but thoſe that appeared in Mens minds, transformed quite from their ordinary Condition, by ſuch Virtues as were but Antiently Pictured on the greateſt Philoſophers, carried along with them abſolute demonſtrations to unprejudiced Judgments, and left others without excuſe. But contempt of the φόβερων φοβερώτατον made much more ſure by the Circumſtances attending it; Triumph I ſay over Death, manifeſted not only the Reality but Glory of the Truth, which ſtruck the World with admiration and conviction, for that the only Prodigy now, that Man ſeemed, who could be ſo ſtupid as not to believe. Greater were the Conqueſts the Church made by her Spiritual Weapons, *viz.* Prayers and Tears, than by the acceſſion of Secular Arms, and ſtronger her Natural Power (that is alſo Spiritual) Reputation, than that ſhe obtained by the addition of a Temporal Crown.

3. Yet was ſhe to try all Conditions, and be now refreſhed after ſo great Conflicts as ſhe had ſuſtained. Gods Power is alſo ſeen in calling thoſe that have the greateſt Temptations, and in giving ſight to ſuch whoſe Eyes are put out by too near Approximation to Worldly, but dazling Objects: Neither were ſuch Functions as he Eſtabliſhed by his own Inſtitution to be diſowned by a want of real and the beſt Acknowledgments, nor ſuch as were Gods in this Life by his appointment, to be the only Perſons that were to be Devils in that to come. Therefore after 312. Years or more (during which ſpace we have no aſſurance that any *Roman* Prince unfeignedly became a Chriſtian) *Conſtantine* the Emperour the Son of *Conſtantius* and *Helena* a Britiſh Woman Converted to the Faith by a Viſion of a Croſs ſeen in the Air, wherein was this *Greek* Inſcription, ἐν τούτῳ νίκα, or, *In this Overcome*, as he Marched againſt *Maxentius* the great Perſecutor of Chriſtians. This all Chriſtian Writers affirm, and as (*a*) *Euſebius* tells us, *Conſtantine* himſelf by Oath affirmed; neither need we at all to queſtion the Truth of it; For that God made uſe of Miracles upon extraordinary Occaſions, we muſt not doubt, and ſuch we muſt confeſs this to have been, if the extraordinary Condition of the Perſon, and the vaſt Conſequences be duly conſidered. That Miracles as at this time were not ceaſed utterly, we may believe from that reaſon which was ever the final Cauſe of them, and from the Teſtimony of ſeveral Writers, who diſcourſe of the firſt Plantation of Religion amongſt Barbarous Nations long after this Seaſon, whom it is little leſs than arrogance to Condemn of Falſhood (although perhaps too Credulous in ſome Particulars) becauſe as extraordinary means ſeem neceſſary for the Converſion of Later, as were uſed for the Conviction of former Diſciples. This Converſion of *Conſtantine* was in the Seventh of his Reign, the Fourth Year of the 272. Olympiad, of *Rome* the 1065. *A. D.* 312. He himſelf the Second time, and *Licinius* his Colleague alſo the ſecond time being Conſuls.

Conſtantine Converted to the Faith.

(*a*) *In vita Conſtantini, cap.* 22.

4. Being fully inſtructed in that way into which he had been ſo Miraculouſly led, he reſolved to proceed in deſpight of all oppoſition, he found the Church in ſuch a Caſe as required an Healing, helping and delivering, not an adorning hand, her Wounds were deep and her Enemies ſtrong, and many who lately had got ſuch ſucceſs, as they eſteemed it, that puffed up in their Imaginations they determined to think of oppoſition for the future, although the Blood of the Martyrs, contrary both to their expectation and deſire, ſtill proved the Seed of the Church. Knowing therefore, like a Skilful Phyſitian, the true Method of her Cure, he firſt applyed ſuch a Medicine, as both ſhould heal her Wounds, and what was more, make her Sword Proof for the time to come; Publiſhing an Edict both in his own Name and that of *Licinius*, (after the Victory obtained againſt *Maxentius*) whereby it is declared, that (*a*) *Liberty henceforth be denied to none, of Chuſing or Following the Chriſtian Service and Religion; but that Liberty be granted to every one, to addict his mind to that Religion, which he thinketh fit for him.* A ſlow but ſure pace in things of ſuch Conſequence and difficulty is the beſt, all ſudden and Violent Mutations are as to the Body Natural, ſo alſo to the Civil and Spiritual very dangerous, one very Pletherick and weak is gently to be Purged, leſt together with ſome Humours, Life it ſelf is forced out; neither is a quite contrary Dyet allowed all on a ſudden, by that genuine ſaying of *Æſculapius Feſtina lente, Conſtantine* had learnt from one of his Predeceſſors; and *ſat cito, ſi ſat bene*, he knew agreeable to Chriſtian Politicks. It is true that Idolatry is not to be

By an Edict gives Liberty of Conſcience.

(*a*) *Euſebius Hiſt. Lib.* 10. *cap.* 5.

per-

permitted a Moment, and the firſt Minute is the fitteſt to aboliſh it: But a poſſibility muſt then be allowed. Idolatry had taken too deep Root to be Eradicated in an inſtant, nay, many Years were required to do it as we ſhall ſee in due time and order, Long Preſciption and preſent Poſſeſſion are great obſtacles to diſſeiſin, eſpecially when backed with Dignity and Power. And ſuch was the Tenure Idolatry held by at this time, Fool-hardineſs and fury are the greateſt Enemies to Religion; a thing of the greateſt Sobriety and profound Prudence in the World.

5. *Conſtantine* having thus ſecured the being, as much as in him lay, provided for the well-being (*a*) of Chriſtians, not only by his private Contributions; but by an (*b*) Edict in his Name and that of *Licinius*, directed to *Anulinus* Proconſul of *Africk*, whereby it is decreed that Poſſeſſions or any Goods belonging to the Church in former Times, ſhould be reſtored, (*c*) and Freeing the Biſhops and Clergy-men from publick Burthens, ſuch (*d*) as were Baniſhed into Iſlands, or elſwhere, or (*e*) Condemned to the Mines, were reſtored to their Natural Freedom; Honours (*f*) both Military and Civil, were reſtored to ſuch as had loſt them upon this account. The (*g*) Eſtates of Martyrs, Profeſſors of Religion, or ſuch as forſook their Country for the ſake of it, were appointed to the next a Kin; and to (*h*) thoſe that had not Kindred, the Church became Heirs; provided that whatſoever they gave in their Life-time ſhould ſtand good. Thoſe (*i*) that poſſeſſed their Lands, Orchards and Houſes, were Compelled to reſtore them back, but not to make any ſatisfaction for the Rents or Fruits which they had received. (*k*) All Church Lands or Goods in poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown, he reſtored. He (*l*) deſired all Men to be Chriſtians, but compelled none, ſtriving by the greatneſs of his Example to draw them to the Truth; for his Palace (*m*) reſembled a Church, where Godly People aſſembled together; and he refuſed to celebrate the Secular Games which fell in his Third Conſulſhip, to the great grief of the *Pagans*, who accounted them Inſtituted by their Gods, and preſented by the Sybilline Oracles for remedies againſt Famine Plague and War, they accounted therefore this Omiſſion of them as an Ominous ſign of the Ruin of the Empire, and *Zozimus* moſt bravely avoweth it ſuch, having no other Deſign as he himſelf witneſſeth of Writing his Hiſtory, then to ſhow for ſooth that the Ruin of the Empire came by the means of Chriſtians.

Orders the Church Lands to be reſtored, and is further kind to the Church.

Omits the Celebration of the Secular Games.

(*a*) *Euſeb. Hiſt. Lib.* 10. *Cap.* 2. & 6.
(*b*) *Idem. ibid. Cap.* 5.
(*c*) *idem ibid Cap.* 7.
(*d*) *Idem in vita Cæſ.c.* 30. 31.
(*e*) *Idem ibid Cap.* 32.
(*f*) *Cap.* 33. 34.
(*g*) *Cap.* 35.
(*h*) *Cap.* 36.
(*i*) *Cap.* 37.
(*k*) *Cap.* 39.
(*l*) *Idem l.* 2. *Cap.* 55.
(*m*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 17.

6. The Original and cauſe of all Miſchiefs, he maketh the Omiſſion of this Solemnity by *Conſtantine*, whom like an Heathen and prejudiced Perſon, he loadeth with all ſorts of Calumnies out of Malice; whereas it's clear by Teſtimony of all Writers, that the Ages wherein theſe Secular Games were Celebrated, neither wanted Plague, Famine nor War, but conflicted with all ſorts of Miſeries; and in the contrary, this preſent was vow'd of them being very Fortunate both to the City and the World; ſo many Tyrants and Barbarous Enemies being Suppreſſed; but when through the importunity of the *Gentiles* theſe Games were reſtored by permiſſion of *Honorius* the Chriſtian Emperour, the former Evils returned as we ſhall ſee in due place. But the *Pagans* greviouſly Troubled and Afflicted with this proſperity of Chriſtianity, which they ſaw could not be Extirpated by ſuch and ſo many Perſecutions, to divert their Grief, invented certain Greek Verſes, as given out to one that conſulted an Oracle wherein they declared *Chriſt* innocent of this Error of Sacriledge as they called it, but accuſed St. *Peter* as Author of that wickedneſs that he might be Worſhipped in Chriſts Name, for the ſpace of 365. Years, after which time this Worſhip was to have an end without delay.

7. *Conſtantine* continuing his Reformation as the Times and import of the matter would bear, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and the Third of his Converſion, he publiſhed an Edict whereby he prohibited, that any Chriſtian Maid-Servants ſhould be delivered into the hands of Bawds, which (*a*) is yet extant. He made alſo another mentioned by (*b*) St. *Hierome* and *Sozomenus*, though not extant in the (*c*) Code, whereby he put down the filthy Stews in the Fornices where amongſt Whores, Boys alſo ſtood and were publickly expoſed as Merchandiſe for Luſt: As alſo another mentioned by (*d*) *Lampridius*, hath periſhed which forbad Eunuchs (the plague of Princes of thoſe times) to bear any Offices of Majeſtracy, he alſo thought a thing ſutable to Chriſtian moderation (that we may mention a thing not altogether ſo proper to this Subject) to mitigate the Severity of puniſhment formerly due to Malefactors, Repealing by an Edict of this ſame Year, that (*e*) Law and Cuſtom whereby ſuch as were condemned to the Gladiator's School, and the Mines were to be branded in the Face, ordering the Cauſe of their Condemnation

Prohibits Chriſtians to be ſold for proſtitution.

(*a*) *c. th. de lenon. Lib.* 1.
(*b*) 2. *in Eſaiam.*
(*c*) *Lib.* 1. *cap* 8.
(*d*) *in. Alex.*
(*e*) *L.* 2. *cod. th. de pœnis.*

ſhould be marked either in their Hands or Legs, leaſt as he ſaith the Face which is formed according to Celeſtial Beauty, ſhould be disfigured, which Cuſtom by him thus brought in, is ſtill obſerved amongſt us, except in caſes of ſome Hainous offence deſerving a publick Character of Infamy; although the (*f*) *Thracians* accounted it (ſuch is the diverſity of thoughts and manners) a note of Nobility to have their Hands Marked (whence came the Proverb *Thraciæ notæ*) as alſo the *Sarmacians* and *Dacians*, according to (*g*) *Pliny*, and the *Tentans* as (*h*) *Tertullian* writeth. The *Syrians* (*i*) were wont alſo to be Stigmatized in their Hands or Necks.

(*f*) *Cælius Rhodig. Antiſt. lect. l. 7 cap.* 31.
(*g*) *Lib.* 22. *cap.* 1.
(*h*) *de virg. veland.*
(*i*) *Lucian in nova Syria.*

Reſtrains the Inſolence of the *Jews*.

8. This Year alſo (that we may return to our proper Subject) *Conſtantine* by an (*a*) Edict, reſtrained the Sawcy impudence of the *Jews*, who were wont when any of their Sect turned Chriſtian, to throw Stones at him and abuſe him, with other ſorts of Violence. Such as ſhould do the like for the time to come, he commands to be Burnt whith all their Abettors; and ſubjects all Chriſtians to the ſame puniſhment that ſhall turn to their Religion. About this time it appeareth from *Chryſoſtom*, that the *Jews* Rebelled though in what Year is not expreſſed, for which crime *Conſtantine* Cauſed their Ears to be cut off, and led up and down in all places, as Fugitive Slaves that their Brethren might be adviſed how to carry themſelves towards Chriſtians; but afterward they were quiet, and living in Dutiful Obedience, had the ſame favour as other Subjects, which his Reſcripts made in their behalf ſufficiently declare.

(*a*) C. Th. *l.* 1. *de Judæis.*

9. Such was the Progreſs *Conſtantine* made in the Reformation of Religion, whilſt as yet he Governed the Empire in Conjunction with *Licinius*, which at firſt ſeeming to joyn with him, afterwards turned Perſecutor in thoſe Dominions that were ſubject to him. He being overthrown, taken Priſoner, and put to Death, he proceeded with greater Vigour, having by ſeveral Edicts recalled Chriſtianity, Baniſhed as it were out of thoſe Parts; Eſtabliſhed the Church almoſt utterly Overturned and Deſolate, reſtored ſuch as had either been forced or Fled for ſafety from their own Countrys, Releaſed them that were Condemned either to Priſon or the Mines, reſtored ſuch to Liberty as had been made Slaves upon the account of Conſcience; reſtored all to their Eſtates and Dignities, and provided for the Heirs of Martyrs that they ſhould Succeed them according to Law and Conſcience; and if they had no Kindred, then their Eſtates ſhould fall to the Church, provided that whatſoever they gave in their Life-time ſhould ſtand Firm. All thoſe things were included in an Edict, which preſently he put in Execution, diſanulling whatſoever the Tyrants had done, ſo that reſtitution was made to the right Owners according to Law and the Tenour of the ſaid Edict.

Conſule Euſeb. in vita Conſtantini cap. 19. *uſq; ad.* 42

He preſers Chriſtians to places of Honour and prohibits Idolatry.

10. Now the Biſhops were reſtored to their Sees, and Idolatry was more oppoſed then ever. *Conſtantine* (*a*) proceeding to other matters of great Moment, conferring many Dignities on Chriſtians, and making them Governours of divers Provinces, but ſuch as were devoted to Heatheniſm he prohibited to ſacrifice to Idols: For he made a new Law, that if they were Chriſtians all Governours of Provinces ſhould behave themſelves as became that glorious Title; but if they were otherwiſe affected, he commanded that they ſhould not Sacrifice to Idols. Not long after he publiſhed an Edict (*b*) againſt *Aruſpices* or South-ſayers, who privately in other Mens Houſes followed their Trade: And about the ſame time he freed (*c*) all Clergy-men from Offices, except ſuch who for to ſhun all civil Imployments, had upon deſign betaken themſelves to that Function. But when many abuſed this Priviledge and Immunity granted to the Clergy, the Emperour (*d*) commanded afterward that ſuch only ſhould Succeed them that Dyed as were poor and not liable to publick Imployments.

(*a*) *idem ibid. cap.* 43.
(*b*) *l.* 1. & 2. *c. Th. de malef.*
(*c*) *c. Th. l.* 2. *de Epiſc. & cler. l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 3.
(*d*) *c. Th. l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 3.

He makes an Edict concerning the obſervation of the Lords day.

11. The Year following being the 16 of his Reign, the 13 of his Converſion, *Claudius Cæſar* the ſecond time and *Conſtantinus Cæſar* alſo the ſecond time being Conſuls, he publiſhed an Edict for the obſervation of the Lords Day (*a*) forbiding all Artificers to work in Cities, but permitting the Exerciſe of Agriculture (*b*) as alſo Manumiſſions and Mancipations to be made on that day.

(*a*) *c. Juſt. l.* 3. *tit.* 3. §. 1.
(*b*) *c. Th. l.* 2. *tit.* 8. §. 1.

Euſebius in the Hiſtory (*c*) of his Life (a Treatiſe written in an Encomiaſtick way without Method or order) tells us how he ordained that the Lords Day ſhould be Conſecrated unto Prayer, being the chief and firſt Day of the Week, choſe Grave Religious Men to be Deacons and Chaplains in his Court, and had a ſtrong Guard about his Perſon, who as they were faithful to their Prince, ſo by his example learnt to be Religious towards God, and to obſerve the Lords Day, by devoting it to Prayer. And this Gracious Prince, ſaith he perſuaded others to this pious Duty; ſtill praying that by degrees he might bring all Men to the knowledge

(*c*) *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18, 19. &c

ledge of God : Wherefore he Commanded that throughout the *Roman* Empire, they ſhould forbear toLabour on the Lords Day,and that they ſhould have a reſpect to the days immediately preceeding the Sabbath, in regard of our Saviours memorable Actions performed on thoſe days ; here is the Sixt *Feria* or that we call *Fryday*,eſpecially meant as *Sozomenus* (*d*)telleth,is becauſe on that day Chriſt was Crucyfied. But whereas *Conſtantine* in his Edict calls it not the Lords Day after the Eccleſiaſtcal manner , but *Dies Solis* or Sunday , thence ſome (*e*) collect that this Law was impoſed as well upon *Gentiles* as others.

(*d*) *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

(*e*) *Baronius ad A. D.* 321.

12.(*a*)*Euſebius* indeed tells us that he inſtructed his whole Army to reverence and obſerve this Holyand Happy day,which was called Sunday,giving Liberty to thoſe by a Divine inſtinct, who had imbraced the Faith, that they might freely frequent the Church of God ; and there without any Moleſtation offer up their Prayers unto him. But others that had not yet taſted the ſweetneſs of Divine Knowledge,he commanded that on the Lords day they ſhould go into the Fields, belonging to the Suburbs of the City where they ſhould meet, and joyn together in Prayer to God : For he ſaid that they ought not only to uſe their Spears, or put their confidence in Weapons or ſtrength of Body , but to acknowledge God to be the giver, and as of all other things, ſo of Victory ; to whom with Hearts and Hands lifted up to Heaven, we ought to render due Praiſe and Prayer, to beſeech him who is the giver of Victories, to Keep, Protect and Defend us. He preſcribed alſo to his Souldiers a certain Form of Prayer in Latin, which he commanded them to uſe after this manner. (*b*) *We acknowledge thee the only God, we confeſs thee to be our King ; we invoke thee as our helper ; by thee we have obtained Victories, by thee we have overcome our Enemies , from thee we enjoy our preſent Happyneſs , And hope we ſhall obtain one that is to come, we all become thy Suppliants,beſeeching thee to preſerve long our Emperour* Conſtantine *ſafe and Victorious, with his hopeful Progeny.* This Form of Prayer he commanded his Souldiers to uſe on Sundays, and in their daily Devotions ; (*c*) cauſing alſo the Sign of the Croſs to be Ingraven upon their Armour , and to be carried before the Army, which it was to follow, and not any Golden Standard as formerly. And he not only ſent this Edict for obſervation of the Lords Day to all Governours of Provinces, but alſo for (*d*) keeping ſuch Holydays as were Conſecrated to the Memory of the Martyrs ; and for the ſolemn obſervation of the Feaſts of the Church, all which was performed according to the Emperours Commands.

(*b*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 20.

Preſcribes a prayer to be uſed by his Souldiers.

(*c*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 21.

(*d*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 23.

13. This Year he alſo publiſhed a (*a*) Conſtitution againſt Witches , Inchanters, and ſuch as by Invocation of Devils, raiſed Tempeſts or diſturbed the Brains of Men. By (*b*) another he gave Liberty to any one to leave by his Will to the Church whatſoever he pleaſed, whereby the Riches of the Clergy ſo vaſtly increaſed with time to the great detriment of the Civil State , that Succeeding Princes , were forced to make Laws of Mortmain, for reſtraining of ſuch Liberality as we ſhall ſee hereafter, by an Edict (*c*) alſo he preſſed the Re-edifying of Churches. But he ſeemeth in the latter end of this Year, to have pulled down ſome of the Buildings he had raiſed, by another Conſtitution (*d*) or Reſcript to *Maximus* Præfect of the City, whereby then reſiding at *Sardica* , he commanded the *Aruſpices* or *Soothſayers* to be Conſulted about ſome Prodigies that had lately happened, and permitted this to be done publickly by all others, a Fact unworthy of a Chriſtian Emperour, eſpecially ſo Zealous as he ſeemed to be, for it's one thing to Connive at a fault, which there is not ſufficient power and opportunity to puniſh, and another to reſtore an unlawful Cuſtom formerly prohibited, and to Eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law. Hence *Zozimus* might be ſo bold as to aſſert that *Conſtantine* till this time although againſt his will, to pleaſe the Senate followed the Pagan Superſtition.

Enacts a Law againſt Witches *&c.* and is farther kind to the Church.

(*a*) *l.* 4. *c. de malef.*

(*b*) *c. Th. l.* 4. *de Epiſc. & cler. & l.* 16. *tit.* 2. § 4.

(*c*) *c. Th. l.* 15. *tit.* 1. § 2.

(*d*) *c, th. l.* 1. *de Pagan.*

By another he commands the *Aruſpices* to be conſulted.

14. That this his Aſſertion is falſe, the former Laws ſufficiently declare, and not only our own Hiſtorians. Yet hence take occaſion to obſerve that *Conſtantine* by reaſon of difficulty and importance of the thing, was Conſtrained to Act with great care and Circumſpection, both towards the Senate as yet *Pagan* for the moſt part, and the People, and ſo to have obſerved his own Religion as in ſo tickliſh a time, not to undo all by once doing,but inſinuating things by degrees, as the publick Affairs and Exigence of times would Comport, to have conſtrained none to his own (though beſt) way, and proceeded but ſlowly and warily in overthrowing Idolatry, as we ſhall farther ſee hereafter, however ſome Writers out of their own Zeal magnifie what they themſelves deſired, meaſuring his Commendation by the Standard of their own inclinations , whilſt they looked more at what ſhould , then what could be, and being better Church-men and

Politi-

Politicians (even in a Chriſtian Sence) by their Panegyrical Flouriſhes, extoll that for zeal, which had it been practiced might through the unſeaſonable application, proved the overthrow of that they moſt deſired ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

15. By their præcipitancy and imprudence (as in ſuch Caſes Princes never want thoſe about them of ſuch Temper, and would be at their Journeys end e're they can well ſet out) might the Emperour be brought to do what he might be tempted afterwards to recall, and thereby both Sin in Eſtabliſhing that by a Law, which it might have been no Sin to permit with ſorrow, when he could not hinder it: As alſo diſcourage Profeſſors, and caſt a great blemiſh upon Religion; or elſe not only venture the overthrow of Religion, and reducing it to its former afflicted Condition, but endanger his Crown and Dignity by Seditions. For the occaſion of this Reſcript, appeareth to have been a great ſuſpicion the *Pagans* had, that by degrees he would Eradicate their Superſtition; becauſe about a Year a go he had the ſecond time written againſt *Aruſpices*, which exerciſed their Art in private Houſes. Leaving them to be accordingly Alarmed, hereby it is probable that by an Inſurrection or ſome dangerous attempt, he recalled what he had formerly done, and eſtabliſhed the thing he prohibited. For as (x) one obſerveth, ſeeing that in this Reſcript he declareth that all have Liberty to follow that way of Divination, ſo they abſtain from private Superſtition and Domeſtick Sacrifices; he plainly ſignifieth that by ſome other Edict he had prohibited the publick Exerciſe of *Aruſpicina*, which it ſeems had wonderfully incenſed the *Pagans* and excited them to Seditious Attempts, the *Aruſpicina* being of vaſt Eſteem and Authority at *Rome*, as it is evident from the Law of the 12 Tables which (x) *Cicero* reciteth and explaineth. But ſome pretend to obſerve that after this ungodly Edict, whereas *Conſtantine* formerly had all things according to his hearts deſire, ſo that none ever were more happy and proſperous in Government, now began to feel Gods indignation, ſuch a Domeſtick Fewd ariſing (as *David* formerly had been puniſhed) that he polluted his hands with the Blood of his deareſt Relations, and was in danger of utter Ruin, had he not expiated the Offence committed againſt Chriſtian Religion, by a certain Remedy.

The occaſion thereof.

(x) *Baronius ad, A.D.* 322.

(x) *de legibus, lib.* 2.

Which tending much to the prejudice of the Church.

16. For, whereas by the forementioned Reſcript, he had ordered the *Soothſayers* to be Conſulted, the *Gentiles* taking heart hereat, were ſo puffed up that hoping the Emperour had returned to their Superſtition, they endeavoured to force the Chriſtians to a partaking of their Myſteries: Whereupon *Conſtantine* publiſhed this Conſtitution following.

The Emperour *Conſtantine Auguſtus* to *Helpidius*.

By another Law he forbids Chriſtians to be forced to partake thereof.

Whereas we have found that certain Eccleſiaſticks, and the reſt that obey the Catholick Party, are compelled to the Sacrifices of the Luſtra, by Men of ſeveral Religions; We Ordain by this Conſtitution, that if any one go about to Compell thoſe who are Subjects to the moſt Holy Law, to any Rite of a ſtrange Superſtition, if his State and Condition bear it, he ſhall be beaten with Rods publickly; but if the Condition of his Degree or Honour do withſtand this as an Injury, let him be Fined to publick uſe, as much as poſſibly he may. Given at Sirmium. *on the* 8. *of the Calends of* June, Severus *and* Rufinus *being Conſuls, that is,* A. D. 323.

17. From this Conſtitution we ſhall firſt obſerve, that the *Gentiles* had their Sacrifices and Heatheniſh Rites, either Entire or for the moſt part preſerved as ſuch to this time, and that publickly Celebrated, eſpecially in *Rome* and *Italy*; which were moſt Tenacious of *Pagan* Superſtition throughout the *Weſt*, as appeareth alſo by other (a) Conſtitutions of *Conſtantine*. For *Helpidius* to whom the Conſtitution is directed, for the prevention and puniſhment of the Injury, was then Vicar of the City or *Italy*, being two Years before called the (b) vicegerent of the *Prfæctus Prætorio*, and in (c) another directed to him, mention is made of the Port of the City of *Rome*, and (c) another Law which hath the ſame Inſcription, is propounded to the *Carali* a City of *Sardinia*. But by thoſe Sacrifices of the *Luſtra* (*Luſtrorum Sacrificia*) are not to be meant the Luſtrations of private and common Solemnities, properly ſo called and Celebrated on certain days proper thereunto, neither ſuch as Fathers of Families made in their Corn Fields, that theſe Calamities, *Mors labes nabula impetigo peſeſtas* (or Peſtilence) which were moſt proper Terms as (d) *Feſtus* witneſſeth to theſe ſorts of Solemnities; might be prevented, as in an old Ruſtick (e) Calender it's found Written, in the

The ſeveral kinds of the *Luſtra*

(a) *Tit. de maleficis & Mathematicis Paganis, Sacrificiis & Templis.*

(b) *C. Juſtin, l. 6. de edificiis privatis.*

(c) *& C. Th. l. 4. de navicularius.*

(c) *C. Th. l. 1. de feriis.*

(d) *in voce Peſeſtas.*

(e) *vide Jacob. Gothofred. de interdict. chriſtianorum cum Gentilibus communicatione.*

the Month of *May*, *Segetes Luſtrantur*, and in that of *April*, *Oves Luſtrantur*. Neither are in this place, to be underſtood the *Luſtra*, which were wont to be Celebrated at *Rome* by the *Cenſors*, after the *Cenſus* of Citizens was made by a Sacrifice of the *Suonetaurilia*; for they had ceaſed long ago, as appeareth by what *Cenſorinus* writeth in his Book *de Die Natali*; at which time the Office of *Cenſors* alſo Ceaſed, which ſome endeavoured, though in vain, to re-eſtabliſh.

18. By the Sacrifices of *Luſtra*, here are meant Publick and Solemn Luſtrations, which were Celebrated about the *Pomærium* of the City and the Fields, in a Proceſſion called *Amburbia* and *Amburvalis*: The Beaſts to be Sacrificed, being led about with certain Verſes uttered in a Set and Solemn Feaſt-day; theſe were Solemnized upon ſeveral Occaſions, as for the Fruitfulneſs of the Earth, and Plenty of Grain; upon inſpection of the Sybiline Books, and a *Lectiſternium* made for the procurement of the Peace of the Gods, as it was termed, or upon Threats of great Dangers, for Defence of the Country againſt Foreign Enemies; in which Solemnities there was a Luſtration by intervention of a Torch, Sulphur, and Water, and Water was ſprinkled according to *Tertullian*; of this ſort Anciently were the *Armiluſtra*, whereby the Army in the *Campus Martius* was Luſtrated by Sacrifice, as were *Navies*, *Temples*, *Altars*, and Pipes called *Tubæ*, whence came the word called *Tubiluſtria*, concerning which the Teſtimonies of the Antients are very obvious.

19. That this Conſtitution not only reſpecteth ſuch *Luſtra* as were made againſt the Plague, or for benefit of the Villages; but alſo for Victory againſt an Enemy, the Characteriſm of the Date of it ſeemeth ſufficiently to Witneſs. For this ſame Year, and the Conſulſhip of *Severus* and *Rufinus*, the *Goths* made an Incurſion into the Empire, and waſted *Thrace* and *Mæſia*, whom *Conſtantine* Repulſed, and thence were Celebrated the Gothick Sports, whereof *Porphyry* in his Panegyrick, Ancient Coins, and other things written concerning thoſe Times bear mention, as the Calender called *Calendarium Hemazianum*, the Author of *Conſtantine*'s Life, and an Anonymous of *Sirmundus* or *Valeſius*. Now the *Pagans* thought they could more eaſily force Chriſtians to thoſe Solemnities, becauſe they were Celebrated without the more Superſtitious Rites and Ceremonies; as perhaps without mutations of the *Victimæ*, and Circumductions already aboliſhed, neither Sacrifices of the *Hoſtiæ* (for it is requiſite to expreſs thoſe things in their proper Latin Terms) ſo that it ſeemed not ſo clear, but that Chriſtians, without wounding their Conſciences, might be preſent at them: And the publick Profit was pretended, as the welfare of the Prince and Empire; in which caſe to them, as *Apuleius* ſaith in his firſt Apology, nothing ſeemed Criminous.

The Gothick ſports are celebrated by the Pagans.

Nihil quod ferendum ſalutis gratia ſit criminoſum.

20. And indeed *Conſtantine* himſelf in another buſineſs, ſeemed to Subſcribe to their Opinion, before the making of this Law; by giving way to thoſe Spells and Inchantments which were uſed for the Health of his Subjects, leſt Divine Favours or the Labours of Men ſhould be aboliſhed. Which Conſtitution *Juſtinian* is juſtly wondred at for putting into his Code, and *Leo Philoſophus* aboliſhed out of as juſt Indignation. Although that *Conſtantine* afterwards receded from it: The Learned *Gothifred* doth not doubt, ſeeing he Abrogated the uſe of the *Aruſpicina*, which he had formerly Tolerated as we have ſeen, under pretence therefore of publick Safety, eſpecially the *Gentiles* believed that Chriſtians were to be Compelled to the Sacrifices of the *Luſtra*, Old Cuſtoms and Rites uſed by Anceſtors Time out of mind, carrying ever a great ſhew of Reaſon, if meant out of Devotion to Prince and Commonwealth; which pretence *Theodoſius Junior* Condemneth by a Conſtitution, concerning the obſervation of the Lords-day, as we ſhall ſee in due time and place. So that the *Pagans* objected to Chriſtians Impiety and Irreverence towards their Prince and Country, who on the other ſide refuſed to joyn in this Solemnity, or be defiled by Idolatry; rejecting Communion in all ſuch Caſes, however ſuch things were covered by a ſpecious Pretence of the Publick Safety; whence the Calumny of *Zozimus* appeareth manifeſt, who writes that *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the Time of *Honorius* amongſt ſuch Fears and Dangers as were then great, becauſe of the *Gothick* War, concented to certain *Pagan* Rites for defence of the Empire, *preferring the Publick Safety*, ſaith he, *before his own opinion*. And like to this is his other ſlander of *Conſtantine* himſelf, who he ſaith till this time gave Credit to the *Aruſpices* though a Chriſtian. But by thoſe Slanders of *Zozimus* we may learn that the true and proper Judgment of Chriſtians, was to abſtain from Communion with *Gentiles*.

And in ſome ſort countenanced by the Emperour.

C. Th. l. 3. de. maleficis & Matth.

Novella. 65.

C. Th. de. Spectaculis in l. dominico ult.

Lib 5. p. 816.

21. But

Who they were that were protected by the foremention'd Law.

21. But it's made a queſtion who they were that the *Gentiles* would compel to thoſe Solemnities, and conſequently whom the Emperour protects from their violence by this Law. He nameth *certain Eccleſiaſticks and the reſt that Serve the Catholick Sect*, then afterward *ſuch as Obey the moſt Holy Law*, by whom it's queſtioned, whether the Clergy alone, or all Chriſtians promiſcuouſly be meant. But who can believe that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are barely meant, or that they only rejected Communication in thoſe Sacrifices, and not alſo the reſt of the Chriſtians? The general Inhibition of the Law ſufficiently declares it, which takes care that no ſuch be compelled to the Rite of a ſtrange Superſtition, who ſerve the moſt Holy Law, wherefore the Phraſes *Catholicæ Sectæ ſervientes*, and *Sanctiſſimæ legi Servientes*, are ſuch as Imbraced the Chriſtian Faith and lived accordingly, not ſuch only as Miniſtred in Sacred Offices. But *Conſtantine* by a great Penalty prohibits this Diſorder, *viz.* by beating them with Clubs, if of vile condition, or impoſing on them an heavy Fine, if Noble, which ſhould Iſſue to the Publick not to the *Exchequer*, but the publick *Treaſury* of the Cities concerned, as this ſame Emperour allotted another Fine two Years after; and then the Cities, of *Italy* muſt here be meant, wherein *Helpidius* was *Præfectus prætorio*, to whom the Law is Inſcribed. *C. Th. di. in. l. null. 2. e. judiciis 1.*

22. Hereby may both the Mind of *Conſtantine* and the Diſcipline of that Age be fully diſcovered; there being Canons alſo made at *Ancyra*, by a Council held there Ten Years before, to this ſame purpoſe, whereby not only Sacrificing 'to Idols but alſo eating in their Temples and Feaſting with *Pagans* is forbidden, 'the Ninth Canon being made againſt ſuch as Conſtrained their Brethren to do it, or gave cauſe of that Compulſion; not to ſpeak of thoſe pretended to be made at *Eliberis*, of the Credit of which many juſtly doubt. *Julian* the Emperor afterwards knowing the Carefulneſs and Shineſs of Chriſtians in this reſpect, laid what Gins and Snares he poſſibly could for them, expoſing the Faces of Princes (afterward called *Labratæ*) amongſt the Images of their Gods for the People to Worſhip; and putting them upon offering Incenſe which he knew was all one with denying Chriſt.

A Canon prohibiting Sacrifices to Idols, concuring with the Emperous Edict.

23. As for that which ſome object concerning ſeveral Offices born by Chriſtians, and mixed with Idolatry, whereby they would make it appear that all Communion with the *Gentiles* was neither forbidden nor ſhunned, it's apparent that the Offices of *Centenarii* and *Dendrophori*, were never born by Chriſtians, but at length aboliſhed as Fragments of *Pagan* Superſtition, and the other of *Synarchæ* and *Aſiarchæ* were not at all contaminated by any Superſtition belonging to the care and overſight of Game and publick Mirth, which though at firſt might have been Inſtituted upon Superſtitious Grounds, yet now was only improved to innocent Recreation, whereof this Age was very cautious, eſpecially *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, where the *Synarchæ* reſided, and the Games called *Synarchia* were exhibited.

The taking of *Pagan* Offices objected to Chriſtians.

Vide Jacobum Gothofredum de interdictis Chriſtianorum cum Gentilibus communione.

24. But the main objected in this Argument, and that which requires a ſerious ſcrutiny in this matter of Reformation is, that *Conſtantine* as alſo his Succeſſors *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian* for ſome time bore the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and therefore neither eſteemed a *Pagan* Name, nor imployment unfitting for him. For this Accuſation *Zozimus* is brought as a Witneſs, who Writes (*a*) ſo much in expreſs words, with whom accords (*b*) *Baronius* in his Annals, though formerly in his Notes on the *Roman* Martirology, he gave him the lye as to this particular. And more reaſon he had ſo to do, then at length thus to paſs over to his Party, that Hiſtorian having neither any probable Author or Ground for his Aſſertion, he himſelf confeſſing that he had not this Fable from any Creditable Perſon, but taken it upon hear-ſay and common Diſcourſe, then which nothing is more vain and uncertain. Then what a worthy Author *Zozimus* is, how much to be Credited in ſuch Caſes we may ſee, both by his inveterate hatred to Chriſtianity, moved wherewith he wrought his Book, which is ſtuffed with ſuch Fables and Calumnies againſt Chriſtian Emperours, and others of that Religion, eſpecially *Conſtantine* and *Gratian*, becauſe he began the Reformation, and this Emperour more effectually inforced it by ſtopping the allowance formerly given to Superſtitious Ceremonies, the Stipends allowed to Prieſts, deſtroying the Altar of *Victory*, and other Portentous Images, as St. *Ambroſs*, St. *Hierome* and *Symmachus* do Teſtifie.

And that *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors were ſtiled *Pontifex Maximus*.

(*a*) *Lib.* 4. *p.* 760. 761. (*b*) *ad, A.D.* 321.

25. Yet could it be granted that *Zozimus* was not at all guilty of Spleen and Malice, how can he be Credited who ſo palpably Erred in a matter of greateſt Concernment? Concerning *Gracian*, Writing that for fear of *Maximus* the Tyrant

Both which are ſufficiently confuted.

rant; having paſſed the *Alps*, *Rhetia*, *Novicum*, *Pannonia* into the upper *Myſia*, he was ſlain at *Singidunum*, whereas other Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree that being worſted near *Paris*, he fled and was Slain about *Lyons*. Farther if we Conſult other Writers, a deep ſilence there is, not one word of this Story of the Pontificate which *Zozimus* tells us, but in a matter of ſuch Moment, who can imagine they ſhould ſay nothing? Would *Pagan* Writers, eſpecially the Panegyriſts, whereof thoſe Times were Fruitful, have omitted this Title ſo great, ſo plauſible, when they Extol Chriſtian Emperours to the Skies, and paſs not over things of ſlight conſequence? On the other ſide would the Fathers and Eccleſiaſtical VVriters have omitted to reprehend them for ſo ſcandalous an Office and Title, who are not wont to diſſemble leſſer Faults of Princes? Or who can think that by *Hereticks*, or one or another, this would not have been laid to their Charge?

From the Conſtitutions and Coyns of thoſe Chriſtian Princes.

26. Then if we look on the Conſtitutions of thoſe Chriſtian Princes, their Coyns and Medals, as alſo ſuch Inſcriptions as are not Falſified, there's nothing in them that gives the leaſt pretence to this Aſſertion, although by them, eſpecially the Titles of Emperours be largely ſet out. If we conſider their minds and Inclinations, we ſhall find that by various Conſtitutions, they endeavoured to Eradicate *Paganiſm* out of the minds of their Subjects, as the Times and neceſſity of Affairs would permit, forbiding to all Chriſtians Communion with the *Gentiles*, in their Superſtitious Rites; how then could they themſelves practice what they diſapproved in others? and by ill examples Enervate their own Laws? Eccleſiaſtical VVriters as *a*) *Theodoret* and *b*) *Sozomenus* note it in *Julian* as a new thing, that he called himſelf *Pontifex Maximus*, as he alſo ſtiles himſelf in a (*c*) Fragment yet extant, not to mention Inſcriptions where this Title is found. Theſe things ſeem ſufficiently to Convict *Zozimus* of Calumny and Falſhood, as to his Aſſertion that thoſe Chriſtian Princes aſſumed this Title. As for what he adds that *Gratian* rejected it, who can believe that ſo memorable a thing would have been utterly forgot, or never mentioned by Chriſtian VVriters, who are ready enough to give Commendations where due, as mightily extoll the Piety and Chriſtian Zeal of *Gratian*, eſpecially St. *Ambroſe* and *Auſonius*; then the diſtance of place makes againſt this Aſſertion. For if the Pontifical Habit was obſerved to *Gratian*, by the inferiour Pontifices, and preſently rejected by him, then muſt this have been done at *Rome*, where they reſided and where we do not Read that *Gratian* ever came.

(a) *Lib.* 3. *cap.* (b) *Lib.* 5. *cap.* (c) *pag.* 546.

27. Notwithſtanding ſome there are who go about to gain Credit to *Zozimus* his Story, being willing to believe that *Gratian* firſt rejected this Title, and for this reaſon you muſt know, becauſe the Biſhops of *Rome* then began to Challenge it as their due, *Baronius* a main Stickler for it in his Annals, though of another mind in his Notes upon the Martyrology, brings his firſt Teſtimony out of *Auſonius*, whence he will make in his return of thanks to call *Gratian*, *Pontifex Maximus*. But this ſaith *Gothofred*, is ſaid *gratis*. For in two Places (*a*) indeed *Auſonius* equalleth *Gratian* with a *Pontifex Maximus*, but for his Religion and Chaſtity as he plainly expreſſeth it. And in a (*b*) third he calleth him *Pontifex Maximus*, but by a certain alluſion in reſpect of the Old *Pontifical Comitia*, to which *Gratian* by Letters ſeemed to allude. The Second Teſtimony he fetcheth from Ancient Inſcriptions; wherein beſides other Titles of Emperours, this of *Pontifex Maximus* is found, and he inſtanceth in ſeveral, to be met with in the Collection of Inſcriptions, by *Graterus*. Great heed is indeed to be given to ancient Inſcriptions; but we muſt alſo conſider that in them theſe Emperours aſſume not that Title to themſelves, but it's given them by others, *viz.* The Superſtitious *Romans and Italians*, as *Pagans* in this Age; Sacrificers who made Inſpections into the Entrails of Beaſts; for Chriſtian Emperors who certainly approved no ſuch things) as we have hinted formerly from (*c*) *Ammianus*. And we muſt further know that ſome of thoſe Inſcriptions, had been formerly made for *Pagan* Emperours, whoſe Names being Eraſed, afterward thoſe of Chriſtian Emperours were Ingraven in their places.

(a) *cap.* 12. *vol.* 20 & *ca.* 18. *ſeu* 28. (b) *cap.* 12 *ſeu.* 18. (c) *Lib.* 2.

28. This is evident from an (*a*) Inſcription belonging to *Conſtantine*, and taken notice of by (*b*) *Baronius* himſelf, wherein in a Marble at *Rome* is read, *Magno & Invicto Imp. Cæſ. C. val. Aurelio Conſtantino Pio, Fel. Invicto, Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. Poteſt. Cos. III. PP. Proc. D. N. Corpus Coriariorum &c.* That this Inſcription firſt belonged to ſome *Pagan* Prince, is evident becauſe in the left ſide of the ſame Baſis are alſo read *Dedicata Kal. Jan. DD. NN. Diocletiano III. & Maximiniano Coſſ.* For this Conſulſhip was before the time of *Conſtantine* as is moſt clear to all, and his Name afterwards inſerted; for there are *C. Val. Aurel.* VVhich

(a) *fol.* 283. (b) *ad A. D.* 312.

Prænomina never belonged to him, his *Prænomen* being *Flavius*, but are proper to *Maximianus*, not *Diocleſian* as *Baronius* imagined. This change of Names is alſo found in Money which was ſtamped anew with the Name of another Prince, and was uſed alſo in Statues and Images, which were made to ſerve for the Honour of another Perſon, their Heads or Titles being changed, as *Gothofred* obſerves, and is clear from many Witneſſes.

29. So weak are the Teſtimonies brought by *Baronius* and *Morinus*, (a) who follows him herein; of no greater ſtrength are their Arguments. They believe that Chriſtian Princes reſerved this Title, and might lawfully do it, without any Spot ſticking on them from the Ceremonies, for the amplitude of Power therein contained; not out of love to Superſtition, but for preſervation of their Authority; without the Crime of Idolatry; not to perform any Ceremonies, but for the maintenance of their Prerogative. They urge, that without this Title, the Emperours ſhould have been as no body, for that the Senate and People of *Rome*, would have preſently Conſpired againſt him, as one who was not a Follower of the Religion of their Anceſtors and Country. That the Authority of this *Pontifex*, was moſt ample above the Conſuls, and therefore ſeemed neceſſary to the Emperours, that thereby they might, as by the chiefeſt Point of Religion, curb and reſtrain the Senate, which was often refractory towards Princes: and it ſeemed more neceſſary to them, as Chriſtians, who might well perceive they reigned againſt the mind of the Senate; and by their Religion, raiſed the Envy and Malice of the *Gentiles* againſt them.

(a) *In Eccleſia liberata.*

30. But to Divines this we leave to be diſcuſſed, whether it were an innocent Myſtery of State only, or a Crime; and whether Chriſtian Princes could, with a ſafe Conſcience, and without Idolatry or Superſtition, envy the Title and Office of *Pontifex Maximus*. Concerning the neceſſity and utility of this Sophiſm, it is not amiſs to ſay ſomething. It is true that the old *Pagan* Emperours aſſumed this Title, as a ſtrengthening of their Powers, ſo that they themſelves, ſometimes, performed the Ceremonies, and indeed exerciſed the Function of a *Pontifex*, as (a) *Domitian*, (b) *Adrian*, and (c) *Alexander Severus*. Yet for the imbracing of this Title, which could not poſſibly be ſeparated from a mixture of *Pagan* Superſtition, there was no neceſſity for Chriſtian Princes, as if otherwiſe they could not be ſecure; ſeeing that then at *Rome* their Party became daily ſtrangers, and *Pagan* Superſtition daily decreaſed, which by the omiſſion of ſuch a thing, could not gather much advantage, the *Pagan* Superſtition being reſtrained, and the Imperial Power confirmed, ſo that the Senate and People from *Conſtantine*, looked on them as Protectors of the City, and Authors of Peace and Quietneſs, receiving them gladly, and celebrating their Praiſes with all ſorts of Pomp and Commendations; being permitted to enjoy ſome of their Follies, leſt too great ſtrictneſs and ſeverity ſhould raiſe ſuch a Tempeſt, as could not eaſily be diſpelled, though by degrees a Reformation might be tolerated.

(a) *Plin. l. 4: ep.* 11.
(b) *Spartianus*, p. 11.
(c) *Lampridius*, p. 118.

31. As for *Conſtantine*, could he take the name of *Pontifex*, a *Pagan* Title; (who (as the Author of his Life falſely heretofore thought to be *Euſebius*, witneſſeth) profeſſed himſelf Biſhop, τῶν ἔξω, or thoſe that are without) certainly it ſmally agreed with thoſe Conſtitutions that were made againſt the Sacrifice of the *Luſtra*, and his neglecting the Secular Games. *Baronius* addeth that the Chriſtian Biſhops granted theſe Emperours Power to aſſume that Title, but whereby doth this appear? Becauſe they do not blame them upon this account, as for ſeveral other things; but it may juſtly be Argued on the contrary, that this was never done by Chriſtian Emperours, becauſe we do not find them, upon this account, Chidden by the Fathers, who are not wanting to reprehend them for leſſer Faults. For that which *Baronius* urgeth as his greateſt force, that Chriſtian Emperours did not, as *Pagans*, aſſume the Robe and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, being not initiated as others were, by drinking Bulls Blood, and otherwiſe, nor by Sacrificing to *Jupiter Olympius*, or other gods, (which had been an open Apoſtacy from Chriſtian Religion, and not to be covered or diſſembled by any pretext) but only as *Zozimus* ſaith, that receiving the Robe, he uſed alſo the Title. But *Zozimus* his meaning is, not only the Habit and Title was aſſumed, but he mentions the Habit, as the Enſign of the Pontificate, as Princes by receiving the Purple, took on them alſo Imperial Power.

32. However, we mean not here the moſt hainous Crime of Apoſtacy (although *Baronius* objects that alſo to *Conſtantine* very ſtrangely) nor inquire into the moſt wicked act of Superſtition that could be thought; from which

Baronius

Baronius would endeavour to clear the aſſuming of this Title. But Superſtition he muſt be guilty of, had he aſſumed it; neither can one be accounted free from Idolatry, that is not guilty of the higheſt Crime of that nature, that doth not Sacrifice himſelf, or incourage that abominable Rite by his Authority. Although a Prince uſed only the Habit and Title in *Baronius* his Senſe, yet conſider ſeriouſly what this Habit was; a Pontifical and Prieſtly Stole, ἱερατικὴ στολὴ, as *Zozimus* calls it, a *Sacred Veſtment, Sacerdotal and Pagan Ornament*; a painted Robe, not with any Hiſtory out of the Goſpel; doubtleſs as *Aſterius* writes, the Clothes of Rich Men in *Cappadocia*, in his time, were wont to be neither wrought with the Images of Emperours as that *Trabea* or *Palmata* was, which *Gratian* ſent to *Auſonius*, when he had deſigned him Conſul; but were wrought and painted after the *Pagan* Faſhion, ſuch as was Myſtical, and ſuch as the *Pontifex Maximus* received from the hand of inferiour *Pagan Pontifices*, as *Zozimus* witneſſeth, which for a Chriſtian to put on, was counted wickedneſs by *Gratian*, as that *Pagan* Author relates.

33. What account is to be made of *Zozimus* his Story, and the defence of *Baronius*, we may perceive by thoſe things, both who make this Title to have ceaſed in *Gratian*. But there are ſome that proceed farther, and will have the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* uſed by Princes after his time, which they would prove from an Edict of *Valentinian* and *Marcian*, inſerted into the third Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein theſe Emperours are called *Pontifices Inclyti*; ſo the Edition (*a*) of *Colain*, and ſuch as have been printed from it: But that this is falſe, appears from the (*b*) *Greek* Copies, wherein no ſuch matter appears, but thoſe Princes are only ſtiled αἰώνιοι Αυγουστοι. That it was added by ſome fooliſh Writer or Printer it is clear, from other Demonſtrations of his Folly; as there it is ſaid that *Marcian* had repeated the Tribunitial Power ſeven and twenty times, whereas he Reigned but ſix Years and ſix Months; and the Tribunitial Power being a Conſequent of the Imperial, now had been left off, and not mentioned. And there we find *Conſul Semel*, a Form of Speech that was never uſed.

(a) P. 826.
(b) P. 442.

34. From all that has been ſaid, it appears that *Conſtantine*, though the Year foregoing he had permitted the uſe of *Aruſpicina* to the *Pagans*, yet neither allowed Communion with them in himſelf nor other Chriſtians, but diſapproved of whatſoever carried Superſtition or Paganiſm with it in ſhew or Title. As for ſuch things as had been Inſtituted by the *Gentiles*, yet in their name had no appearance of Superſtition they continued, as certain Temples cleanſed of all Superſtition afterwards when Paganiſm by degrees was baniſhed, were ſuffered to continue for Ornament to the places where they ſtood. Naked and ſimple Names and Appellations of Things, Times, Temples and Places, were ſtill uſed by Chriſtians without any harm, or any Fellowſhip in Heatheniſh Rites, being eſtabliſhed by common Converſation and Uſe (the Law and Rule of Speech.) The Holy Ghoſt hath not diſdained to apply unto Sacred Purpoſes words of Art as it were, uſed by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradiſus*, *Hades*, *Apoſtolus*, *Clerus*. The falſe Divinities of the *Gentiles* they ſtill called *Dii* or Gods. So the firſt day of the Week they ſtill called (*a*) *Sunday*, although ſometimes adding ſomething whereby it might appear that they could like better the Chriſtian name, as *Theodoſius* the younger choſe rather to call it abſolutely the (*b*) *Lords-day*. So the *Panthæon* was ſtill ſo called, and the *Atrium* of *Minerva*, where alſo Chriſtian Princes expoſed to view their Conſtitutions, becauſe of the concourſe of People thither made; all which things (*c*) *Tertullian* long before, when the Emperours were *Pagan*, although ſevere in his Cenſures, would not condemn, ſo that there were Approbation not Participation in the thing.

Several *Pagan* Names and Places kept up, but their Superſtition aboliſhed.

(a) *C. Th. de feriis l.* 1. 2. & *l.* 1. 3. *de exact. l.* 2. *de ſpectaculis.*
(b) *C. Th. l. ult. de ſpectaculis.*
(c) *Lib. de idol. c.* 20.

35. *That we ſhould uſe this Form of Speech*, ſaith he, *Cuſtome and Converſation exacts from us. For we muſt ſay, He is in the Temple of* Æſculapius, *in the Street of* Iſis, *and he is made* Jupiter's *Prieſt, and many other things of this nature, ſeeing that Men are thus named. Neither do I honour* Saturn, *if I call any one by that name; nor* Mars, *if I call him* Mars. *If Gods are to be mentioned, ſomething is to be added, whereby it may appear, that I of my ſelf, do not ſo count them, as the Scripture names Gods, but adds*, their Gods, *or of* the Nations. As *Tertullian* thus excuſeth theſe things, ſo he affirms it to be a Prevarication in Faith, for any Chriſtian to ſwear *by the Gods*, which Cuſtom and Ignorance ſometimes extorted. But as in other things, Chriſtian Princes took ſpecial care, not to joyn in Communion with *Pagans*; ſo they

Chriſtians not ſuffered to ſwear *by the Gods*, or *by their Genius*.

would not ſuffer their Subjects to ſwear *by their Genius*, yet *by their Health* or *Safety*, they did according to the ancient Cuſtom of Chriſtians, by which kind of Oath they witneſſed that the thing was as true and certain, as they deſired the Safety and Proſperity of the Emperour.

But *by the Emperours Health or Safety* was permitted.

36. But (to return to our Proſecution of ſuch particular Acts of *Conſtantine*, as reſpected the Reformation) our Emperour, in the Twentieth of his Reign, by an (*a*) Edict, commanded the bloudy Combating of Gladiators to be taken away, willing, that ſuch as for Offences committed againſt the Laws, had been wont to be ſubjected to ſuch Conflicts, ſhould be condemned to the Mines; although the Times were ſuch, that this Exerciſe could not preſently be aboliſhed, continuing a long time, but at length it was quite taken away, upon what occaſion we ſhall ſee hereafter. The Puniſhment of Malefactors by the Croſs, he alſo forbid, as (*b*) *Sozomenus* tells us, who addeth, that he cauſed his Image upon Coins or in Pictures to be done with a Croſs; as the Lance he was wont to uſe in Battel, ſome ſay (*c*) he cauſed to be faſhioned into the Form of a Croſs, which being left to his Succeſſors, deſcended as low as *Henry* the Emperour, and his Son *Otho*.

(a) *C. Th. l.* 1. *de gladiat.*

He takes away the combating of Gladiators by an Edict.

(b) *L.* 1. *c.* 8.

(c) *Baron. ad A.D.* 325.

37. After the Celebration of the *Nicene* Council, which was in the ſame Year, the former Edict was made, he more vigorouſly proſecuted Idolatry, though he conſtrained no Idolaters, as we ſaid, to his own Religion, but only exhorted and ſought to turn them by gentle means. *Eurapius Sardianus* complains that he overturned the moſt Famous Temples in the whole World, and every where erected Chriſtian Structures. That this was done preſently after the Council of *Nice*; *Euſebius*, or the (*a*) Author of his Life teſtifies, as alſo *Socrates*. The former tells us, that ſome of the *Pagan* Temples, were, by his command, untiled, and the Gates pulled down; others were quite demoliſhed, and the Tiles and Timber carried away. And ſome Graven Images, which the Heathens had of a long time ignorantly adored, were erected in the Market-place of *Conſtantinople* as opprobious Spectacles. Here *Pythius* was placed, there *Sminthius*, in the *Cirque* the *Tripos* of *Delphos*, and the *Heliconian* Muſes in the Palace. Having once reſolved, he thought not fit to effect his Intentions by any hoſtile Violence, but making choice of certain truſty and approved Perſons, ſent them into all Places to ſuppreſs their inveterate and anciently received Errors. This they did, which muſt be underſtood in part, and as the times would give leave, for all Idolatry was not aboliſhed, nor all *Pagan* Temples broken down a long time after.

He farther Proſecutes Idolatry, by deſtroying their Temples.

And removing their Images.

(a) *L.* 3. *c.* 52. *&c.*

38. But mention being made by the forecited Writers of *Conſtantinople*, how Images were in deriſion erected in the *Forum* of it, we muſt not forget to ſignifie, that the Reformation of Religion gave occaſion to the building of that City, if *Zozimus* may be believed. He writeth, that a certain Feſtival-day being come, wherein it was the Cuſtom for the Army to aſcend into the Capitol, he ſpoke againſt the Ceremony contumelioufly, and contemning it, incurred the Hatred both of Senate and People, whoſe Curſes not able to bear, he ſought where he might find a City equal to *Rome*, wherein to fix his Imperial Seat, and at length pitched upon *Byzantium*, which happened to be Dedicated afterward in the Five and twentieth Year of his Reign. In his One and twentieth Year, having taken away the publick Schools of Luſt, he publiſhed an (*a*) Edict againſt private Uncleanneſs, Ordaining, that if any Woman lay with her Slave, ſhe ſhould be put to death, and he burnt. A little after he took away the uſe of (*b*) Concubines, which yet came in faſhion again, and was permitted in the time of *Juſtinian*, ſo a Man was unmarried, and had but one, which thing being a great flaw of that Age, and very ſcandalous to Chriſtianity, was by *Leo Philoſophus* removed, (*c*) Ordaining, that it ſhould not be lawful for Chriſtians to have Concubines, ſubjoyning that excellent Reaſon out of *Solomon*'s *Proverbs*: "That it was an unworthy thing, when Water might "be had out of a pure Fountain, to ſeek for a muddy a diſtempered one; "neither could it be difficult for any to find a Conſort and Yoak-fellow. Whoſe example *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenneta* imitating, that amongſt Chriſtians there ſhould no difference be accounted betwixt a Concubine and an Whore; and that it ſhould not be lawful for any Chriſtian to have one, as *Harmenopulus* witneſſeth.

He fixeth his Imperial Seat at *Byzantium* or *Conſtantinople*.

Where he prohibits publick Bawdy-houſes, and the uſe of Concubines.

(a) *C. Th. l.* 1. *de muliere quæ Ser.*

(b) *L.* 1. *C. de Concub.*

(c) *Novella*, 91.

(d) *L.* 4. *c.* 7.

39. Con-

39. *Conſtantine* his new City being perfected, was a great Monument and Teſtimony of the Reformation. For he (*a*) purged it from all Superſtition and Idolatry, ſo that no where therein were Statues of Idols in their Temples, nor Altars defiled by the Blood of impure Sacrifices, nor Feaſts of Devils celebrated. St. *Auguſtine* (*b*) reckoning up the ſeveral parts of *Conſtantine*'s Felicity; amongſt other Accounts this not the leaſt, That God granted his deſires in building a City, which ſhould be as the equal or Daughter of *Rome*, but without any Temple or Image of Devils. He Adorned it with many Churches, whereof one was called the *Church* (c) *of the Apoſtles*; another of *Peace*, being alſo called *Sapience*; and another (*d*) built without the City, and named *Michaelium*, in memory of St. *Michael the Archangel*, who is ſaid, there to have appeared; beſides others mentioned by (*e*) *Nicephorus*; all which he took care ſhould be well furniſhed with Books, the charge of which Work, he impoſed on *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* by this Letter.

Adorns his new built City with divers Churches.

(a) *Euſeb. ſive Auth. vitæ Conſt. l. 3. c. 47.*

(b) *De civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 25.*

(c) *Socrates, l. 2. c. 12.*

(d) *Sozomenus, l. 2. c. 2.*

(e) *L. 7. c. 49, 50.*

40. *Seeing* (a) *that by God's Divine Providence, a great multitude of People in this City, which is called after me* Conſtantinople, *have devoted themſelves to the true Church; it is fit, that as their number increaſeth, ſo more Churches ſhould be erected. Know therefore, that we thought it neceſſary to ſignifie to your Wiſdom, that you ſhould provide fifty Church Books, containing thoſe parts of Scripture which you think moſt uſeful and profitable to the Church, and moſt portable, being fairly and legibly writ in ſmooth Parchment. And we, out of gracious Clemency, have ſent our Letters to the Governour of your Province, to furniſh you with all things neceſſary for the charge thereof; you ought only to take care the Books be written with all ſpeed. And we give you Power and Authority, by theſe our preſent Letters, to take up two Waggons for carriage of the Books. Moreover, when they are fairly written, I would have them brought to me by a Miniſter delegated to that purpoſe out of your Church, whom when he comes, we will reward. God keep and preſerve you dear Brother.* The Emperours command was ſpeedily performed, ſo that we ſent him, ſaith our Author, fifty Books curiouſly written in Parchment, as may appear by his Letters of Anſwer, wherein he ſignified his joy and gladneſs when he heard that *Conſtantia* (formerly called *Gaza* in *Paleſtine*, but upon this change, named by him after his Siſter) was Converted from Idolatrous Superſtition, to the true Religion.

Furniſhing them with Books.

(a) *Euſeb. in vit. Conſt. l. 4. c. 50.*

41. But not only at *Conſtantinople*, but in *Italy*, at *Rome*, and throughout the Empire, great was his Magnificence in the building and endowing of Churches, concerning which, a Book was written, which *Anaſtaſius* the *Vatican* Library keeper publiſhed out of it; ſeveral are mentioned by the Author of his Life, and other Writers. He commanded one to be built in the very place where our Saviour's Sepulchre was, which the Heathens endeavouring to deface, had there built a Chappel to *Venus*. Vaſt was the Magnificence of this Church, as it is deſcribed in his (*a*) Life; wherein are alſo mentioned others built at (*b*) *Bethlem*, and on the Mount of *Olives*, at (*c*) *Nicomedia*, and other Cities; one at the (*d*) Oak of *Mambre*, where it was thought our Saviour appeared to *Abraham*; another at (*e*) *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, where was demoliſhed the Image of *Venus*. Others ſpeak of the (*f*) ſtately Church from the former called *Conſtantiniana*, but more commonly *Saviour*'s at *Rome*, below his Palace on Mount *Cælius*, having before cauſed to be built a more ſtately one at the Confeſſion of St. *Peter*, where he himſelf firſt opened the Ground, and in memory of the Twelve Apoſtles, bore upon his ſhoulders ſo many Burthens of Earth; as *Veſpaſian* had formerly done, at the re-edifying of the Capitol. Many, beſides theſe, were raiſed in *Italy*, *Gall*, and other Parts, ſo Manificently built, ſplendidly furniſhed, and plentifully endowed, that *Pagan* Hiſtorians hence accuſe him of immenſe Profuſeneſs, and extravagant Building of unprofitable Places.

Builds another Church at our Saviour's Sepulchre.

With ſeveral others in divers places.

(a) *L. 3. c. p. 28. &c.*
(b) *C. p. 40. 42.*
(c) *C. 49.*
(d) *C. 50.*
(e) *C. 56.*
(f) *Acta Sylveſtri apud Baronum ad A. D. 324.*

42. Yet notwithſtanding theſe vaſt Expences, ſuch was the Abſtinence both of him and ſeveral his Succeſſors, that having the Wealth of the Idol-Temples in their Power, though ſuch a thing might have been done upon a Religious account, and to make amends for all the Injuries and Loſſes the Chriſtians had ſuſtained from the *Pagans*, for above three hundred Years, they abſtained from it at *Rome*; although in the laſt, where the Influence of the Senate was not ſo great, ſometimes *Conſtantine*, as he juſtly might make bold with it, as the Author (*a*) of his Life writes concerning Golden Images which he cauſed to be melted, and reſerved the Mettal to his own uſe. Such alſo was his Modeſty, that

His Abſtinence in not meddling with the Wealth of the Idol Temples near *Rome*.

(a) *L. 3 c. 52.*

His Modeſty in refuſing his Name to be engraven on any of the new Buildings.

that although he had Erected ſo many Monuments of his Glory, yet upon none of them was his Name ingraved, contemning that which moſt of his Predeceſſors had ſo earneſtly thirſted after, of whom *Trajan*, though accounted the beſt, cauſed his Name to be affixed to all his publick Works, ſo that *Conſtantine* facetiouſly and wittily called him *herba parietina*, as *Aurelius Victor* tells us.

He encourages and provides for thoſe that turn Chriſtians.

43. Such was *Conſtantine*'s Care and Coſt for the publick Worſhip. For the encouragement of private Perſons, we read, (*a*) that (beſides what we have formerly mentioned) he Ordained, that ſuch Sons or Slaves that were born in Superſtition, ſhould not be forced to keep to it againſt their minds: that Maintenance out of the Exchequer was plentifully allotted to ſuch as turned Chriſtians: in the firſt place a white Garment for Baptiſm, and twenty *Solidi* were allowed, provided (you muſt know) that they brought for their admittance, a Ticket from the Biſhop of *Rome*. (*b*) *Nicephorus* writes, that in one year at *Rome*, were Baptized above twelve Men, beſides Women and Children. In the former Treatiſe is found, that *Conſtantine* at the ſame time in the *Ulpian* Palace, made an Oration to the *Roman* Senate and People, 'Concerning the Faith of Chriſt to be imbraced by all, leaving yet a free choice to every one, what Religion they would cleave to; but declaring, that they were more acceptable that turned Chriſtians. To the ſame purpoſe he publiſhed an Edict, which we have exemplified in his (*c*) Life, directed as well to the Princes of the Eaſt, as thoſe of the Weſt, wherein he aſſerts the truth of divers Arguments firſt, and then invites all to imbrace it, declaring that none ſhould be forced, but received if coming on their own accord, and permitting others to frequent the Temples of their Idols, and uſe their Rites. From which it appears that ſuch are miſtaken, who ſuppoſe that all Temples were ſhut up, and their Ceremonies baniſhed utterly, eſpecially in *Italy*, and thoſe places where the *Roman* Senate had the moſt Influence. Yet did he forbid ſuch Magiſtrates, publickly to Sacrifice to Idols, as were choſen from amongſt the *Pagans*; by a Law prohibited Divinations, and Commanded, as we have ſaid, Churches to be built, as he had given example at *Rome*, larger than ever.

(a) *Aëta Sylveſtri ubi ſupra.*

(b) *L.7.c.34.*

And exhorts all men to embrace the Faith of Chriſt.

(c) *L.2.c.47. &c.*

He gives Food to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople.*

44. We muſt alſo account the Munificence of *Conſtantine*, which he ſhewed towards his new Citizens of *Conſtantinople*; not only an incouragement to ſuch as ſhould inhabit that City, but alſo to the Profeſſion of Religion, if we conſider the reaſon alledged by *Zozimus* for the founding of it, and the great care the Emperour took to have it clear from Idolatry, making it a Chriſtian Colony, and the firſt Chriſtian City (univerſally ſuch) throughout the Empire. Firſt of all he beſtowed Bread (*a*) on ſuch as had Houſes at *Conſtantinople*, which Loaves were called (*b*) *Palatine*. Others (*c*) he aſſigned to Souldiers that alſo had Adorned the City with Buildings. And other Loaves (*d*) that year wherein he was Conſul, he cauſed every day to be diſtributed to the common ſort, to which he added Wine, Fleſh, and Oil, as *Suidas* (*e*) tells us, which was obſerved for many years. (*f*) One ſays he dayly beſtowed on the Poor eighty thouſand Loaves, (*g*) another eighty thouſand Modii of Wheat. This Bread was courſe, weighing two Ounces and an half. But *Valentinian* gave it pure weighing ſix Ounces, and the allowance was increaſed afterward, both by (*h*) *Theodoſius* the Great, and (*i*) *Marcian*. For the diſtributing of it, Scaffolds were erected in many places, to which the Poor aſcended by Steps. For one only place being not capable of ſuch a vaſt Multitude, one hundred and ſeventeen Marble Stairs or Steps throughout the fourteen Regions of *Conſtantinople* were made, as we find in the Ancient Deſcription or Survey of that City placed before the *Notitia*, whence this Bread was termed *gradilis*, it being unlawful for any to receive it, but on the Stairs according to aſſignment.

(a) C. *Th. de annon. Civit. l.* 8. & 9.
(b) *C. eodem l.* 12. & 13.
(c) *C. eodem l.* 1. & 10.
(d) *De anno Civit.*
(e) *In voce* παλατῖνοι.
(f) *Metaphraſtes in Paulo Patriarcha Conſtantinop.*
(g) *Socrates.*
(h) *C.Th.l.*5.
(i) *C. Th. l. penult.*

45. For to every Tribe certain Stairs were aſſigned, which it was unlawful to change; the Officials of the *Præfectus Annonæ*, to whom (*a*) the caſe of this diſtribution was committed, ſtrictly looking into it. Theſe Loaves are called *Civiles*, becauſe they were beſtowed on *Cives* or Citizens in diſtinction, from the Palatine, and others that were given to certain Schools or Academies of War: this *Annona* or Proviſion was alſo called (*b*) *Popularis* and *Civica*. The ſame ſort of Liberality, but not in ſuch a meaſure, had *Trajan* ſhown at *Rome*, allowing Food to (*c*) twelve thouſand Boys and Girls, of which *Aurelian* increaſed the number, as *Vopiſcus* ſaith; whereupon in moſt of the Coins of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*, theſe Stairs are ſeen, by which the People aſcended to receive Bread, on the top whereof is ſeen a Scribe, and another with a Badge of

(a) C.*Th.l.*2.
(b) *De annon. Civit.* l. 2.
(c) *Plin. in Panigyrico.*

of diſtinction, who diſtributed the Loaves. At firſt this Allowance could neither be alienated, nor transferred from one to another; but afterwards being alienated, *Theodoſius* confirmed the Contracts, and permitted it to be removed from one to another, ſo that afterward they might both be alienated otherwiſe, and given in Dowry.

He provides for the Interment of the Dead.

46. Yet his care extended not only to the Living, he thought it a Point of Chriſtian Prudence and Piety to provide for the decent Interment of the Dead; and therefore Inſtituted a company of Men, who were to take care of it *gratis*, being called *Lectuarii*, for carrying the Dead out on Beds, and *Decani*, perhaps becauſe they were divided into Decads or Tens. For the maintenance of this Company, he gave to the greater Church of *Conſtantinople* Nine hundred and fifty Shops, to which *Anaſtaſius* afterward added One hundred and fifty, with certain other Revenues. The Prefect of the City had the inſpection over them, whom *Juſtinian* ordered to reſtore ſome of them to the Church which had been uſurped by private Men, and appoint to the Defenders of the Church (*Defenſores*) Eight hundred, to the *Oeconomi* or Stewards Three hundred, who out of their Revenues ſhould monthly allow Four hundred Aurei to Religious Perſons, *viz.* to the *Decani* One hundred eighty two, thoſe called *Aſcetrii* or Eight *Moniales*, who ſung after the Beire Ninety one, to *Acclythi* that carried Lights Ninety one, to *Canonical Women* that ſerved the Hoſpital and Sung, Thirty ſix; which Sum yearly amounted to Four thouſand eight hundred Aurei. Such as would be at a greater Expence, both for Beds (or Biers) and more *Aſcetria* too, were to pay what is ſpecified in the Novel of *Juſtinian*, which will have an *Aſcetrium* to conſiſt of Eight *Moniales* and Three *Acclythi*. But the *Lectuarii* bore the Body, made the Grave, and did other things belonging to this Office, whereupon they were called κοπιατοὶ or Labourers, being put in their places by the Præfect of the City. At *Conſtantinople*, it is not certain where their Reſidence or Habitation was, though it be probable that they lived together, that ſo they might the more eaſily be found out, as at *Rome*, where they lived in one place (in the Fourteenth Region of the City) called *Caſtra Lectuariorum*. As for their number, it doth not appear. *Novell.* 59. & 43.

His further kindneſs to Chriſtians and its Religion.

47. Thus much did *Conſtantine* really do for a Reformation, firſt removing Penal Statutes againſt Chriſtians, then incouraging them by Reſtitution of their own, afterward by diſcountenancing Idolatry, as much as the neceſſity of times would permit, and by his Liberality towards Profeſſors of the true Religion. The Paſtors or Biſhops thereof, he imbraced with ſingular kindneſs, and a tender Fatherly care, not ſowing amongſt them Diſcord, but compoſing their Differences, not by owning a Monarchy in a Monarchy, or making one Lord of the reſt, and of all Gods Inheritance; by giving him incouragement in earthly Dominion, or affording fewel to that flame of Ambition, which ſhould at length prey upon the whole Chriſtian World. Yet ſome Men have proceeded to that Vanity, as having firſt fancied to themſelves a Spiritual Monarchy by Divine Right, in the next place, to impoſe a neceſſity upon the ſame Providence, for the maintenance of it in a Secular way, and *Conſtantine*, the firſt Reformer, Incourager and Indower, muſt have the Honour, not only to provide for the Body due maintenance, but a Crown alſo for the Pride and Haughtineſs of a Suppoſititious and Prodigious Head. The good Man dreamed of nothing leſs. He knew no Head of the Church but him in Heaven, and though priority of place he might account reaſonable to him who governed the Church in the Metropolis of the Empire, yet he perfectly underſtood the quality and limits of his Power, not judging his own concernments in Religious Matters, leſs than thoſe of the Kings of *Iſrael* in old time, nor imagining that our Saviour, who ſaid his Kingdom was not of this World, had deſigned the leſſening of Temporal Power, or ſubduing it wholly to a Spiritual Empire.

48. Yet is he made a great and voluntary Agent in ſuch a prodigious Deſign, and as a Teſtimony thereof, a Conſtitution of his is produced, whereby a vaſt Temporal Dominion is beſtowed on *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* and his Succeſſors. Great difference there is amongſt the Aſſertors of the Spiritual Empire, concerning the Authority of the Edict, and even the verity of the Donation, the reputation of it being almoſt extinct, till a little revived of late times by one *Marta* a Doctor of *Naples*, who is ſo confident of the certainty and truth thereof, that he ſaith, *Non eſſe ulterius dubitandum*, None ought hereafter to doubt, but that it was really made by *Conſtantine*. But that which gives greateſt countenance to the Edict, is the Decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Leo* the

the Ninth, who *verbatim* almoſt, repeats it whole ſo far as concerns the Donation.

A forged Edict of *Conſtantine*'s, to *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Rome*.

49. "As namely how *Conſtantine* wrote in his Edict, that he would exalt "the moſt Holy See of *Peter* more than his own Empire or earthly Throne, "giving unto that See, *Poteſtatem dignitatem & honorificentiam Imperialem*, "Imperial Power, Dignity, Vigor and Honour, (whereby the Pope, of a "Biſhop, is made an Emperour, and above the Secular Emperour himſelf.) "How he Decreed, that the *Roman* See *Principatum teneat*, ſhould be Chief "of other Churches, and have Principality above the See of *Alexandria*, "*Antioch*, *Jeruſalem* and *Conſtantinople*, and of all other Churches in the whole "World, (whereby the Spiritual Principality above other Patriarchs and Biſhops "is conferred on the Pope.) How he gave to *Sylveſter* and his Succeſſors "for ever, his *Lateran Palace*, which is preferred above all Palaces in the "World, his Diadem and Crown, his *Mandilion*, his Cloak, his Coat, & "*omnia Imperialia indumentá*, all Imperial Robes which he himſelf wore, his "Imperial Guard, his Imperial Scepter, & *omnem proceſſionem Imperialis cul-* "*minis*, & *gloriam poteſtatis noſtræ*, and all the reſidue of his Imperial Dignity, "Honour and Power. There is his Eſtate ſuch, and ſo Pompous, that *Con-* "*ſtantine* himſelf, (as the Charter ſaith) held the Pope's Bridle, and performed "*officio Stratoris*, the Office of a Groom of the Stable, or Yeoman of the "Stirrup unto the Pope. Here to the end that the Pontifical Height ſhould "not ſeem vile, but be Adorned more than the Dignity and Power of the "earthly Empire; he gave unto *Sylveſter* and his Succeſſors for ever, both "the City of *Rome*, and all the Provinces, Places and Cities of *Italy*, and the "Weſtern Countries, Decreeing all theſe his Grants to be kept inviolable "and unchangeable, *uſque in finem mundi*, even to the end of the World. Here's the Popes Revenues, and the Rich Patrimony of St. *Peter*. *Epiſt.* 1. *Leon.* 9. *c.* 12, 13, 14.

50. Thus much and far more doth Pope *Leo verbatim* recite, out of the Edict or Charter of *Conſtantine*, all which he ſaith, he ſets down, leſt any ſcruple of doubt ſhould remain, touching the Popes earthly Dominion, *Neve leviter ſuſcepiſcemini ineptis & anilibus fabulis ſanctam Romanam ſedem velle ſibi inconceſſum honorem vendicare & defenſare aliqua tenus*; Leſt any ſhould ſo much as but lightly ſuſpect, that the *Roman* See would challenge, or any way defend their Honour, by fooliſh and uncertain Fables. Yea, he adds of this Edict, and that which he cites out of it, that he therefore relates it that hereby, *Veritas fundetur & confundatur Vanitas*; That Truth may be confirmed, and Vanity confounded, and that all Catholicks may know, *nos*, himſelf and other Popes, to be the Diſciples of that *Peter*, who ſaith of himſelf, We *have not followed Unlearned, or ſophiſticated or falſely deviſed Fables.* And yet more to Commend this Edict, he adjoyns; "Know ye that we do inculcate unto you theſe "things which we have not ſo much recovered, *Relatu quolibet*, by any Re- "lation or Hearſay, *quam quæ ipſo viſu & tactu comperta ſunt*; as which we have "found out by our own ſight and feeling. Thus writes Pope *Leo* for the Certainty, Truth and Credit of this Charter of Donation, ſo Pontifically and Aſſuredly, as one ſaith, as if he had ſeen *Conſtantine* ſet his Seal unto the ſame, or lay it with his own hand upon the Body of St. *Peter*, as the ſame *Leo* ſaith he did.

Dr. *Cracken-thorp* in his Defence of *Conſtantine*. p. 127.

51. This Charter carries in its own Face ſuch manifeſt Tokens of Forgery, that the recital may well enough ſeem a ſufficient Confutation of it, and to ſuch as are converſant in Hiſtories, and not ignorant of the State of *Rome*, and all the Weſtern Provinces long after *Conſtantine*'s time, and how they were governed, it cannot but ſeem exceedingly Ridiculous. But farther obſerve, that the very Ground and Occaſion why *Conſtantine* is ſaid to have made this Charter, is falſe and forged, *viz.* the ſuppoſed Leproſie, Perſecution and Baptiſm of *Conſtantine* by *Sylveſter*, as we ſhall ſee in due time and place. Secondly, who can abſtain from ſmiling, to find the See of *Conſtantinople* mentioned in this Edict, as one of the Patriarchal Sees, whereas neither had it Patriarchal Dignity, before the ſecond General Council, (that is more than fifty Years after the Donation is ſuppoſed to be made) nor was there at that time ſo much as the name of *Conſtantinople*; for the City was then called *Byzantium*, and ſeveral Years after, not changing its name till after the *Nicene* Council, as *Baronius* acknowledgeth. But this Donation of *Conſtantine* being made a little after his ſuppoſed Baptiſm by *Sylveſter* (the fourth day, as the Acts of that Pope declare) fell into the Twenty ninth year of his Reign, and that preceding the *Nicene* Council.

Which is plainly proved to be ſuch upon theſe accounts.

One

One would therefore think that there was ſome Fraud uſed in the inſerting of this name, but that there is an uniform Conſent in all the Forms and Copies of the Charter, both *Greek* and *Latin*, kept ſafely in their Vatican, as they affirm, and ratified by the Decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Leo* for true and Authentical; ſo that there can be no ſuſpition of Corruption in thoſe words of the Edict. The Errour and Corruption was in the Author alone, who forged ſuch a groſs and uncreditable Untruth.

52. But Thirdly, had *Conſtantine* given Principality to the *Roman* See above all Churches in the World, as the Charter ſaith he did, what Folly was it in *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, *Cyriacus* and others, to ſtrive for that Preheminence? Why did not *Boniface* the Third ſhew this Charter made by *Conſtantine*? Why did he uſe ſo much intreaty and means to *Phocas* a Murtherer (as *Platina* ſaith he did) that the Church of *Rome* might be called Firſt of all Churches? When the ſame was long before almoſt three hundred years, granted by a fair Charter to the *Roman* See, by ſo worthy and renowned an Emperour. Fourthly, In this Edict *Conſtantine* is made ſolemnly to give to Pope *Sylveſter* the *Lateran Palace* which *Sigonius*, *Baronius* and *Binnius* (all) will have beſtowed long before on Pope *Miltiades* his Predeceſſor, in the Seventh year of *Conſtantine*, *viz.* twelve years before he was either Baptized, or made this Charter of Donation. Fifthly, In this Edict *Conſtantine* is made to ſay, that he will have all People in the World to know, that he had builded unto Chriſt within his Palace of *Lateran*, a Church from the very Foundation, together with a Font; yet was the Edict made, as they themſelves profeſs, in the fourth day after *Conſtantine* was Baptized, and how then was it poſſible that ſuch a Stately Fabrick ſhould be raiſed in four days? Eſpecially conſidering that the Acts of *Sylveſter* having declared what *Conſtantine* did all the ſeven days he was in *Albis* after his Baptiſm, ſay, that he laid the Foundation of this Church on the eighth day. Whether then could that Church be builded on the fourth day, whoſe Foundation was but begun and the Earth firſt digged on the eighth day after his Baptiſm?

53. Further, Sixthly, This Edict, as by the words of it are evident, followed the Leproſie of *Conſtantine* ſuppoſed, and his Baptiſm, and therefore could not be made before the ninth year of his Reign, wherein both theſe, *Baronius* and *Binnius* account to have happened. Yet is it dated *in the fourth Conſulſhip of* Conſtantine, *which he exerciſed with* Gallicanus, whereas his fourth Conſulſhip was in the Tenth year of his Reign, by which account he ſhould have made this Edict and Donation eight or nine years before the occaſion and cauſe thereof was preſented; beſides (ſee the Stupidity of the Forger) not *Gallicanus*, but *Licinius* the fourth time was Conſul with *Conſtantine* in his fourth Conſulſhip, as appeareth both by the *Faſti* and many Imperial Conſtitutions of this Year. And indeed foraſmuch as *Gallicanus* was never Conſul with *Conſtantine*, as by the *Faſti* is evident, this Edict ſuppoſed to be made in their Royal Conſulſhip was never made.

From the Teſtimony of Cardinal *Baronius.*

54. To theſe reaſons may be added the Teſtimony of their Cardinal *Baronius*, with whom agreeth *Gretzer*, who hath written an Apology for him in this very Point. He (*a*) proves it a meer Figment and Forgery, becauſe firſt the antient Popes ſince *Conſtantine*'s time, though having many occaſions to diſpute againſt Princes touching the Rights and Prerogatives of the Church, yet none of them before the thouſandth year after Chriſt, is read to have defended the ſame by Authority of this Edict, and yet they knew and make mention of *Sylveſter*'s Acts. 2. It is certain that the Emperours make no mention of that Edict of *Conſtantine*'s Donation, and yet in the Charter of *Henry* the Firſt, there is mention made of all the former Emperours who had made ſuch ample Donations to the *Roman* See. 3. This Edict was not in the Ancient Acts of *Sylveſter*, but was by Forgery inſerted into them after the thouſandth year of Chriſt, being feigned by ſome *Græcian* under the Name of *Euſebius*, and publiſhed by *Theodorus Balſamon*, whereas till then no *Græcian* had ſet it forth: and from the *Græcians* it came to the *Latins* and Weſtern Church: *Leo* the Ninth being the firſt Pope that makes mention of it. Thus by the Cardinals acknowledgment, we may ſee what Truth there is in Popes, eſpecially in *Leo*, who in his Decretal Epiſtle moſt ſolemnly commends this Edict for an Ancient and undoubted Evidence, ſuch as he knew by ſight and ſence to be the true Deed of *Conſtantine*, which yet the Cardinal, after long ſifting of Monuments and Records, teſtifieth to be a Forgery, and that of the *Græcians* firſt of all deviſed, as he ſaith, about Seven hundred, and publiſhed Eight hundred years after the Death of *Conſtantine*. *Strenchus* (*b*) againſt this

(a) *Baron. ad An.* 1191. *Num.* 52. *&c.*

(b) *De Don. Conſtant.*

Date aſſerteth it for marvelous Impudence in any to deny that this Donation or Edict is ſet down in thoſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, whereof *Gelaſius* ſpeaketh, ſaying, I can produce all Libraries for witneſs hereof, all which have, together with the Hiſtory of *Sylveſter*'s Baptizing *Conſtantine*, this Donation Priviledge or Edict.

And *Stenchus* the Vatican Library-keeper.

55. This *Stenchus*, who was alſo Library-keeper to the Pope, convinceth as an eye Witneſs his Fellow *Baronius* of Impudence and Untruth, for denying this Donation to be mentioned in theſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, of which *Gelaſius* ſpeaks, and for ſlandering the *Greeks* as deviſers of it about the Year 1000, which to have been in their Vatican before that in the time of *Gelaſius*, he for a certainty aſſures us. Hence a Learned Man deſervedly breaks forth into this Exclamation: How may we truſt any Vatican Library-keeper, if *Stenchus*, an Eye-witneſs, be not to be truſted in this Caſe? And if we credit him, who ever hereafter will truſt his Fellow *Baronius*, who thus notoriouſly downfaceth the Truth? However one may rightly affirm that both of them do in part ſay truth, and both of them in part do err. That this Edict of Donation is a very Figment, *Baronius* rightly avoucheth, but *Stenchus* and the reſt holding the contrary with him, ſpeak far amiſs. Again, that this Edict was of Ancient time in the Popes Library, and in thoſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, which *Gelaſius* mentioneth, in this *Stenchus* deſerveth to be credited. But *Baronius*, in ſaying it was not extant till the 1000 year after Chriſt, nor publiſhed till *Balſamon*'s time, in thoſe the Cardinal ſaith far amiſs. So with *Stenchus* we profeſs, and have proved alſo the ſame Edict to be nothing elſe but a Forgery and Figment. What they ſay amiſs we reject in either: what they rightly affirm, we accept of either, and upon the true Confeſſion of *Baronius*, we conclude it to be a Forgery. And upon both theſe Truths, which they ſeverally profeſs, we rightly and ſafely conclude it to be an Ancient Forgery.

Dr Crackanth. *quo ſupra.*

Another Popiſh Argument for the Donation

56. But though the Edict or inſtrument of the Donation be forged or falſified, yet the Donation it ſelf may be good, ſaith (*a*) *Gretzer*, who for ſuch Labours to defend it, telling us that the Popes have other undoubted Charters for their Temporal Dominions, (which Cardinal (*b*) *Albanus* flatly denies) though their Rights juſtly rely alſo upon the Donation of *Conſtantine*. His ſtrange reaſoning lyes in *perhaps*, an acute Logician ſaith he, will ſay, *That perhaps the Donation was made by witneſſes only without any Inſtrument.* But though a frivolous caviling Sophiſter may, yet no ſober Man will ſay ſo. Where are theſe Witneſſes, or who ever heard of them? Why may not the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* plead the like Donation by word of Mouth, of *Rome* and *Italy* from *Conſtantine* to him and his Succeſſors for ever; and ſay it is proved by Witneſſes, that now are dead without any Deed or Inſtrument to teſtifie the ſame? And how can an acute Logician effectually overthrow the one and defend the other Donation? But to ſilence the Jeſuits acute Logician, three ſeveral Popes, *viz. Adrian*, *Leo* the Ninth, and *Nicholas* the Third, are Witneſſes that the Donation of *Conſtantine* was made by a Charter and Inſtrument, whereof the firſt ſaith of that Conſtitution, and others that they were kept in *Lateranenſi Scrinio*, in the *Lateran* Regiſtry; and this was about the Year 790. The ſecond tells us he ſaw and handled the very Charter of *Conſtantine*'s Donation, which was about the Year 1050. And the third ſaith that *Conſtantine* left unto *Sylveſter* the City of *Rome*, and declared *Per Pragmaticum Conſtitutum*, by a Pragmatical Conſtitution or Writ of Record, that he and his Succeſſors ſhould have the diſpoſing or Government thereof; which was about the Year 1280. To theſe might be added the Teſtimonies of Cardinal *Albanus* and ſeveral others, of whom ſome profeſs they were Eye-witneſſes of that (forged) Conſtitution.

(a) *Append. ad lib. de munific. Princip.*
(b) *Lib. de Don. Conſtant.*

Drawn from perhaps.

57. *Gretzer* his acute Logician will farther ſay. *It may be that the Inſtrument or Charter is either periſhed or corrupted by long Continuance.* A Saying every whit as worthy and rational as the former. So may alſo another, and as good a Logician ſay of the Donation of *Rome* and *Italy* made by *Conſtantine* to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*. And whether is *Stenchus*, with all Libraries, Pope *Gelaſius*, and *Leo* the Ninth, ſo aſſuredly teſtifying the forged Charter not to be loſt or periſhed: or *Gretzer*'s Logician, coming in with another *perhaps* more to be credited in this Cauſe? After theſe ſo furious Aſſaults of Logick, he leads on his great and prevalent Arguments, which he is forced to call *Probabilities* or *Conjectures*. One of the beſt is taken out of *Baronius*, who ſaith, *It is not for nothing that the French Kings in their Writs of Donation do profeſs that they reſtore to the* Roman *Church the Dominions which they took from the* Lombards.

And from Probabilities and Conjectures.

But

But the Inference thence made, is neither neceſſary nor probable. They might be reſtored, though the Popes had got them by Invaſion, wrongful Intruſion, Fraud, Robbery, Rebellion or Treaſon, as the Popes got them in very Deed, from the Eaſtern Emperour, not poſſeſſing them by Right or by any Donation, much leſs that of *Conſtantine*, as is clear from *Sigonius* an Hiſtorian of their own, and we ſhall particularly diſcover in due time and place. His other Conjecture is, *Seeing it is moſt certain that before* Pipin's *time, yea before* Aripert's *(that is before the* 704. *year of our Lord) the Popes had divers Provinces ſubject to their Dominion, and there appears no Evidence for any other Title, whereby they ſhould have and hold thoſe Lands, it followeth that the right to have them is not unprobably derived from the Donation of* Conſtantine.

58. His Proof is only of the Patrimony of the *Cottian Alps*, and his Concluſion is of many Provinces, whereas that Patrimony was ſo far from (*a*) containing many or any one Province, that it was but certain Villages or Farm-houſes in the Northweſt Part of the *Alps*; and what is this to the Donation pretended from *Conſtantine*? A few Cottages or Farm-houſes, as he himſelf calls them, to *Rome*, to all *Italy*, to all the Weſtern Provinces and Kingdoms. And were there not many other means how the Pope might get them beſides *Conſtantine*'s Donation? Beſides it is clear from *Sigonius*, that *Aripert* and *Litprandus* gave of their own to the *Roman* See, as well as reſtored thoſe Farms, and how could they give what was its Right before? And farther, what is this Patrimony which their own Writers confeſs to have owned ſubjection to the Emperour by Tribute, to an Imperial Monarchical Supream and Independent Dominion in all *Italy* and the Weſtern Provinces? Theſe Arguments are too frivolous to be inſiſted on: we ſhall come to thoſe of our own againſt this Donation, which carry with them much more weight, and will, to any indifferent Perſon, put the queſtion out of all Diſpute. The firſt is drawn from the Teſtament of *Conſtantine*, wherein he is ſaid to have divided the whole Empire amongſt his Sons. To be ſure whether it was divided before or after his Death, the Weſtern Part fell to *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans*, the Eaſtern to *Conſtantius*, even by conſent of the Pope's greateſt Diſciples *Sigonius* and (*c*) *Baronius*. Then is it at all to be believed, that if *Conſtantine* had formerly made, either by Word or Writing, an abſolute Donation of *Rome*, *Italy*, and the Weſtern Provinces to the Pope (and that ſo Solemnly, that as *Leo* the Ninth ſaith, he Decreed that Donation to abide firm and inviolable unto the end of the World) ſo Pious and Prudent an Emperour would within twelve Years after do contrary to his own Act? Eſpecially in his laſt Will and Teſtament, wherein he would rather have teſtified his Religious Affection and Love to the Church, by an Addition of ſome other Gift, than leave ſo eternal a Blemiſh upon his Name, of Inconſtancy, Injuſtice, Impiety, Sacrilege, and making his own Children Inheritors of what he knew was neither his to give, nor which they, without open Injuſtice (if he had right to give it) Impiety and Sacrilege might accept, hold or Poſſeſs.

(a) *Sigonius de Regn. Ital. lib.* 1.

Which are ſilly, and as ſuch proved by three convincing Arguments.

(b) *De occident. Imp. l.* 5.
(c) *Ad Ann.* 337.

59. A ſecond reaſon is, the perpetual Poſſeſſion and Dominion which the Emperours had of *Rome* and *Italy*, with the Government thereof, which continued ſtill in them, not only after *Conſtantine*'s time, but even whilſt he lived, till it was unjuſtly firſt taken from them by the Popes, and then confirmed by *Pipin*, *Charles* the Great and others. In the very next Year after this ſuppoſed Donation, was (*a*) *Severus* Præfect of *Rome* appointed by *Conſtantine* to govern it, with the Cities belonging thereunto, by Imperial Authority as it formerly had been: The next year after was (*b*) *Maximus*, the two following (*c*) *Ancius Julianus* and *Optalianus*, and throughout all *Conſtantine*'s time, every Year he had his Lieutenants to Govern the City of *Rome* for him and in his Right. It were eaſie to expreſs almoſt in each Year the ſeveral *Præfecti urbis* under *Conſtans*, *Conſtantius*, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius* and other Emperours, for more than One hundred Years after *Conſtantine*, and ſeveral have according to occaſion been mentioned. After the time of *Valentinian* the Younger, when the Weſtern Empire, through the Corruption of Barbarous Nations, began to decay, that the Supream Government of *Rome* and *Italy* ſtill remained in the Emperour his appointing Kings of *Italy*, after them Dukes of *Rome*, and Enarchs of *Ravenna* is a ſufficient proof, and this is evident, not only from other Authors, but *Sigonius* (*d*) the Popes own Servant. Now can it be imagined that all theſe Emperours would ſo injuriouſly intrude into St. *Peter*'s Patrimony? Can any one imagine that the Popes, Men of high Courage to defend their Right, would have put up ſo great Wrong, without ſo much as once

(a) *C.Th.l* 2. *de judiciis.*
(b) *C.Th.l.*2. *ad legem com. de falſo.*
(c) *Onuph. in Faſtos. l.* 2.

(d) *L.* 14, 15, &c.

checking the Emperour for ſo open Injuſtice, Sacrilege, and Uſurpation? May not the ſilence of ſo many Popes, and continued Poſſeſſion by ſo many Emperours, be thought a juſt reaſon to condemn that pretended Donation?

60. But the third Proof, that *Conſtantine* made no ſuch Donation, is the Teſtimony of their own Writers, who ſeeing that neither *Euſebius*, *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Eutropius*, *Victor*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Baſil*, St. *Chryſoſtome*, nor *Ammianus*, the *Tripertite Hiſtory*, *Damaſcen*, *Bede*, nor *Oroſius*, nor any who have moſt diligently written the Acts of *Conſtantine* (being Authors of good Credit) not only do make no mention of this Donation, but further declare that he ſo divided the *Roman* Empire amongſt his Three Sons, that all *Italy* was alotted to one of them. And own it as a Fable concerning the Teſtimonies of whom, as alſo the Arguments offered by *Marta* and others in vain, to confirm the Fictitious Donation, amongſt many others who have written abundantly to ſatisfaction in this Argument, Dr.* *Crackanthorp* a moſt Learned Church Antiquary is eſpecially to be conſulted, we having rather by ſaying ſo much, tranſcended the Nature of our Deſign.

* In his Defence of *Conſtantine* and his Treatiſe of the Popes Temporal Dominion

61. *Conſtantine*, though not guilty of ſuch a Crime, as to found or eſtabliſh a Spiritual Tyranny, yet ſufficiently provided for the Patrimony of the Church, firſt by (*a*) reſtoring, as we formerly ſaid, its Ancient Poſſeſſions, of which it had been robbed in times of Perſecution, the Oblations and Treaſures of the Church being before his time ſo very great, that the Biſhops of *Rome* might eaſily purchaſe much more than that one Patrimony in the *Cottian Alps*, containing a few Farms or Villages. He became a very great Benefactor by that Law mentioned by the (*b*) Author of his Life, by Virtue whereof; If none of the Kindred of Martyrs Confeſſors and Exiles were alive, who might ſucceed them as Heirs, it was Enacted, that every where, and for ever, the Church ſhould have and enjoy their Poſſeſſions. Theſe Incouragements his own Example and the Religious Inclination of Chriſtians, always affectionate in their firſt Converſion, were ſufficient Foundations for ample Structures. Many private Men gave not only Goods, but Lands and fair Poſſeſſions both to other Churches and that of *Rome*. *Proſper* (*c*) writes, that the Church of *Arles* was inriched with the Poſſeſſions that many beſtowed on it. So many and ſo ample Donations of Lands were made to the Church in St. *Auſtin*'s time, that both *Aurelius* (*d*) his Predeceſſor, and (*e*) himſelf alſo ſometime, refuſed Lands that were offered to be given, ſometimes reſtored them, and that unasked, after they were given. The like Donations might be ſhewed in other Churches, eſpecially in the *Roman*, to which they were ſo uſually made, that Chriſtian Emperours (as *Valentinian*, *Gratian* and *Theodoſius*) by their (*f*) Edicts did reſtrain them; and the like Laws were made in *Spain* and *France* in after-times, which were imitated by the Famous Statute of *Mortmain*, Enacted here in *England Novemb.* 4. in the Seventh Year of *Edward* the Firſt. But thus much of the Reformation of Religion by *Conſtantine*, carried on as the Times and Affairs would comport, the Progreſs and Perfection of it we ſhall diſcover in due time and order.

(a) *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 10. *c.* 5. *& vita Conſtant. lib.* 2. *c.* 39.

(b) *L.* 2 *c.* 36.

Such large Gifts to the Church, that enforceth a Statute of *Mortmain*.

(c) *De vita Contemp. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

(d) *Serm.* 49. *de diverſ.*

(e) *Poſſidonius in vita Aug. c.* 24.

(f) *C. Th. l.* 20. *de Epiſt. Eccl. & clericis.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Church Polity.

Order and Government abſolutely neceſſary.

1. THat Government and Order are neceſſary for the well being of Mankind, however diſtinguiſhed into Parties and Societies, is too evident to be diſputed; the Effects of them, and of their Contraries, are ſo convincing, that they equal the Cauſes of the moſt clear Demonſtrations. Such is the Depravity of Mens Minds and Inclinations, ſo violent their Tendency to all Miſchief, that they can no more ſubſiſt without Government, that live without Diſorders (if left to themſelves) and mutual Injuries. Therefore hath the wiſe Creator and Diſpoſer of all things, that he might regulate our Inconſtancy, and bridle the Extravagance of our wild and violent Affections, ordained his Deputies in the World, with a Rule for Direction, and a Rod for the Corruption of Manners, with that to lead, and this to drive us on in the right way, leſt the diſturbance of Order ſhould bring Confuſion, and Confuſion certain Ruine and Deſtruction.

2. Such being Gods Ordinance and Conſtitution in Civil Society and external Commerce, can it be ſuppoſed that equal Care ſhould be wanting for the Government of his Church, which is the *Houſe of God*, the *City of the living God*, the *Kingdom of his moſt dear Son.* He that takes ſuch Care for Kingdoms of the World, would he not make as good Proviſion for ſuch as he hath taken out of the World? If Diſorder, Confuſion and Anarchy be a thing to be dreaded in the State, is it not as much to be feared in the Church? God is no where the Father of Confuſion, but of Order and Peace, how much more than in that Spiritual Community? Where he Commands that all things be done Decently and in Order? But what Order can there be, where there is no Governour, where there is none that obeys, where every one may do what is lawful in his own Eyes? Therefore hath he appointed Stewards over his Family, Leaders over his Flock, Labourers over his Harveſt, Husbandmen over his Field, in ſum, Diverſities of Adminiſtrations both for the Building and Preſerving of his Church, which is the Body of Chriſt. In it hath he placed, as in the Humane Body, ſeveral Principal Members in Subjection and Subordination to himſelf the Head, which being as Eyes, Ears, Mouth and Hands, the Body might not ſeem Deformed and Maimed, nor be unable, for want of Help and Conduct, to look to it ſelf, or provide for its own Health and Security. But we muſt not ſuppoſe that Diſcipline is neceſſary in the Church meerly for to contain the People in Obedience, for regulating the Flock, and not for the Government of the Paſtors. This were to ſecure the Feet, and neglect the upper and moſt Principal Parts, which by how much they are more Excellent, the Diſeaſes of them are more Dangerous? The Houſe cannot ſtand, if the Builders themſelves pull it down, the Harveſt muſt be loſt, if the Labourers Scatter, and Gather not. If the Salt have loſt its Savour, wherewith ſhall it be Seaſoned? If the Light of the day be Darkneſs, how great is the Darkneſs of the Body? If the Leaders themſelves go Aſtray, the Souldiers muſt needs go aſide and Wander.

For Regulating the Paſtors as well as the Flock.

3. Yet in a thing of ſuch Conſequence, and wherein no leſs than the Welfare of the Body of Chriſt himſelf is concerned, a Polity and Government is not to be Framed according to the Pleaſure of Man, neither is his Fancy to be the Standard where Decency and Order are the utmoſt Bounds. An indeavour is to be uſed ever, that the ſame Adminiſtration of External Diſcipline be uſed in the Church, which our Lord himſelf hath taught, and from the Beginning of the World approved. Now that Polity which God appointed at the Beginning for the External Government of his People (the Internal by his Spirit in the Hearts of the Faithful we own and meddle not with) conſiſted in the Authority and Power given to Fathers over their Families. For he would that the Fathers ſhould be both Inſtructors and Governours to their Children, Nephews, and all under their Power, commanding their whole Off-ſpring to pay them Honour, Obedience and Obſervance, to acknowledge the Will of God revealed to their Fathers, and obey their Admonitions and Inſtructions in his Worſhip. A moſt certain

Paternal Government firſt appointed by God himſelf.

Conſule Bilſonum Epiſcop. Vintonienſem lib. de perpetua Eccleſiæ Chriſti Gubernatione cap. 1. &c.

certain Reward of this Obedience, was the Bleſſing of God pronounced by the Mouths of Parents, who alſo foretold the Curſe of God againſt Diſobedient and Rebellious Children. The Patriarchs of old were Prieſts and Prophets for their Progeny, and Magiſtrates alſo for the Government and Reſtrairment of them, it being the Will of God in thoſe times to have his People ruled only by Paternal Power. Hence in the Decalogue *Moſes* comprehends Princes *per Magiſtrates* in the name of Parents, and in the Old Teſtament almoſt every where Princes and Goverours are ſtiled Fathers, the Holy Ghoſt ſignifying that Princes ought to imbrace and tender their Subjects with the ſame Love and Care that Parents bear to their own Children, for as much as by Divine Inſtitution all the Power of Princes flowed from Paternal Authority. From *Adam* to *Moſes* we have deſcending a Power of Fathers over their Children, and Eldeſt Sons (except where by an extraordinary Providence the Caſe was altered) over their Brothers and the reſt of the Family, in a continued Series for the Government of the Church eſtabliſhed and approved by God, but of Equality or Colation in Government, neither any Precept nor Example.

A Select Tribe choſen to the Exerciſe of Holy things.

4. The Family of *Jacob* being grown into a Nation, that Domeſtick Diſcipline, as more agreeable to a Family than a Nation or Region, was abrogated; and out of Twelve Tribes one was choſen for the Exerciſe of Prieſthood, and the Charge of all Holy things; wherein, according to the Number and Order of ſuch Princes as deſcended from their common Progenitor *Levi*, God Ordained ſeveral Degrees and Dignities, for the Interpretation of the Law and the Service of the Altar, which Degrees were ſo regulated, that not only the *Levites* were under the *Prieſts*, but alſo of both ſorts ſome were inferior and ſubject unto others. Of the *Levites* were Princes ſuch as were Chief of the Families of *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*, the three Sons of *Levi*, after whom followed other Fathers who directed their Brethren the *Levites* in their Miniſterial Function, and whereof ſome were made Judges and Magiſtrates, as well elſewhere as in their own Cities, not only in the work of the Lord, but the Kings buſineſs alſo. And ſome of them were Aſſiſtants in the Great Council or *Synodrium* of *Hieruſalem*, to the Princes of the Prieſts and Tribes. Amongſt the Prieſts themſelves the Prime Dignity remained in the High Prieſt, who by Divine Inſtitution was Chief or Prince of the Princes of *Levi*, and was over the Chiefeſt Judges at *Hieruſalem*, as well Prieſts as others, in the Lords buſineſs. Which Honour was given him, not becauſe herein he was a Type of Chriſt, but becauſe this Form of Government was fitteſt for the Jewiſh Church: For neither *Aaron* nor any of his Succeſſors repreſented the Kingly Office of Chriſt; otherwiſe our Saviour had been a Prieſt after the Order of *Aaron*, as well as that of *Melchiſedeck*, if *Aaron* as well as *Melchiſedeck* had obtained as well the Dignity of King as Prieſt: but it is ſufficiently clear, that the Scepter belonged to *Judah*, and not to *Levi*.

Who govern it with equal Power, but are of different Orders and Degrees.

5. To the High-Prieſt (who ever ought to be of the Family of *Eleazar* and *Phineas*) was adjoyned another, as his Second or Deputy out of the Progeny of *Ithamar* the other Son of *Aaron*, to whom were ſubject the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites* in the Miniſtery of the Tabernacle. And from theſe two Roots as it were ſprung thoſe Four and Twenty (*a*) called Heads and Fathers of the Prieſts, amongſt whom *David* cauſed Lots to be caſt, that they might by turns ſerve in the Houſe of the Lord. And as they were ſubject to the former two Princes or Heads, ſo had they others (*b*) ſubject to them, as well Prieſts as Levites, whoſe Service they uſed in the diſcharging of their Courſes. Their number ſometimes failed both by reaſon of frequent Exile, and the decay of Families; but in the Old Teſtament they were called (*c*) Fathers and Heads of the Prieſts, and in the New Chief Prieſts or Ἀρχιερεῖς. Of both ſorts we ſaid not only Prieſts but Levites were Judges appointed and Governours of Cities as well others as their own Forty eight. And many Cauſes of greateſt moment were brought before them alone, or for the moſt part, as thoſe concerning Leproſie, Jealouſie, Secret Homicide, Falſe Witneſs and the like, in which Matters the People and Magiſtrates were bound to conſult and expect the Sentence of the Prieſts. But we muſt not forget that the moſt Doubtful Intricate and Weighty Matters were referred to the greateſt and graveſt Council or Sanhedrim, which being to ſit by Gods Command at the place where the Ark of the Teſtimony abode, in the time of King *Jehoſhaphat*, conſiſted of the Levites, Prieſts, and Heads of the Families of *Iſrael*, had *Amariah* the High Prieſt, Prince or Chief in all Matters of the Lord, and *Zebadiah* Prince of the Houſe of *Judah*, chief in the Kings buſineſs.

(a) 1 *Chron.* 24.

(b) *Nehem.* 12.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Mat.* 12. *v.* 16. *Mark* 11. *v.* 14.

This

This Sanhedrim thus Conſtituted in the time of *Jehoſhaphat*, a Prince moſt obſervant of the Moſaical Law, was but a continuation of that great Council of Seventy Elders whom God Ordained as Aſſiſtants to *Moſes* in the great Burthen of Government. Now although we ſhall not deny, that by reaſon of the peculiar Conſtitution of the Jewiſh Commonwealth under the Moſaical Law, no * neceſſary Conſequence can be drawn from the diverſe degrees of Prieſts and Levites, to the framing of the very ſame Polity in the Church of Chriſt, yet for Preſervation of good Order, that the Paſtors and Governours of Gods Flock may the better do their Duty, and not be found unworthy of their calling, either in reſpect of Depravity of Manners, or unſoundneſs of Opinion, the Wiſdom of God that evidently appeareth in the Levitical Polity, is not lightly to be eſteemed or rejected. For if in every well conſtituted Society Order is very neceſſary; and Confuſion, of which God never is Author, is with all Induſtry to be ſhunned; we neither ought to inquire for, neither can we find a more excellent or perfect Pattern of Church Government (ſo far as time, place, and the Condition of Perſons will bear) than what by God himſelf was ſettled and confirmed in the Church and Commonwealth of the *Jews*. And although that Government be not thoroughly known, neither is there neceſſity of being fully conformable to it, by reaſon of the many and various Differences and Diſproportions betwixt that Commonwealth and the Chriſtian Church, ſpread ſo far and wide amongſt ſo many and various Nations; yet this is clear, that God would not have that Church governed by all the Prieſts and Levites qualified with equal Power and Authority, but that he ſubjected ſome to others, as well in the Sacred Function as the Civil Government, and that all ſate not promiſcuouſly in that great Sanhedrim of the Seventy Elders, but ſuch only were choſen into that Aſſembly who were eminent for their Virtue, or Nobility of their Extraction. Hence it is evident from the Levitical Diſcipline, that the Government of the Church by Miniſters of unequal and differing Orders and Degrees, is more agreeable to the Wiſdom of God revealed in his word, than that which indifferently allows to Paſtors equal, or one and the ſame Authority.

* *Vide eund. cap. 2.*

Subordinate to each other.

6. Whilſt our Lord himſelf was upon Earth, although all Power in Heaven and Earth was given him, yet did he not manifeſt or challenge it till he was riſen from the Dead, but the External Government of the Church he left to others, as not ſo proper to the Son of God as to Mortal Men. His Kingdom was not of this World, but Spiritual, exerciſing his Authority over all in the Power and Majeſty of the Spirit, protecting and defending his Subjects againſt all outward and inward Enemies, and carrying on his work notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, in an irreſiſtible, though Secret and Spiritual way. The external Adminiſtration of Power, ſuch as was convenient for the Peace, Order, and Decency of his Church, he delegated to thoſe whom he made Leaders of his Flock and Stewards of his Houſhold, upon the removal of his Corporal preſence. Thoſe were his Diſciples of whom whilſt yet he was upon Earth he made two Orders or Ranks, one of Apoſtles, being Twelve Meſſengers inveſted with chiefeſt Authority; another of Seventy Perſons more in number, but with leſs Power, whom he ſent before him to Preach in each City or Town whether he ſhould come. They (not thoſe) were his conſtant Followers and Domeſtick Attendants, heard all his Sermons, ſaw all his Works, being choſen for this purpoſe to be certain and Eye-witneſſes to the World of his Doctrine, Miracles, Afflictions, Death and Reſurrection. They and no others were at Table with him at his laſt Supper, heard the Prayers he made, received his comfortable and incouraging words, and the large Promiſes he made at parting. To them did he aſſign the whole World as a Province to Teach and Baptize; and thoſe did he ſend as Ambaſſadors *à latere* not only to Preach the Heavenly Truth, and Found Churches throughout the World, but to direct and order in his Name and by his Authority, all the Faithful in all things concerning Faith and Manners; to preſcribe Order in Government of his Church, and therein Eſtabliſh what might be neceſſary for its Increaſe, Peace and Unity, for reſtraining the Rebellious and Refractory, Proviſion of Faithful Paſtors, ſtopping the Mouths of gainſayers, and delivering up to Satan ſuch as were incorrigible in Wickedneſs and Blaſphemy. And for all thoſe things they had moſt ample Gifts of the Spirit, and were indued with Power from on High.

Chriſt appoints his Apoſtles and the Elders in like manner.

7. In

7. In this manner of chuſing Diſciples and gathering the firſt beginnings of his Chriſtian Church, our Saviour ſeemeth to have reſpected the Jewiſh Polity, wherein Twelve Princes by Gods appointment were choſen out of the Tribes, one out of each, and afterwards Seventy Elders were joyned with the reſt in Council. By which diverſity both of number and degree, a difference appears clearly in the Dignity of Governours, both in the People of God and Chriſt's Church, and is evident in the promotion of *Matthias*, after the Treaſon and end of *Judas*, who was one of the Seventy. The Apoſtles had under them certain Diſciples, whom they ſtill took with them as well for eaſe as Company, and when they had been ſufficiently inſtructed, they partly ſent to plant other Churches, when they themſelves were called away into other places, ſometimes imployed in perfecting what was begun, reſtoring what was decayed, or otherwiſe as occaſion required: And for that they knew by reaſon of their conſtant Converſe the whole ſenſe and mind of the Apoſtles, they were appointed (as *Timothy* by St. *Paul*) to Ordain and Govern other Paſtors and Teachers, than whom they were therefore more eminent and of greater Dignity in the Church.

Nam qui provehitur de minori ad majus provehitur.

Par in parem non habet imperium.

† *Nam Apoſtoli omnes pari Conſortio præditi erant & poteſtate. Cyprian de unitate Eccleſiæ.*

Claves Regni cœlorum acceperant, & ſuper eos Eccleſiæ ſoliditate æquo fundatæ eſt. Hieronym. adverſus Jovinianum.

8. The Apoſtles were all of the ſame † Dignity and Power, not one placed above another as to Authority. Their Lord forbad them all Ambitious Deſires, which before his Reſurrection they were not free from harping ſtill upon a ſplendid Temporal Dominion, as their Country-men do at this hour, which the *Meſſiah* ſhould enjoy. As he checked ſuch Imaginations, and denied them the uſe of the Temporal Sword, (which as he found ſo he left to the Magiſtrate,) he was ſo far from forbidding them the exerciſe of juſt Authority over others, that he placed them in Dignity above all others in his Church, neither forbad them to receive any Names or Titles of reſpect, but ambitiouſly to ſeek after and deſire them. Neither did he joyn in equal Authority any Presbytery or Society of inferior Paſtors for the Government of the Church, much leſs any Lay-perſons, an Invention that bears not the Date of One hundred and fifty years, and never was heard of till of late time in the Church of God, whatever is pretended. The Apoſtles were furniſhed with admirable Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, but ſuch as were requiſite for the laying of ſuch conſiderable Foundations as thoſe of Chriſtianity; for converting the Incredulous that never had heard of *Chriſt*, and when they did, would be too apt to ſtumble at his Sufferings; for ſtrengthening the Faithful, who were but ſadly entertained by the unbelieving World; and for furniſhing ſo many Churches newly planted with careful and able Paſtors. The Church being ſettled, there was no neceſſity of the continuance of ſuch Miraculous Power. The Scripture is ſufficient in all Ages to declare the Truth; the Miracles then wrought give it ſufficient Teſtimony; the Authority of that firſt Commiſſion is ſtill continued by Succeſſion: The Abilities of Paſtors do not now appear on a ſudden, but ripen with time if they be induſtrious. Yet thoſe parts of Apoſtolical Office which lye in Teaching, Baptizing, Adminiſtring the Lords Supper, looſing and binding, laying on of Hands in the Ordination of Paſtors and Miniſters, theſe ſtill continue in the Church, and ſo muſt as long as the Church it ſelf continues. Theſe we may in fewer words diſtinguiſh into Doctrine and Diſcipline, Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, and the Power of the Keys and Ordination.

Vide Bilſonum ut ſuprà c. 7. &c.

9. The former did belong indifferently to all Paſtors and Miniſters of the Church, Preaching the Word and Adminiſtring the Sacraments, was their general Office and Duty whilſt the Apoſtles yet lived, who reſerved Power of the Keys and Ordination to themſelves. Such they choſe at firſt for Paſtors and Teachers, as were for their Age and Gravity moſt capable of Reverence and Honour, in which reſpect they were called *Presbyters* (from which word is derived the French *Preſtres* and our *Prieſts*) or *Elders*. Afterwards ſuch Young Men as were of ſpecial Abilities were admitted, and yet retained the old Name which uſe had made Familiar. The Apoſtles themſelves are ſometimes called *Presbyters* or *Elders*, as (*a*) St. *Peter* taketh that Title upon him, and thoſe Presbyters from their inſpection or overſight are termed *Epiſcopi* or *Biſhops*, thoſe Names being (*b*) promiſcuouſly uſed at the firſt Plantation of Chriſtian Churches, which were governed by all thoſe Presbyters in common under the Apoſtles. But afterwards, as (*c*) St. *Hierome* writes, Factions and Parties being made by ſuch as training and Baptizing ſought to draw Diſciples after them, it was Decreed throughout the whole World, that for the removing of Schiſm and Diſſentions, one of thoſe Presbyters ſhould be choſen and ſet over the reſt, and him to whom the

(a) 1 *Pet.* 5.

(b) *Philip.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *Act.* 20.

(c) *Ad Evangrium & in Tit.*

Schiſms ariſe in the Church by reaſon of the Equality of Presbyters.

the whole Care of the Church ſhould belong, they named (in a peculiar and eminent way) *Epiſcopus* or *Biſhop*. Indeed the Apoſtles at their firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, might not think it neceſſary to commit the Government of Churches unto *Biſhops*, becauſe the chief Authority of Impoſition of Hands, and binding and looſing they would keep in their own Hands; and being by *Chriſt* himſelf made Univerſal Biſhops and Overſeers; as alſo becauſe they would not commit ſo great a Charge to any, before they had had ſufficient Experience of their Fidelity, Gravity, Prudence and Learning; and alſo leſt they ſhould ſeem rather to ſtudy the Honour and Preferment of their Diſciples than the Converſion of Souls; therefore they ſuffered the Churches firſt to make trial of many Governours, from the equality of whom great Diſturbance and Confuſion ariſing, and they being called ſtill away into other places by freſh Occaſions, were neceſſarily conſtrained to ſet over each Church a Paſtor of approved Fidelity, which willingly received him, having by ſad Experience learnt what Diſturbances Hereſies and Schiſms the Wickedneſſes and Diſcord of Teachers had produced, and how unfit the confuſed Rule and equal Power of Presbyters was to prevent or remove thoſe Diſtempers. *Epiphanius.*

10. That thoſe Factions and Diſſentions ſpoken of by St. *Jerome* happened in the time of the Apoſtles, is evident from the Epiſtles written by St. *Paul* to the (*a*) *Corinthians*, (*b*) *Romans*, (*c*) *Galatians*, (*d*) *Philippians*, (*e*) *Coloſſians* and (*f*) *Theſſalonians*, and the Writings of (*g*) others of the Apoſtles. And St. *Hierome* himſelf (though thought none of the greateſt Friends of Epiſcopacy) beareth witneſs in that he compareth the Polity of the Chriſtian Church to that of the Jewiſh, and ſaith, the *Apoſtolical Traditions were taken from the Old Teſtament*, (h) *and what* Aaron *his Sons and the Levites were in the Temple, that may Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons challenge to themſelves*; clearly hinting, that as in the Temple amongſt Prieſts, ſo in the Church of Chriſt the Apoſtles made a difference betwixt Biſhops and Presbyters; as he doth in another place plainly affirm, that (*i*) *the Safety of the Church hangs on the Dignity of a Chief Prieſt (or Biſhop) to whom, if a free and eminent Power, after all the reſt, be not granted, as many Schiſms as Prieſts will be made in the Church.* Elſewhere, (*k*) *That afterwards one was choſen who ſhould be ſet over the reſt; a remedy was made in Schiſms, leaſt every one drawing to himſelf, ſhould break the Church of Chriſt. Now at* Alexandria *from* Mark *the Evangeliſt unto* Heracles *and* Dionyſius *the Biſhops, the Presbyters ever named ſome one Biſhop that was choſen from amongſt themſelves and placed in an higher degree.* Hence it appears plainly, that Epiſcopacy is of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, which the ſeveral Succeſſions of Biſhops in ſeveral Sees before the death of St. *John* make evident; ſo that the Superiority in Biſhops, which he ſaith was brought in rather by the Cuſtom of the Church than Divine Diſpoſition; rather reſpect ſuch Cuſtoms as were afterwards brought in by Cannons (ſuch were, that Presbyters could not Baptize without the Biſhops Licence, nor Preach in his preſence) at leaſt if the Apoſtles had no expreſs Command for it, as St. *Paul* (*l*) diſtinguiſheth betwixt that and his own Opinion and Judgment in the matter of Virgins; yet muſt we not think (as the Apoſtle in modeſty expreſſeth himſelf) that they had the Spirit of Chriſt, who would not doubtleſs leave them to a Fallible and Humane one, in a buſineſs of ſuch Conſequence, as the Government and well ordering of his Church.

(a) 1 *Cor.* 1.
(b) *Rom.* 16.
(c) *Gal.* 1. & 3.
(d) *Philip.* 3.
(e) *Coloſſ.* 2.
(f) 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 2 *Theſſ.* 2.
(g) 2 *Pet.* 2. 1 *John* 2. & 2 *John.*
(h) *Ad Evangrium.*
(i) *Adverſus Lucif.*
(k) *ad Evagr.*
(l) 1 *cor.* 7.

For prevention thereof Biſhops are made.

Epiſcopacy of Apoſtolical Inſtitution.

11. Such an Officer by the name of *Epiſcopus* or *Biſhop*, was choſen after this manner: When a Biſhop was dead, whoſe Church was furniſhed with many Presbyters fit to ſucceed him, the Biſhops neareſt to him of the ſame Province meeting together, agreed upon a day for an Election, which day they divulged both to the People and Clergy. At the day appointed both People and Clergy meeting in the Church, as many Biſhops as poſſibly could be preſent (but without Three nothing could be done) gave their attendance on the Election, and took notice of ſuch as the People and Clergy choſe. If all or the greater part of any Sort or Order unanimouſly pitched upon one Perſon, he was declared Elect, and a day was named for his Conſecration, his Name and the time of his Conſecration being affixed to the Doors of the Church, with warning, that if any one would object any thing againſt the Party to be choſen, they ſhould appear ſufficiently furniſhed for ſuch an Affair at ſuch a time and place. At the ſecond time of their meeting, ſuch Biſhops as aſſembled for Conſecration and Impoſition of Hands, if after diligent inquiry into the Manners of the Party, they found him ſuch a one as the Apoſtle had deſcribed, they

Cypr. l. 1. ep. 4.

The manner of chuſing or electing a Biſhop.

Ordained him Paſtor, and gave him a ſtrict Charge in the preſence of all the Multitude. If any Crime was objected, and proved againſt him, they judged him unworthy, and proceeded to the Election of ſome other whom both the Clergy and People did unanimouſly deſign to this Office. The Care of the Ancient Chriſtians in chooſing their Paſtors was ſo remarkable to the Heathens themſelves, that *Alexander Severus* the *Roman* Emperour is ſaid by *Lampridius* to imitate it as that of the *Jews* in this manner: For when he would make any Governours of Provinces or Chief Commanders, he publiſhed their Names, deſiring the People, that if any of them were guilty of any Crime, it might be evidently proved: And he ſaid it was a ſad thing that this ſhould not be done in the Provinces which Chriſtians and Jews practiced toward ſuch of their Prieſts as were to be Ordained. *In Alex. Sev.*

12. But it happening that in certain places there were very few Clerks, or ſuch as were not fit for ſuch a Calling, in ſuch a caſe they betook themſelves to the Biſhop of the Metropolis or Mother City of that Province, and of him they deſired either ſuch a Perſon as they themſelves made choice of, or one whom he himſelf ſhould commend to them. This way of looking after a Biſhop was called *Poſtulation* as the other *Election*. At their Petition the Metropolitan having adviſed with that Biſhop whoſe Clerk they choſe, and called to him other Biſhops (two at leaſt) Examined and Conſecrated him in like manner as the former, or ſome other, if juſt cauſe required, of more approved Integrity and Worth. For the reſtraining of the Factiouſneſs of the People, and the Ambition of the Clergy, the Biſhops of the ſame Province were commanded to be preſent, that they might take care leſt Corruption, Ambition and Tumult prevailed. And for a curb to thoſe Biſhops, leſt Hatred and private Favour ſhould diſturb or pervert the Work, the Metropolitan was to be made acquainted with the whole Proceeding before they could lay Hands on him: as if any one accuſed them as far more prone, and not indifferent as to the Parties concerned, it was proper to the Metropolitan to hinder their Attempts, and with the aſſent of the greater number of Biſhops to hinder the Election, if, upon Examination, they ſaw it requiſite. The *Nicene* Council, as to this Matter, Decreed, That *a Biſhop ſhould be Conſecrated by all the Biſhops of the ſame Province; at leaſt, that Three ſhould meet together and have the conſent of the reſt expreſſed by Letters before they ſhould lay Hands on him. And that if any were Conſecrated without the knowledge and Conſent of the Metropolitan, he ought not to be owned as Biſhop, and that upon diſſent the Matter was to be decided by the major part.* Of *Poſtulation* or calling for a Biſhop. *Conc. 4. & 6.*

13. From this moſt Antient of all General Councils, we muſt obſerve, that at that time there was a difference in Degree and Power amongſt Biſhops themſelves, that an Inſpection was given to ſome one over ſeveral others, that he was called *Metropolitan*, and the place of his Authority and Juriſdiction his *Province*: The *Metropolitan* was ſo named from the *Metropolis* or *Mother* City, ſo called either in reſpect of Colonies ſent abroad, which owned her as their Mother, or by reaſon of Power and Preheminence over and above the adjoyning Cities. This difference and relation being betwixt ſuch places long before the beginnings of the Chriſtian Church, when it came to be Eſtabliſhed, it found a neceſſity of modelling its Government according to the Secular Form. For long before Princes gave their Names to the Chriſtian Profeſſion, when the Church had no other means of diſtinguiſhing right from wrong, and Truth from Falſhood, but only by Synods, or the Meetings of Religious and Prudent Paſtors, there being no Chriſtian Magiſtrate, but the Swords being imployed not for, but againſt the Faithful in many exquiſite Perſecutions; ſuch Meetings were thought moſt convenient to be called by the Biſhops of ſuch Principal Cities or Metropolies, and for that ſome muſt neceſſarily præſide in them as Moderators and Governours, they were thought moſt fit ſo to do, and by ancient Councils are called *Metropolitans*, as alſo *Archbiſhops*. After the Converſion of *Conſtantine*, when Princes never had owned and imbraced the formerly diſputed and perſecuted Name of Chriſtians, they began to increaſe the number of Synods, and confirmed not only the Decrees of General Councils, but what was alſo reſolved on in Provincial Meetings, as wholeſome Remedies againſt Diſorders both of Church and State. And as by their Edicts, which had the Power of Laws, they referred Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to Eccleſiaſtical Judges; ſo did they take Care, that according to the Cannons, thoſe Metropolitans ſhould twice in a Year aſſemble the Biſhops of their reſpective Provinces, and

A difference in Degree and Power amongſt Biſhops.

The Chief called *Metropolitan* who præſides over the reſt in Church Matters.

and in thoſe Synods determine ſuch Differences and Conteſts as had happened in Matters of Religion. In proceſs of time buſineſs growing every day more large and intricate, and Biſhops neither being able to defray the Charges of ſo frequent and great Journeys, nor being well ſpared from their Sees, there was neceſſity of reducing Provincial Synods to one yearly Meeting, and in the mean time of committing the Cognizance of ſuch Matters as would bear no delay, would prove too tedious for the ſmall time allowed to their meeting, to the Metropolitan of that Province where they aroſe.

The Original of Metropolitans.

14. Some think the Original of Metropolitans of as high a Date as the time of *Timothy* and *Titus*. That it was moſt Ancient, appears from the Cannons as well of the firſt *Nicene*, as other General Councils which ſpeak of thoſe kind of Governours, not as lately ſet up, but as ordinary Officers of the Church, and take care (*a*) every Metropolitan City retain its ancient Dignity. And ſuch was the Government of the Church when perſecuted: After that *Conſtantine* had vailed the Faſces and Eagle of the Empire to the Croſs, and had quite changed the ancient Form of Subordinate Majeſtracy, the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction was alſo much altered: as well in the changing of Cities for Metropolitan Power, as erecting of new ſorts of Governours. The Eaſt felt the greateſt force of this alteration, (though the extravagance of the Emperours eſpecially ſay their *Roman* Æmulators,) but the Weſt alſo found a neceſſity, though not in ſo large a meaſure, of conforming the Eccleſiaſtical way of Adminiſtration to that of the Civil. For another Form of Provinces being made, and other Cities Erected into Metropolis, to the Biſhop of thoſe newly upſtart Cities was given the Title of Metropolitans, yet had they but the meer Title and place; no Metropolitical Authority or Juriſdiction, preceding their Colleagues of their ſeveral Provinces, and placed next to the Metropolitans, but ſubject to them as the reſt of their Fellow Biſhops. The Emperours might at their pleaſure divide and multiply Provinces, which if the Biſhops indeavoured to do, they incurred the pain of Depoſition.

(a) Τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθω τῇ ἐκκλησίας, Can 6. Τῇ μητροπόλει σωιζομένου τοῦ Οἰκείου ἀξιώματος, Can. 7. *Conſule Cann.* 12. & 17. *Concilii Chalced.*

15. It was conſidered that the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors had delineated and aſſigned the Limits and Borders of Church Government, according to the Dignity and Order of the ſeveral Cities, and that the reaſon was now the ſame, if poſſibly an Alteration without great Inconvenience could be obtained; that the leſſer Cities are dependent upon the greater, to which is dayly great Confluence upon the account of Traffick and publick Buſineſs; and much intercourſe neceſſarily being betwixt the ſeveral Biſhopricks and Pariſhes and Metropolitan Cities, it neceſſarily muſt follow, that there it is moſt convenient the Metropolitan ſhould have his See, where was the Metropolis for Civil Matters, that the ſeveral inferiour Officers of his Province might have the more eaſie acceſs to his Perſon: the force of which Conſequence appears manifeſtly in this, that where Cuſtom or a certain Veneration of particular Places or Perſons has confined the Metropolitan See to ſome private City in the Province, yet is the Prelate neceſſitated to reſide for the moſt part in the Civil Metropolis. To thoſe Reaſons as are moſt weighty, may be added that Honour and Eſteem that all Chriſtians have to the Perſon and Memory of *Conſtantine*. If the Apoſtles and Apoſtolical Perſons imitated in their Church Polity the Method and Order of Heathen Perſecutors, much more did it ſeem fitting and convenient to the Biſhops, to follow the pattern of ſo Pious and deſerving a Prince.

The place of his Reſidence.

16. Before this time therefore Biſhops being ſet over ſeveral Cities, and Metropolitans, or Archbiſhops over Provinces: When as the Civil Dioceſſes were appointed, whereof each contained ſeveral Provinces, it was thought fit that over every Dioceſs ſhould alſo one Biſhop be appointed to govern the Archbiſhops, as the Archbiſhops did the Biſhops. Where the *Preſidents*, *Conſolares*, and *Correctores* were, there ſate the *Metropolitans*. And when the *Vicarii* were brought up and ſet over the Governours of Provinces, *Primates* were conſtituted in the Church to overſee Metropolitans and other inferiour Officers. The *Vicarius* was over ſeveral Provinces, ſo was the *Primate*; the *Vicars* Charge was called *Diœceſis*, ſo was that of a *Primate*. From the *Conſulares* and *Preſidents* of Provinces, there lay Appeal to the *Vicars*, ſo did there to the *Primates* from the *Metropolitans* or *Exarchs*. From the Sentence of *Vicars* lay Appeal to the *Præfecti Prætorio*; and ſo from the *Primates* and *Exarchs* to the *Patriarchs* hereafter to be ſpoken of. But that in imitation of the *Vicars*, the Office and Dignity of *Primates* was Inſtituted, ſeemeth to ſome moſt demonſtrable from this, that before the time of

Primates Superior to Archbiſhops or Metropolitans.

Conſulat Motinum Exercit. lib. 1. 19.

Conſtantine there are no Teſtimonies nor Footſteps of any Juriſdiction of thoſe *Vicars*, neither in Eccleſiaſtical Writers any mention of *Primates*, *Enarchs* or *Dioceſſes* in this Senſe: All Hiſtories, Councils, that of *Nice* give only Priority of place to the Biſhops of *Rome*; *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem* own no *Biſhops* above *Metropolitans*, no *Dioceſſes* above *Provinces*, no *Dioceſſan Councils* above *Provincial*. But preſently upon the Inſtitution of the Vicars, and a diſtinction of their Dioceſes from Provinces, there is moſt frequent mention made of *Enarchs*, *Primates*, *Dioceſſes*, and *Dioceſſan Councils* in Eccleſiaſtical Authors; ſo that the firſt *Conſtantinopolitan* Council ſpeaks of them as already made and confirmed. Theſe *Primates* were called *Primates Patriarchales*, but in a ſtrict Senſe are not to be confounded with *Patriarchs*.

Patriarchs choſen in the Church.

17. The *Jews* had their *Patriarchs*, to whom were ſubject all the Synagogues in the World, which ſo far owned their ſubjection, that they paid them Tribute, as appears from the (*a*) Code of *Theodoſius*. This Tribute was called (*b*) *Apoſtole*, and ſuch as gathered it *Apoſtoli*, whoſe Office it was to execute the Commands of theſe *Patriarchs*, the Original of whom is to be derived no higher than the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Univerſal Captivity of that Nation. The *Montaniſts* it ſeems, in imitation of them, had alſo their Patriarch, as we learn from (*c*) St. *Jerom*, as ſome (*d*) obſerve from *Herodotus*, that the Heathen *Ægyptians* called their Chief Prieſt by that Name, of whom is to be underſtood that Saying of (*e*) *Hadrian* in *Vopiſcus*, and neither of a Chriſtian Patriarch nor the Jewiſh, as ſome would have it. The Chriſtian was of much a later Date, though the Romaniſts from ſome forged Writings will needs have them Inſtituted and Seated by the Prince of the Apoſtles. If they ſpeak by way of Anticipation, and will contend that ſuch Sees as were firſt appointed by the Apoſtles, came to be afterwards Patriarchal; we ſhall not at all contend, that the Patriarchal Sees (though not as Patriarchal) were by Apoſtolical appointment. But the Patriarchs themſelves were of a later Date than the firſt *Nicene* Council, no mention being made of them by any Chriſtian Writer of Credit, till about or after the Death of *Conſtantine*. As for the Epiſtles of *Anacletus* Biſhop of *Rome*, from whom the Cardinal Annaliſt, and others, would prove the Series of the firſt three Patriarchal Sees, and the Supremacy of the *Roman*; it and all the reſt of the Epiſtles of the old Popes are Spurious, being unknown to the World before the Ninth Century, and then ſuch were, as they are vented out of *Spain* into *Europe*, as (*f*) many have ſufficiently evinced. Of as ſmall Credit are the Councils held under them: And the Sixth Cannon of the *Nicene* Council, though it takes care for the Power and Precedence of thoſe Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, conforming them to him of *Rome*; yet doth it not ſpeak of them under the Name and Title of *Patriarchs*, but as *Metropolitans* or *Primates*.

(a) *C. Theod. l. ult. de Judæis.*
(b) *Vide Bertii Pithanon. l. 2. c. 1.*
(c) *Epiſt. 54.*
(d) *Baron. Ann. ad annum* 111.
(e) *Ipſe ille Patriarcha cùm Ægyptum veneret ab aliis ſerapidem adorare ab aliis cogitur Chriſtum.*
(f) *Poſt alios fuſe Blondellus in Pſeudo Iſidoro & Turriano vapulantibus.*

In Imitation of the *Præfecti Prætorio*.

18. *Patriarchs* therefore ſeem to have been ſo named and obeyed, in Imitation of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, though there be no full conformity as to their number, there being at firſt but Three of them, and Four of the later. The firſt Three were the Metropolitans of *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, the preciſe time of whoſe Promotion is not known. Afterwards the Metropolitan of *Conſtantinople* by the Decrees of the Councils of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon* obtained that Dignity as moſt congruous to that Imperial Seat, which had the Title and (*a*) Priviledges of *New Rome*. After this the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was dignified with the ſame Title, who had anciently been graced with particular Reſpect and Honour, yet ſo that the Biſhop of *Cæſarea* (ſo unwilling were the Ancient Fathers to change the Cuſtoms of the Church) retained all Rights and Priviledges of *Metropolitan*, which the *Nicene* Council alſo confirmed. But at length Favour prevailed for this moſt Ancient Church, which as a (*b*) Romaniſt obſerves, is ſtiled by *Theodoret*, *Mother of all Churches*, and by *Juſtine* the Emperour, *Mother of the Chriſtian Name and Profeſſion*; upon this account, that from Her all other Churches were diffuſed throughout the World. And after many endeavours uſed, this Honour was obtained for her, as we read in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, notwithſtanding the violent reſiſtance of *Leo* the Great, Biſhop of *Rome*, who, as one ſays, alluding to the Speech of *Lyſander*, and that Popes Name, to the Lyons skin ſewed the Foxes, and omitted nothing that might hinder the Promotion of thoſe two Sees; inſomuch that ſome grounding their Opinion on a place in *Gulielmus Tyrius*, have thought that Dignity was not Eſtabliſhed and Confirmed to *Jeruſalem* before the Fifth Council in the time of *Juſtinian*.

Five in all.

(a) Τὰ τῆς Ρώμης πρεσβεῖα.
(b) *Betlerius Pith. Diatr. 2.* p. 150.

19. Such

19. Such was the Polity of the Ancient Church, conformable as to place and Dignity with that of the State, then which a more Commodious could not be invented, both for preſerving Peace, and ſafe to every Biſhop his proper Juriſdiction. But we ſhall ſee how the Partition of Dioceſſes and Provinces agreed.

The Church and State alike in its Government.

As the *Roman* Empire was divided into two general Parts or Worlds (ſo (*a*) ſometimes they ſtiled them) ſo was the Church diſtinguiſhed generally into Eaſtern and Weſtern. As in the Eaſt there were Seven Dioceſſes, and Six in the Weſt, beſides the Præfecture of *Rome*, in like manner the Church had of old its Four-

The Eaſtern Diviſion of the Church.

teen Dioceſſes. Thoſe of Eaſtern both Church and Empire were, firſt *Egypt*, the Provinces whereof, as alſo thoſe of *Libya*, *Thebais* and *Pentapolis*, were ſubject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*. 2. The Eaſt more particularly ſo called, ſubject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. 3. *Aſiana*, whoſe Provinces belonged firſt to the Primate of *Epheſus*, afterward to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Patriarch. 4. *Pontica* the Metropolis whereof was *Cæſarea*. 5. *Thracia*, which with its Provinces *Greece*, *Achaia*, and others, were under the Inſpection anciently of the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* as Primate of the Dioceſs, afterward ſubject to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. 6. *Macedonia*. 7. *Dacia*.

(a) *Conſpirant gemini fœnis communibus ab Claud. Gemini commercia mundi. Vide Berterium & Uthorpium contra Spalatenſem Morinem in Exercitationib.*

20. In the Weſt we alſo found Seven Dioceſſes. Hereof the firſt was the

The Weſtern.

Roman, which contained the * *Suburbicarian Provinces*, ſubject in Civil Matters to the *Emperours Vicar*, in Eccleſiaſtical to the *Roman Patriarch*, and are in any wiſe to be diſtinguiſhed from the Provinces of *Italy*, and were Ten in number: Three Iſlands, *Sicily*, *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, with Seven others in that Tract of *Italy* lying on the Eaſt and South, as 4. *Campania*, 5. *Tuſcia*, 6. *Picenum Suburbicarium*, 7. *Apulia* and *Calabria*, 8. *Brutium*, 9. *Samnium*, and 10. *Valeria*, all which were ſubject to the *Roman* Patriarch, and Conſtituted his proper and peculiar Dioceſs, and extended no farther Weſtward than the River *Magra*, the limit of *Hetruria*, and that called *Aſius* but *Eſis* by *Pliny* and *Blondus*) not far from *Ancona*, which manifeſtly appears in that one part of *Picenum* is called *Picenum Suburbicarium*, and the other *Annonarium*; ſo that in that Country the *Suburbicarian* Provinces were terminated. The Second Dioceſs of the Weſt, was the *Italian*, containing Seven other Provinces of *Italy*, *viz. Venetia* with *Iſtria*, *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* with *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Rhætia Secunda*, all which in Civil things obeyed their Vicar, and in Eccleſiaſtical the Metropolitan of *Milaine*; in which reſpect this City is called by St. *Athanaſius* the Metropolis of *Italy*, as *Rome* of the *Roman* Juriſdiction. The Third Dioceſs, the *African*, wherein ſometime were numbered more than Two hundred Biſhops and ſeveral Metropolitans, all which with their Provinces, were ſubject to the Biſhop of *Carthage* as their Primate. The Fourth *Illyrium*, which formerly had its Primate and Provinces, but was afterwards ſubjected to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. The Fifth *Gall*, which once owned *Auguſta Treucrorum* or *Triers* for its Metropolis, and the Biſhop of *Triers* for its *Primate*, but thence transferred the Dignity to *Arles*. The Sixth *Spains*, the Metropolis whereof *Hiſpalis* ſeems firſt to have been, but afterwards, together with the Royal Seat, the Dignity was transferred to *Toledo*. The Seventh *Britains*, in the Plural number alſo, the Metropolis of which was anciently *York* as it is conjectured, where the Emperours, when in this Country, reſided. But many agreed, this Honour was conferred on *Canterbury*, the Biſhop whereof is Primate, or (to uſe the words of (*a*) *Malmsbury*, and the Gloſs (*b*) of the Canon Law) *Patriarch* of the whole Dioceſs; and in a ſober Expreſſion *alterius orbis Papa*, Pope of another World. Thus was anciently the Church divided into Dioceſſes, according to the Form of the Empire, much altered in following Ages by Emperours and Councils, as we may ſee hereafter, eſpecially by the *Roman* Patriarch after his Incroachment and Uſurpation; ſo that the Marks of thoſe ancient *Dioceſſes* are hardly to be found out, or the Footſteps of their *Patriarchs* and *Primates* not eaſily diſcovered.

* *Nec obſtat differentia à Morino inter urbicarias & Suburbicarias allegata.*

(a) *In Prolog. de geſtis Angl. Pontif.*
(b) *Cap. cleros Diſtinct. 21.*

21. Thus we ſee the Church its Polity, in reference to the Diviſion of Places under their ſeveral ſorts of Prelates. Now muſt we conſider their Power, and ſo deſcend to inferior Miniſters.

Conſule Berterium ubi ſuprà. Et Morinum.

The Power of Patriarchs.

The *Patriarchs* Power was great in the Creation of *Metropolitans* and *Biſhops*. From *Metropolitans* Appeal lay to his Tribunal; he appointed Judges, and took cognizance of their Cauſes, called Synods of his Dioceſs, and decided other great and weighty Affairs. Of all theſe Five the *Roman*, becauſe of the Quality and Antiquity of the City, was firſt in Order, but in Dignity and Juriſdiction Collateral, not Superior. For the *Nicene* Council gives as much Power and Authority to him of *Alexandria* in

in *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, as the *Roman* had over the *Suburbicarian* Provinces,and *Juſtinian* the Emperour ordained that the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana Prima* in *Pannonia Secunda*,ſhould have the ſame Right and Priviledges over the Biſhops, ſubject to him,as the *Roman* Pope had over the Biſhops within his juriſdiction ; and on the *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinopole*, were conferred equal priviledges; as his City was advanced to the ſame Dignity with *Rome*, though the Elder in order præceded the Younger. As for the Titles given to the *Patriarch* of *Rome*, however Glorious they may ſeem to ſome, and to portend ſome Principality, Juriſdiction and Power over others,yet are found but common to him with others. Great are the Epithetes given to St. *Peter*, from whom his Holyneſs would derive his Pedigree; yet as great are given to St.*Paul*,his Colleague. " Is St. *Peter* called head of the Church? ſo are all " the(*a*)Apoſtles. Is he ſtiled *Pontifex* or Biſhop of the Church? ſo is St. *Paul* of the " (*b*)whole World: Who hath alſo as good reaſon to be called(*c*)*Pilot*,and Govern- " our of the whole World,as one Ship,(*d*)and *Pilot* of the Church ſtronger and more " ſolid then *Peter*; who was ſhaken grieviouſly by Temptation, both to deny and " diſſemble. Had St. *Peter* the care and charge of the whole Church ? ſo had (*e*) St. " *Paul* of the whole World, which to preſent unto God, ſo as it might be acceptable " to him was his great endeavour. If *Peter* be ſaid to have had abſolute and moſt " ample power over the Church, ſo had all the Apoſtles, as the Romaniſts them- " ſelves confeſs;(*f*)was *Peter* called Prince of the Apoſtles? ſo alſo was *Paul*.(*g*)All " the Apoſtles were (*h*) *Petræ* as well as he: St. *Paul* ſaith himſelf he was (*i*) no- " thing inferior to the chieſeſt Apoſtles. And therefore with good reaſon doth St. " *Cyprian* affirm that all the(*k*) Apoſtles were furniſhed with equal Conſortſhip and " Authority.

That of *Rome* but equal, not ſuperiour to the other four.

22. No Title of Honour was anciently given to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but the ſame was alſo beſtowed upon others. Is he called *Papa* or *Pope*, ſo is alſo (*a*) St. *Auguſtine*, and this Title was anciently common to all Biſhops, as thoſe indifferently converſant in Antiquity do know : But as the word *Tyrannus* was once (*b*) common to all Kings, but afterwards through the inſolence of ſome particular Perſons became proper to ſuch whom the Modern ſignification doth moſt concern, ſo came this Title to be chalenged in after Ages, and yielded to the *Roman* Uſurper; is he ſtiled *Pater Patrum* and *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, which Honour (*c*) *Tertullian* grudgeth him ; ſo is *Lupus* the Biſhop of *Gall* by (*d*) *Sidonius*, as (*e*) *Magnericus* Biſhop of *Triers*, *Culmen honorificum*, and *Patrum Pater Archſacerdos*. In general Councils (*f*) *John Biſhop of Hieruſalem*, (*g*) *Sergius* of *Conſtantinople*, By *Theodore Balſamon*, (*h*) *Marck Biſhop of Alexandria* are called *Patres Patrum*, as indeed all not only *Patriarchs* but even *Arch-Biſhops* and *Metropolitans*, becauſe ſet over many *Biſhops* are called both *Patres Patrum* and *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum*. We grant the Biſhop of *Rome* had not only the Dignity of *Patriarch* but is alſo ſtiled *Patriacharum Epiſcopus*, Biſhop of *Patriarchs*; but ſo might in ſome ſence, not only he, but all other *Patriarchs* ; to whom *Metropolitans* were ſubject, who becauſe they preſided over many Biſhops or Fathers ; therefore were anciently called *Patriarchs*.

Their Titles of Honour the ſame.

23. He of *Rome* is ſtiled *Summus Sacerdos*, *Pontifex Maximus* and *Princeps Sacerdotum* : High Prieſt, greateſt Pontifie and Prince of Prieſts ; ſo is (*a*) St. *Athanaſius* called Chief Prieſt of Chief Prieſts ; (*b*) *Fælix* ſaid to have overthrown the Government of Chief- Prieſt-hood ; the Fathers in the Council of *Orleance* ſtiled (*c*) *Summi Antiſtites*, and others (*d*) elſwhere *Pontifices in ſummo ſacerdotio Conſtituti*, as the Biſhop of *Antioch* and he of *Alexandria* is termed by (*e*) *Rabanus*, *Summus Epiſcopus*, *Princeps Epiſcoporum*, and *Pontifex Maximus*. By *Gelaſius* every Biſhop is called *Summus Sacerdos*, and in old Time that Title and the other of *Summus Pontifex* was ordinary and common, as that of *Princeps Sacerdotum* to a *Metropolitan*, order being taken in the (*f*) Council of *Carthage* that for the time to come, none ſhould be called either *Princeps Sacerdotum* or *Summus Sacerdos*, but only the *Biſhop of the firſt See*. Farther as he aſſumeth the Title of *Chriſts Vicar*, this is applyed by a (*g*) Father to all Biſhops ; if he be termed *Pillar of the Church* ſo is (*h*) *Athanaſius* by *Nazianzen*, and all (*i*) Biſhops by a Pope himſelf, as all Biſhops and Preachers are called by *Gregory* the *Foundation of the Church*. He had the Name of *Head of the Church*, but St. *Athanaſius* is alſo ſtiled by (*k*) *Baſil head of all*; and is ſaid by *Nazianzen*, to *have given Laws to the World* : *Venantius* the Poet giveth the Epithets of *Splendor*, *Apex fidei*, *caput Pontificum* to *Nicetius* of *Triers*. *Conſtantinople* is by *Chryſoſtome* called *Metropolis of the whole World*, by *Nicetas*, *Queen of Cities*, and by *Juſtinian*, *of all the Cities the Head*.

24. All

* *Vide Trileſacum de Sacr. Epiſt. author. c. 9.*

ἴσα πρεσβεῖα.

(a) *Beb. lib. 1. or Pontif. c. 11.*
(b) *Chryſoſt. hom. 2. in Tit.*
(c) *Idem hom. 25. in 2. ad corin.*
(d) *Idem hom. 2. ad* Roman.
(e) *Idem de præfect Evang. & hom. 1. de laud. Pauli.*
(f) *Beb. lib. 1. de Pontif. 11.*
(g) *Idem ibid. c. 27. v. Greg. 7. apud Stat.*
(h) *Origin. hom. 1. in Matth.*
(i) *2. Cor. 12. 11.*
(k) *de unitate. Eccleſiæ.*
(a) *Heron epiſt. ad Auguſt. quæ eſt 3. inter Epiſt. Aug.*
(b) *Vide Partis Inſtit. primæ. Lib. 2. c. 2. §. 1. Paragr. 2.*
(c) *de pudic. lib. 1.*
(d) *L. b. Epiſt. 1.*
(e) *Venutius. lib. 3. c. 11.*
(f) *Sub Menua Act. 5.*
(g) *In gennali 6. Act. 13.*
(h) *L. 5. Reſp.*
(i) *Evagrius L. 4. c. 11. Berter. Diat. 2. cap. 4. & Baron. ad ann. 533. num. 36. Caſſidd. l. 9. Epiſt. 15.*
(a) *Nazianz. Orat. 22. ad Heron.*
(b) *Ambr. epiſt. 5. l. 1.*
(c) *1. cap. 3.*
(d) *in Conc. Agath. can. 6.*
(e) *L. 1. de Juſt. cler.*
(f) *can. 26.*
(g) *Chryſoſt. hom. 7. in Matth.*
(h) *Orat. 18.*
(i) *Ep. 3.*
(k) *Epiſt. 52.*

24. All Biſhops, as well as he, are termed (a) *Paſtors of Chriſts Sheep*, (b) Athanaſius *Governour of Gods Houſe*, of whom *Nazianzen* Writes that the *Præfect-ſhip, or Government of the univerſal World, was intruſted with him*; St. Cyprian *Doctor of all Chriſtians, and* (c) *Oracle of the univerſal Church*, and (d) *Succeſſor of the Apoſtles*, as all Biſhops are who were *ſeated in their places, throughout the World*, and received the Titles of (e) *Spouſes of the Church*. He takes the Title of *Univerſal* or *Oecumenical Patriarch*, and ſo was ſtiled *John* of *Jeruſalem* by the whole (f) *Conſtantinopolitan Synode*, as *Mennas* often by a (g) *General Council*, and by (h) *Juſtinian* the Emperour, ſo was *Sergius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in the (i) *ſixth general Council*; and *Tharaſius* in the (k) Second held at *Nice*, and not only by the Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, but by (l) *Hadrian* of *Rome* himſelf. To all Biſhops indeed, (m) *care of the univerſal Church is committed* by *Chriſt*; as ſeveral Popes confeſs, and therefore by Argument drawn from the (n) greateſt Champion of their Uſurpation, they are *Univerſal Biſhops* in a ſober ſenſe: But in any other, that one ſhould have Juriſdiction and Authority over all the reſt; neither the *Roman* nor any other can challenge that Title.

(a) *Cyprian l. 3. Ep. 15.*
(b) *Naz. Or. 18.*
(c) *Spolat. de Rep. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 7.*
(d) *Rabanus ubi ſupra c. 4. & 5.*
(e) *Euariſt. Ep. 2.*
(f) *Sub. Menna Act. 5.*
(g) *Act. 4. & alibi.*
(h) *Novel. 42*
(i) *Act. 13.*
(k) *Act. 3.*
(l) *Epiſt. ad Tharas. in Conc. Nicen. Act. 2.*
(m) *Johanni & Eleutherius in Epiſt.*
(n) *Bel. lib. 1. de Pontif. c. 31.*

25. Neither was he in moſt Ancient Times, accounted ſuch an *Oracle of Faith*, as to be reckoned Maſter of *Eaſt* and *Weſt*; as appeareth from St. *Cyprian*, who refuſed to be inſtructed by him; in the Caſe of Re-baptizing, from *Familianus* and the whole *Eaſtern* Church in the ſame cauſe, which call him *proud Fool* and a *Counterfit Chriſtian*: From St. *Irenæus* and *Polycarpe* in the Controverſie about *Eaſter*, who accuſe him of raſhneſs and perverſeneſs; ſuch an Oracle was he accounted by the *Africans* in the time of St. *Auguſtine*, when endeavouring to eſtabliſh his Supremacy by the way of *Appeal* in thoſe Provinces, he was branded by them with Pride and Fraud in Corrupting, and Perfidiouſneſs in violating the *Nicene Cannons*. Such was the Infallibility eſteemed, when *Liberius* was taxed for *Arianiſm*, *Vigilius* for *Neſtorianiſm*, and *Honorius* for the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*, by the whole Church; when *Hildebrand* for his Doctrine of depoſing Kings, and abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, was by all good Men and ſeveral Councils eſteemed a Violator of all Divine and Humane Laws, as Maſter of Perfidiouſneſs and Perjury, a Tyrant and even Antichriſt himſelf; when *Leo* the Tenth his opinion of his own Holyneſs, his Superiority above a Council, was cenſured as Heretical by all Orthodox Men, and for 1400. Years none had ever doubted of the contrary: What Authority he had in ancient Times, either in promoting or degrading his fellow *Patriarchs*, we may ſee clearly in the Caſe of the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, which notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of *Leo*, was confirmed by a general Council; in that of *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch* (an admirable Perſon if *Baſil* may be believed) whom *Damaſus* of *Rome* had by his Sentence deprived, which Sentence was rejected by the ſecond general Council; and in that of *Athanaſius*, who was not reſtored after his ſeveral Baniſhments and Perſecutions by the Biſhop of *Rome*, (as *Sozomen* falſly Writes of *Julius*) but by Imperial orders, and the judgment of the Council of *Sardis*; how great an eſteem the ancient Fathers had for his Infallibility or Authority we find when *Cyprian* and *Formilian* being rebuked by *Stephen*, they reply upon him, as an arrogant Fool and a Counterfeit Chriſtian; when the Eaſtern Biſhops rebuked by *Julius* Excommunicate, deprive him, and by their Letters, ſignifie to all other Biſhops that they neither admit him into Communion, Write to him, or receive any Letters from him: When *Dioſcorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, cenſured (and juſtly) by *Leo*, durſt give ſentence againſt, and Excommunicate him; when *Vigilius*, whilſt Orthodox was Synodically Excommunicated by the African Biſhops, and when he turned to be a Defender and Patron of the three Chapters, was condemned and Anathematized as an Heretick, by the fifth general Council: Infinite were examples in this kind. Well might the *Roman* Patriarch have precedence in order, as agreeable to the Dignity of the City, which though ſhe was Queen of the Empire, yet could not create him any Title to one ſingle (not to ſay a Triple) Crown.

His pretended Supremacy rejected by all.

Inſtances of their Coequal Power.

26. To (a) *Patriarchs* only, after the Emperours, was that Royal Ceremony of having Fire or Lights carried before them, an ancient Cuſtom in the time of *Balſamon*, and taken firſt out of *Perſia*. Other Enſigns of Honour they had, which became afterwards common to the *Metropolitans*, as Croſſes, Palls, &c. Next to the Patriarch was the Primate, and although not in Dignity, yet in Power equal to him, if we believe (b) *Gratian*; but this opinion ſeemeth to have proceeded from the ambiguity and promiſcuous uſe of the Words, which in this Controverſie of Church Government hath begot ſtrange Errors and Contentions,

Enſigns of Honour pay'd then to *Patriarchs*.

(a) *Balſam. in reſpons. ad Patriarch. privileg.*
(b) *Diſtinct. 99. De primat.*

as

as will be ſeen hereafter ; ſeeing there were other *Primates* beſides the five *Patriarchs*, who owed ſome ſort of obedience to them receiving , and performing their orders in aſſembling Councils and other buſineſs. And as theſe *Primates* were diſtinguiſhed from *Patriarchs*, properly ſo called, ſo alſo Conſtituted a peculiar Degree and Dignity above other *Metropolitans* ; notwithſtanding what ſome Object from an Epiſtle of Pope *Boniface*, that *two Provinces could not be ſubject to one and the ſame Perſon*: For not to make uſe of what might be objected againſt theſe Epiſtles ; this expreſſion may well be admitted in this ſence, that no one Perſon could ſo præſide over two Provinces, as to exerciſe the Function of a *Metropolitan* in any other than his own Province: For when Primates were ordained any where, care was taken to preſerve the Rights of *Metropolitans* inviolate, as appears from ſeveral examples. But though Preſidents ſhould fail in this Caſe, yet the nature of the thing doth evidently demonſtrate it : For if the Primate ſhould exerciſe the office proper to a *Metropolitan*, what need were there of a *Metropolitan* ? if a *Metropolitan* that of a Biſhop in his Province , what need were there of a Biſhop ? Therefore the Biſhop his Paræcia is ſubject to him in a certain and peculiar manner , wherein it is not ſubject to a *Metropolitan*: The Caſes of Viſitation, Appeal, and others Canonical excepted, otherwiſe there would be Biſhops, but all Biſhops, Vicars, or Vicegerents only of *Metropolitans* ; but as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, there is one Biſhoprick, whereof all are partakers in *Solidum* : So is a Province in ſo peculiar a manner, ſubject to a *Metropolitan*, as not to a *Primate*, except in Caſes expreſſed in Law ; and whatſoever a *Metropolitan* may do in his Province, a *Primate* may not ; elſe there would be no *Metropolitans*, but all Vicegerents of *Primates*. And ſuch is the eaſe of a *Patriarch*, in reference to that of *Primates* ; the ſeveral Rights Patriarchical, Exarchical, Metropolitical and Epiſcopal being diſtinct and ſeveral, whereof none could be juſtly invaded : The *Patriarch* in his own Parœcia exerciſe Epiſcopal juriſdiction ; viſited thoſe under him, aſſigned them Governours, and did other matters too long to be recited : In his own Province he had Metropolitical juriſdiction, not Epiſcopal ; in his Dioceſs Exarchical or that of a *Primate*, not Metropolitical nor Epiſcopal ; in his Patriarchate, he had Patriarchical, not Exarchical, Metropolitical or Epiſcopal.

Conſulat Morinum Exer. 23. & 24. l. 1.

Patriarchical, Exarchical, Metropolitical, Epiſcopal Juriſdiction diſtinct.

27. To *Primates* therefore firſt, this is obſerved to have been due as a Priviledge to approve and confirm Biſhops and *Metropolitans* Canonically Elected. Secondly, They examined and paſſed judgment on ſuch matters as had been determined and judged in Provincial Synods. For from Provincial Synods, appeal lay to *Primates* ; and Thirdly, To them belonged the Celebration of *Dioceſan* Councils, ſummed out of ſeveral Provinces , *Primates* having Authority, when they judged it convenient, to make ſuch Aſſemblies. Fourthly, They were appointed as Watch-men in ſo many Watch-Towers ; and Overſeers in the Name of the *Patriarch*, to inquire and obſerve, whether Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline was diligently obſerved ; and affording, an helping and healing hand where it was wanted. Inſomuch, that they had not only power of calling Synods of ſeveral Provinces , but in urgent Affairs, to ſend for Biſhops out of divers Provinces, and with them to debate and ſettle Matters ; which was given to the Biſhop of *Arles*, by ancient cuſtom in the days of *Gregory* the Great, who defines twelve to be a compleat number of ſuch Aſſiſtants. Fifthly, They gave Certificates of Letters, commendatory to all *Clerks*, *Metropolitans* and *Biſhops*, travelling out of their Dioceſs ; by vertue whereof they might be received into Communion with other Churches : That thoſe things were always and univerſally true cannot be ſaid, but often or for the moſt part, and never juſt except the Authority of Princes was therein duly conſidered ; who, beſides their undoubted right of being nurſing Fathers to the Church, are owned by thoſe * that would rather place that honour in the Biſhop of *Rome*, as Author of new Sees in the time even of *Juſtinian*.

Idem ibid.

The Priviledge and power of Primates in the Church.

* *Fileſacus eos Demetrio Chomatero Balſamone & alsis l. de ſacr. Epiſt. author. C. 7.*

28. It appears from the Preface to (*a*) one of the Emperours Conſtitutions, that this Power then reſided in Princes, to change and make new Sees of *Metropolitans*, the Authority of whom, we are next to conſider : of *Metropolitans* there were two ſorts, in latter times, one, which was ſubject to the Primate, and another that acknowledged no Subjection ; ſuch thoſe Arch-Biſhops accounted themſelves, that were not ſubject to any Primate. And ſuch were all the *Metropolitans* of *Africk*, who were called Primates, but never Exarchs ; as (*b*) one obſerves, as if this name was only proper to the Primates of Dioceſſes (not of Provinces) ſuch as the Biſhop of *Carthage*, who by (*c*) *Leo* the Ninth, is ſtiled *Maximus Africæ Metropolitanus, the greateſt Metropolitan of Africk*: And yet (*d*) *Juſtinian* glories that he had ſet that Biſhop over all *Africk*, and the ſame Perſon obſerves, that he

(a) *Novell.* 11.

The Authority of Metropolitans.

Two Sorts of them.

(b) *Berterius Pythan. Diatr.* 1.
(c) *Epiſt.* 4.
(d) *Novell.* 131.

he rather reſtored him to his Dignity, after the *Vandals* were expelled that Country, than beſtowed any new honour on that See ; ſo that if the other Biſhops were ſubject to him, they muſt be ſubject to him not as a Patriarch, but a Primate, and therefore could not properly and ſtrictly be ſtiled Primates themſelves : However, if they owned no ſubjection to Primates, their Power though not their Dignity, was ſuitable to theirs. If under their inſpection their juriſdiction was ſubordinate to theirs, as that of the Primates to the Patriarchs in matters of Synods, Appeals, and other matters, lyable to the cognizance of Superiours; they preſiding in the manner and Governing thoſe Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, that were within the limits of their Metropolitical juriſdiction.

29. For in the *Greek* or *Eaſtern* Church, it's manifeſt that for ſome time there was a diſtinction betwixt Metropolitans and Arch-biſhops, who Conſtituted a peculiar Rank or Order betwixt them and Biſhops. And for that time the Arch-Biſhop was within the juriſdiction of the Metropolitan : At length thoſe Arch-Biſhops were exempted from their power, and ordained by the Patriarch, as appears from *Balſamon* and the *Notitia* of Metropolitans and Arch-Biſhops ſubject to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Patriarch, to whom *Innocent the Third* Biſhop of *Rome*, after *Conſtantinople* was ſubjected to the *Latins* willingly aſcribes that Office. But excepting this caſe of the *Greeks*, Arch-biſhops were the ſame with Metropolitans, having the ſame power of Ordination, aſſembling Synods, and receiving Appeals within their reſpective Provinces, if in Priviledge and Authority they were really ſuch ; for we find that in the Eaſt towards the decay of the Empire, there were ſome called Arch-biſhops, who had no juriſdictioon over other Biſhops, meerly titular, and ſo named only becauſe they had honour and præcedence before their fellow Biſhops of the ſame Province.

Chalced. conc. can. 12. *vide Morinum p.* 77. *&* 217. *Bertrium pith. diatrib. 2. c.* 3.

Titular Metropolitans.

30. The Power, Office, and Authority of a Biſhop (wherein all thoſe ſorts agree) being in power and juriſdiction, not in order diſtinct from one another) is moſt weighty and conſiderable, moſt controverted, and of late impugned. At firſt the Presbyters as we ſaid under the Apoſtles in common care and Council Governed the Church ; but by degrees neceſſity of Peace and Order brought the Goverment upon one mans ſhoulders, though ſupported by the aſſiſtance of others; for what St. (*a*) *Cyprian* ſaith of after times, may well be applyed to the moſt Primitive, that thence *Hereſies and Schiſms aroſe, becauſe Gods Prieſts was not obeyed, and ſome one was not thought of, who for a time ſhould be Judge of the Church, in the room of Chriſt* ; by which words he means not the Biſhop of *Rome*, as ſome vainly imagine but himſelf.

The Power, Office and Authority of Biſhops in the Church.

(a) *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 3

31. The moſt certain note of difference betwixt Biſhops and Presbyters, this became, that in every City were ſeveral or many Presbyters, but only one Biſhop, except any by force intruded and made a Schiſm, or the Biſhop by reaſon of Sickneſs or Age, was neceſſitated to have an aſſiſtant ; who yet in his preſence was of no Authority. Another note and a part of his power was impoſition of hands upon Biſhops and Presbyters, called Conſecration and Ordination, which (*b*) St. *Jerome*, otherwiſe thought no friend, makes peculiar to him in the moſt Primitive times, although in his own, the Cannons had given much more authority to a Biſhop, in this duty, the Presbyters preſent (at the Ordination of a Presbyter) as appeareth from the Fourth Carthaginian Council, were to lay their hands alſo on the Head of the Ordained, whilſt the Biſhop held his thereon, and bleſſed the Party, rather in teſtimony of their conſent, than as partakers in the Office of Conſecration, which the Church believed ſo proper to Biſhops, that Presbyters of themſelves could not perform, and therefore (*c*) declare ſuch as was performed by them as null, nay although the (*d*) Biſhop impoſed his hands becauſe a Presbyter read the words of Conſecration; Sometimes it happened that a Biſhop had (*e*) but one Presbyter under him, who might for juſt cauſe be removed elſewhere, yet that this Biſhop having not a Presbyter left, might ordain others if he would, and if he could make none of his own, might have elſwhere ſome to ordain according to the number he had loſt : Whereby it appears that a Biſhop though he had not a Presbyter at all to Celebrate the Office of Ordination with him, might alone by himſelf either ordain his own Clerks, or thoſe procured from other places : All Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, which have been made againſt the Corruptions in ordaining Prieſts and Deacons, ſpeak in the ſingular number of one, not in the plural of many; as pointing at the Biſhop as the Agent, who if any offence againſt the Cannons was committed, was ever puniſhed ; not the

Conſecration and Ordination being peculiar to them.

(b) *Ad Evagrium Quid facit excepta Ordinatione Epiſcopus, quod Presbyter non facit.*

(c) *Athan. Apol.* 2. *in tit. Presb. Marit ad Canos & Philagr.*

(d) *Concil. Hiſpal. Can.* 4.

(e) *Vide Concil. Africa. c.* 56. *& Carthag.* 3. *c.* 45.

Presbyters who were not parties, but only Acceſſories or Witneſſes to the Principal.

32. From the end of their Inſtitution (which was to prevent Schiſms, and eſtabliſh Power and Peace in the Church) we may well gather, that beſides the power of Ordination, they had the other Priviledges (and Tasks) by St. *Paul* conferred on *Timothy* and *Titus*, viz. Of examining, reproving and removing ſuch Presbyters as were guilty of unſound Doctrine, and corrupt Manners; which were to continue till the coming of Chriſt, not ending with thoſe two, and therefore if belonging to any as their Succeſſors, certainly to Biſhops, who præſiding in their ſeveral Churches, had Paſtoral and Fatherly Power over both People and Presbyters under them, according to their Office: They had and have the Authority of the (*a*) Apoſtles in the Church, to bind and looſe, elſe how could they puniſh and Conſtrain, and without puniſhment no awe, and without awe, none can preſerve Peace and Order. Where they could not be themſelves preſent, to Preach and Adminiſter the Holy Sacraments, they provided for ſuch places, fit and convenient Paſtors, that they might be Rightly and Chriſtianly inſtructed; took care leſt any Hereſies, Errors or Diſſentions crept up amongſt them; afforded them their Council in doubtful matters, their aſſiſtance in difficult, and without troubling the whole Province, put an end to their private Controverſies and Contentions, excellent effects of Paſtoral Care and Vigilancy. Beſides thoſe things that were connative with their Office, ſucceeding Ages for the ſame reaſons thought fit to enlarge the Bounds of their Power and Priviledges; that all things might be done in Peace, Decency and in Order. Hence came it that by proviſion of Cannons and Cuſtom of the Church, they had many other Prerogatives; as Reconciliation of Penitents, Confirmation and Impoſition of hands on the Baptized, Dedication of Churches and the like: And ſo great was the power intruſted with them, that (*b*) no Presbyter could baptize without the Biſhops Licenſe, nor Preach if he were preſent, in ſome places.

Other priviledges.

(a) *Greg. hom.* 26.

(b) *Hieron. contra Lucif. & ad Nepotianum.*

33. Nay, as ſoon as Eccleſiaſtical Matters came to ſome Form, Regulation and Order, and the Government by Biſhops Prieſts and Deacons eſtabliſhed: Biſhops within their own Dioceſs had the ſole power of Holy Functions, and (although at the firſt beginning of Chriſtianity, moſt things might be common to Presbyters and Biſhops) Prieſts and Deacons might be added to them, to aſſiſt them, and be employed according to occaſion, and their Abilities by their overſight and diſcretion; ſo that a Prieſt might not Baptize nor Adminſter the Holy Communion, nor Teach nor interpret the Scriptures; *de loco Superiore Eccleſiæ*, as St. *Auguſtin* calls it, or *de Cathedra*, as St. *Ambroſe*, as a διδάσκαλος or a Doctor (for ſo they were then called, that did it either of their own Authority as Biſhops, or was allowed it as Prieſts, according to the Preaching now in uſe) without peculiar allowance of the Biſhop of that Dioceſs. In many places Prieſts were not allowed to do it; it was not then thought to belong to them, but the task of the Biſhop alone, becauſe he in his Office repreſenting more immediately Chriſt himſelf, was looked upon as him from whom Holy Offices were derived: Which made him ſo abſolute in his Dioceſs, that it was accounted great Uſurpation for any Man to challenge any power in Spirituals (as ſuch) but under him, and by his deputation. By reaſon alſo of the inſufficiency of every Prieſt, for ſuch an imployment, as Preaching or Teaching by way of Authority (ſuch as our Pulpit-preaching) which gave them the Title of διδάσκαλοι or Doctors as witneſſeth (*a*) St. *Chryſoſtome*, who tells us, that *to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt* (in this manner) *it's well if one or two may be found that are fit: But to baptize, any man that is a Prieſt*, and *therefore*, ſaith he *to this day we commit Baptizing* (which he only mentions, though much more did belong to a Prieſt, becauſe St. *Paul* only mentions it in the place he explains) *to the weaker, but the buſineſs of Preaching or Teaching to them that are more Learned or Wiſe.* And *Balſamon* upon the Cannons affirms that to *teach the People* (in this manner) *was granted unto Biſhops alone*, that *to teach the People of God, and interpret divine Decrees, was granted by the grace of the holy Spirit unto the Biſhops only, and to them that are permitted and Authorized by them.*

Having the ſole power of their Dioceſs, in Preaching and giving Licenſe ſo to do.

(a) *Ad 1 Corinth. c. 1.*

34. Both by *Sozomen* and *Socrates*, we are aſſured that in *Alexandria*, the Biſhops only did Preach or Teach the People in this manner; and in the numerous *African* Churches, as witneſs both St. *Jerome* and St. *Auguſtin*, till *Valerius* his time (by whom *Auguſtin* was conſecrated) Prieſts were not allowed to preach; this

this Office being accounted one of the Biſhop his peculiar priviledges)at leaſt not in the preſence of their Dioceſan: Nay, ſo ſtrict was the Ancient times in preſerving the abſoluteneſs of a Biſhop in his Dioceſs, that by ſome Cannons ſuch Biſhop was puniſhed with Depoſition, as preſumed to preach in anothers Dioceſs, without Licence firſt obtained, much leſs could any Prieſt belonging to any other Biſhop do it, who by the Canonical Laws, could not exerciſe his Function or Prieſthood without approbation, to which were required Letters Commendatory from his Prelate; in thoſe times Biſhops whether at home or a broad, if no lawful impediment (as Age, indiſpoſition of body, urgent occaſions, publick buſineſs (ſtrong enough to procure Diſpenſation) did hinder, thought themſelves bound to preach every Sunday, and by ſome Cannons of Councils in ſome places were bound ſo to do; which Cuſtom was much followed in the days of our Famous Queen *Elizabeth*, and eſpecially by that (*a*) Jewel of *Salisbury* (one of the greateſt Divines, and moſt pious Biſhop that ever lived) who to the intreaties of his Friends, adviſing him to preach ſhort and more ſeldom, that he might preach long, was wont to oppoſe that ſaying of (*b*) *Veſpaſian* altered and fitted to his own office, *Oportet Epiſcopum Concionantem mori.*

And puniſhable if with out Licence of the Dioceſan.

(a) *conveniunt rebus nomina ſæpe ſuis.*

(b) *Oportet Imperatorem, ſtantem mori.*

35. But as Biſhops, their proper work ſeemeth to be Government rather than preaching, and ſo much the Etymology of their name hinteth to us. Indeed being the Miniſters of Chriſt in an eſpecial manner, their office includes all univerſal Duties; which as the ſtate of the Church requireth according to its neceſſities, are to be diſcharged by them, ſo that in times of Ignorance they ought to preach, and other whiles as others Comport, behave themſelves in their general practice, not only acting themſelves, but overſeeing alſo others; directing and ruling Prieſts in their Eccleſiaſtical Functions: By which Acts they are chiefly diſtinguiſhed from inferiour Miniſters. Now beſides theſe *Epiſcopi* or Biſhops, there were *Choreipiſcopi*, ſo called from the Country or Villages which they Governed. Their original is by ſome fetcht from Apoſtolical Inſtitution, as if they were made as Succeſſors to the Seventy Diſciples, as Biſhops are to the Apoſtles; but it's uncertain both what time they began,and when preciſely they came to their period. *Gratiancites* (*a*) Pope *Damaſus* telling the Biſhops of *Africk*, that they were then forbidden throughout the World; but his Succeſſor, *Nicolas* writes an Epiſtle to *Hosbaldus* as *Chorepiſcopus*, ſo that *Sormandis* (*b*) the Jeſuit with reaſon affirms both the Epiſtles of *Damaſus* and *Leo* the firſt, concerning theſe *Chorepiſcopi* to be ſpurious,and from Pope *Nicolas* in his Epiſtle to *Radulphus* quotes thoſe words in imitation *of the ſeventy,Chorepiſcopi were ordained, concerning whom,who can doubt but they had the Offices of Biſhops? Gratian* aſſigns this difference betwixt them and Biſhops,that Biſhops could not be ordained but in Cities,but they in Villages; Biſhops granted Letters called *Formatæ* or *Dimiſſoriæ* (by which one was exempted from the juriſdiction of his Biſhop, which were wont to be given with great Solemnity) the *Chorepiſcopi* could only grant Letters Commendatory (called alſo *pacificæ*, granted to Clerks travelling, whereby they were commended, that they might quietly execute their Office in other Dioceſſes) although the Gloſs denies they could grant them, and makes them only proper to the Biſhops, who alſo had the right of Conſecration, whereas the *Chorepiſcopi* could only confer the leſſer orders. That pretended Epiſtle of *Leo*, reckons up Ten ſeveral things which belong to the Office of Biſhops, the *Chorepiſcopi* were not to meddle with. (*c*) *Fileſacus* tells us that, a Biſhop being ordained by Hereticks, if afterward he became Catholick, was made *Chorepiſcopus*: But thoſe ſorts of Prieſts which we may call puny Biſhops (being betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter) grew out of uſe by degrees,and Rural (*d*) Deans came in their room (as it's ſaid) but with a more reſtrained power.

Biſhops govern as well as preach.

Chorepiſcopi ordained.

(a) *Quem conſule diſt. 68. & 50. ſtudeat.*

(b) *Antioch. 2. contrà Patrum Aurelium.*

The office of Presbyter, Prieſt or Curate.

(c) *Ex conc. Regienſi in Gallia Narbonenſi can. 3. tract. de orig. parœch. c. 2.*

(d) *vide moreuſim in cucchi Juſt. Canon lib. tit. 3.*

36. The next in the order of this Hierarchy, was the Presbyter or Prieſt, who by direction and under the inſpection of the Biſhop,Celebrated Divine Service, Adminſtred the Sacraments, and preached Gods Word; of all thoſe the *Paræcus*, Parſon or Pariſh Prieſt, is moſt conſiderable. *The rank of Curates* (the ſame with our Parſons, in French called *Curès*, *ſaith* Gerſon, (*a*) *is the next in order to that of Biſhops; it's manifeſt, in that the ſame Hierarchical duties are incumbent upon them as upon the other, although not in ſo excellent a degree: For it's their duty to Purifie thoſe committed to their charge by conviction and reproof, to illuminate them by Teaching and Preaching, and to adminiſter the Satraments; and they are bound, if occaſion be, as well as Biſhops, to lay down their life for their Sheep*

(a) *Patre. 3. de Concil. Evangel. & ſtatu perfectionis.*

Sheep; ſo that when Chriſt ſent abroad the Seventy Diſciples, to whom ſucceed Curates, both according to the opinion of Divines and Lawyers, he committed in effect the ſame Charge to them as he did to the Apoſtles. Elſewhere (*b*) he writeth that *this rank of Curates was figured in the old Law by the Levites, that it was Inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the very beginning of the Church, which Inſtitution became more evident by the Declarations of Popes, and as well General as Particular Councils.* So doth *Gerſon* deſcribe this ſort of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, and without any Partiality, although being Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, he was alſo *Curè* or Pariſh Prieſt of St. *John* in *Grave* in the ſame City, as his Learned Country-man *Fileſacus* (*c*) engageth himſelf to evince.

(b) *De Statutis eccleſiaſticus tit. de ſtatu curatorum conſid.* 1.

(c) *De Paræciarum Orig. c.* 4.

A *Pariſh Prieſt* deſcribed

37. He deſcribes our *Parœcus* or Pariſh-Prieſt, to be *one aſſigned to ſome certain Churches, as having the overſight of a People, in behalf of which he officiates, which he is obliged to teach, and to Adminiſter the Holy Sacraments, and who for ſo doing ought to be maintained by the Offerings of thoſe that are committed to his charge.* Concerning their Original, he ſuppoſes certain Prieſts to have been Ordained at firſt by St. *Peter*, as the number of the Faithful increaſed in *Rome*, and from the Pontifical Hiſtory of Pope *Damaſus*, indeavoureth to prove that they were reduced to a certain number by *Cletus*, and he Proſecutes their Hiſtory as well to other places as *Rome*, proving that in moſt antient times, Pariſhes in many Countries were Eſtabliſhed. Here let our Reader take notice of the ſeveral ſorts of Names by which this Prieſt is called. Sometimes *Paræcus* and *Parochus*, ſometimes he is ſaid to be a *Presbyter, Ordained or Inſtituted in a Pariſh or Church*, for by the Sixth Cannon of the Firſt Council of *Chalcedon*, no Prieſt is to be Ordained, but to ſome certain Place or Church, which Law was indeed of force in the moſt Primitive times. At *Rome* it being ſometimes requiſite to have ſeveral Prieſts in one Church, over them all one was ſet, who was therefore called *Presbyter Cardinalis* or *Principal Prieſt*, which Title was not confined to the City, but given alſo to other Prieſts, whoſe charge lay in the Country. Sometime he is called *Presbyter* or *Prieſt* ſimply without any addition; other whiles he is underſtood by the word *Sacerdos*, ſometimes ſtiled *Rector Eccleſiæ, Proprius Presbyter, Presbyter Parochianus, Presbyter Plebis*, and *Plebanus, Presbyter Parochitanus* and *Parrochialis, Clericus Paræcialis, Clericus Localis.* And, as in Councils he is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Presbyter* not ſeldom, as being more truly ſo than others under him, ſo is he called ſimply *Clericus*, as Principal or above other Clerks. In more late times we meet with the names of *Curio* and *Curatus*, not derived from the antient *Roman Curiones*, as ſome have imagined, ſeeing it was never heard of till thoſe latter Ages, but from the care and ſollicitude they ought to have for their Flocks; and it was firſt brought up by the Cannons of the *Gallican* Church. We in like manner have the word *Perſona* or *Parſon* peculiar to us in *England.* And it muſt not be omitted, that this ſame Prieſt is ſometimes called *Presbyter* and *Clericus Dioceſanus.*

Their Original.

Their ſeveral ſorts of Names.

Curatus whence.

38. For in the antient Monuments of the Church, it is often found that the words *Dioceſis* and *Paræcia* are promiſcuouſly uſed. *Dioceſis* ſometimes ſignifies the ſame thing which we in the preſent Modern Sence call a Pariſh, although moſt commonly by it is meant a Territy of great Extent both in an Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Senſe, as formerly we have obſerved. By *Paræcia* (rather to be written † *Paroecia*) at the beginning of Chriſtian Religion, and not a few Ages after, was not meant a Society or Communion of Neighbours meeting at the ſame Church, but that which we call now a Dioceſs or a Biſhoprick. *Fileſacus* traces it down beyond the Nephews of *Charles* the Great, as far as *Arnulphus* the Emperour. This promiſcuous uſe of Names which we find to be very frequent in the Hierarchy, is to be attributed partly to the extent of their ſignification, many being applicable to the ſame Perſon and thing in ſeveral reſpects, partly to the viciſſitude of all Humane Affairs, wherein Language hath a very great ſhare, nothing more depending upon the Fancy of the Vulgar: and partly to the Latitude of the Chriſtian Church, which extending it ſelf through all places and Countries, no wonder that it receives diverſity of Terms, for we ſee particular Regions, though of the ſame Language in groſs, yet have ſeveral Dialects and Idioms. Notwithſtanding the promiſcuous uſe of words, the things themſelves are not ſo hard to be diſtinguiſhed, but that their diverſity may be

Dioceſis and *Paræcia* what.

† *From the Greek magiſtri.*

diſcourſed

diſcovered by unprejudiced minds, although with that difficulty which ever accompanies matter remote, and of ſo large a diſtance.

39. At length we arrive at the loweſt ſtep of thoſe Sacred Promotions, and that is the Office of a Deacon. To a Deacon it (*a*) belonged to aſſiſt the Biſhop and Prieſt, and miniſter in all things concerning the Sacraments of Chriſt, to receive Offerings, and Preach (or read) the Goſpel, the New Teſtament being delivered to him for this purpoſe. To him alſo belonged the Offices of Prayer, writing of the Names of ſuch as were to be Ordained, Baptized, the Dead and Excommunicate. He was wont to exhort unto Prayer, and give notice in the Celebration of Divine Offices, give the uſual Bleſſing, and publiſh the Feſtivals of the Church. Such was the Polity of the Antient Primitive Apoſtolick Church for the main, Ordained and Eſtabliſhed by Chriſt's Apoſtles, circumſtantiated according to the Exigence of Affairs, and that Liberty which our Saviour hath left to his Officers in Matters of Prudence, Decency and Order. And no other ſorts of Orders dare we acknowledge of Divine Right; the (*b*) *Romaniſts* themſelves confeſſing that the leſſer ſorts have no ground in Scripture. *Dionyſius* who calls himſelf the *Areopagite* owneth only the Three Orders of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons. The Cannons that go under the name of the Apoſtles, reckon but Five, of Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, Readers and Chanters. The Maſter of the Sentences himſelf confeſſeth that the Church in ſucceeding times Ordained Sub-deacons and Acolythi, ſo that farther the Canoniſts for their number of Nine, nor the Divines for that of Seven, can bring any certain thing out of the beſt and pureſt Antiquity. But how theſe might come in, as alſo concerning the nature of their Offices, beſides concerning the Original and Nature of other Dignities, which the Prudence of latter Ages thought fit to Eſtabliſh, we ſhall ſpeak upon occaſion in their due and moſt proper place.

The Office of a Deacon in the Church.

(a) *Diſt. 25. Perlectis.*

Dominus vobiſcum pax vobiſcum.

(b) *Forinus Jeſuita cont. 26. n. 2.*

(c) *Lombard. 4. diſt. 24. lit. I.*

40. But having given a proſpect of this ſtately Primitive Building, it remains to ſhew, how in an Humane way it was maintained, how theſe Officers ſubſiſted, what was the Sallary of theſe Spiritual Souldiers, and what ſtrength the Secular Arm afforded to the Spiritual, in the erecting of its Authority and Power. At firſt all things were common amongſt Chriſtians, afterward this Community ceaſing, when the cauſe was removed, this Cuſtom was introduced, that all Contributions towards the Maintenance of the Miniſtry ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the Biſhop. This being divided into Four parts, he himſelf had one, his Clergy another, the Third was diſtributed to the Poor, and the Fourth was reſerved for the Repairing of Churches; thoſe times of Perſecution affording all ſorts of Diſcouragements to needy Perſons, and being ſo far from Contributing to the ſupport of thoſe Religious Edifices, that they rather were imployed in Burning the Temples and Worſhippers together. At this time Prieſts were Arbitrarily ſent into ſome certain place or Pariſh by the Biſhop, whoſe Revenues and Work were not then ſo great, but that he could eaſily undergo the trouble of Inſpection over his whole Dioceſs, inſomuch that all Dues were paid to him, and by him to his Clergy; which Dues, if Credit may be given to an Arabick Cannon of the Firſt *Nicene* Council, were Collected by the care of the *Chorepiſcopus*.

The Sallary of the Spiritual Souldiers.

Beda lib. 1. c. 27.

41. After that Chriſtianity was more diffuſed and ſettled, and that particular Churches were aſſigned to Reſidentiary Incumbents, a more certain way of Livelyhood was obtained, and the Maintenance of the Miniſter became the Burden of the Soil. When Kings once became Nurſing Fathers and Queens Nurſing Mothers to the Church, Biſhops were preſently provided of an ample and certain Revenue. Their Endowments conſiſted not in Tithes, but in good Temporal and Forable Land beſtowed on them by Princes and other Benefactors. This appeareth out of the Code (*a*) where we find ſeveral Laws of *Conſtantine* the Great, and other Emperours, down to the time of *Juſtinian* himſelf, both for conferring of Lands upon the Church, and ſuch Lands as ſhould neither be Barren, nor burdened with Statute or other Debts of the Exchequer, as alſo for the preſerving of Lands in ſuch manner conferred: and if thoſe Emperours had any occaſion to change the Lands of the Church, they would ever (*b*) allow them ſuch as ſhould be of as good value or better. Pariſh Prieſts were maintained by Tithes which were paid even before the Reformation by *Conſtantine*, as appeareth from St. *Cyprian* (*c*) who adviſeth the Clergy of his time, ſeeing they had

(a) *Lib. 1. de ſacros. Eccleſ. & de Epiſc. & clericis tot. tit.*

(b) *Authent. de non alterand. herred. Eccleſ. &c.*

(c) *Epiſt. 66.*

had Tithes allotted for their Maintenance, that they ſhould not withdraw themſelves from the Service of God. The orderly aſſignment of Tithes to every Pariſh is aſcribed to *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, who in imitation of St. *Paul's* appointing Biſhops in Cities, is ſaid alſo to have made and diſtinguiſhed Pariſhes about the Year 266, into ſuch Form as now they retain. *Cod. lib.* 1.

42. Then foraſmuch as it was neceſſary that the Spiritual Power ſhould be ſtrengthened and aſſiſted by the Temporal, purity of Doctrine in the Church not always procuring goodneſs of Manners, that which to ſome is Religion, being to others no more than Faction, and Love being too cold to procure perfect Obedience, except it was backed by awe and fear; to Biſhops was granted peculiar Juriſdiction by Chriſtian Emperours, Thoſe extended to Perſons and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, ſuch as touched the Soul and Conſcience, and appertained to Charitable and Godly Uſes: To the Laity alſo ſo far forth as it either concerned their Souls Health, or the external Government of the Church in things decent and comely; or as reſpected poor and miſerable Perſons, ſuch as Widdows, Orphans, Captives, and ſuchlike helpleſs People, or where the Civil Magiſtrate could not be come by, or willfully delayed Judgment, in which Caſes the Prelate was to diſcharge the Office both of an upright Judge and an Holy Biſhop. Againſt Hereticks and thoſe that diſturbed the Peace of the Church, they had Power alſo granted, not only to confute them by Learning and rational Diſcourſe, but alſo to ſuppreſs them by Authority. All which the Fourth Book of *Juſtinian's* Code doth ſufficiently declare.

Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs given to the Church.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the firſt Nicene *Council called by* Conſtantine, *to the Apoſtacy of* Julian.

The ſpace of Thirty ſix Years.

1. CONſtantine having delivered the Church from Perſecution and other external Preſſures, it began ſpeedily to be more afflicted than uſual by internal Evils. The pinching Cold of Adverſity makes us keep cloſe and unite together, nipping the Paſſions of Strife and Æmulation in their Bloſſoms, but in the Sunſhine of Proſperity we ſeparate our ſelves, and the evil Roots of Pride, Vain-glory, Hatred and Contention, then put forth and ſprout amaine. One *Arius* gave the occaſion to theſe Diſtempers, a Man born (for publick Miſchief) as moſt Writers ſay in *Alexandria*, Educated at School in *Antioch*, where he attained a Competency of Humane Learning, and having by his good Parts grown into Fame for Philoſophy, fell to the Study of Divinity. Thence furniſhed with competent Learning, he returned to *Alexandria*, where he ſo well behaved himſelf, that he was admitted to be a Deacon by *Peter* the Biſhop, but joyned himſelf with the Diſciples of *Meletius*, who had made a Separation from that Church, accuſing the Biſhop of Auſterity, for not having received *Meletius* too readily to Communion after he had, for fear of Death, offered Incenſe to the Heathen Gods. After the Martyrdom of *Peter*, at his return to *Alexandria*, he was by *Achillas* his Succeſſor, reſtored to Communion with them, and ſo continued till he was become one of the Presbyters there, and till *Achillas* died. He ſeemed then a Competitor with *Alexander* the following Biſhop, and failing of his Expectation, grew diſcontented, and thence fell into the itch of diſputing certain Principles of Religion, and hard Points (as Hereticks are obſerved to do) in the concourſe of People.

Arius a diſcontented Heretick.

Niceph. l. 8. c. 9. Theodor. l. 1. c. 1. &c. Sozom. l. 1. c. 14. Epiphan. l. 2. Tom. 2. Her. 69. Soc. l. 1. c. 6.

Diſputing about the *Trinity* gains ſeveral Proſelytes.

2. Having the Advantage which ſo abſtruſe and high a Point as the Myſtery of the *Trinity* affords, beſides the Ignorance of the Times, and the eaſineſs of Vulgar Spirits, he made ſuch progreſs in his deſign, that he had ſoon gained Seven hundred Women, ſuch as placed Sanctity in the Profeſſion of Virginity, beſides Seven Presbyters and Twelve Deacons, before *Alexander* the Biſhop took any notice of it. At length *Miletius* having diſcovered it by the Poyſoning of certain of his own Sect, *Alexander* by Preaching and Argument endeavoured to obviate the growing Miſchief, wherein *Arius* found himſelf ſo concerned, that he fell into a Conteſt, and poſſeſſed the People with an Opinion that their Biſhop maintained the Doctrine of *Sabellius*, ſo that *Alexander* was conſtrained to Aſſemble a Provincial Synod, as well to juſtifie himſelf from ſuch unjuſt Aſperſions, as to determine the Matter concerning *Arius*. But he managed the Affair with too much mildneſs, inſomuch that the *Arians* were rather emboldened.

But is condemned by a Provincial Synod.

For although the Synod determined againſt the *Arian* Tenets, and inhibited *Arius* from further publiſhing any ſuch Opinions, yet, when they came to Subſcribe, Ten Perſons refuſed, as well as *Arius*, of which number Five were Presbyters, and as many Deacons: The Multitude was ſtill for the neweſt Opinion, and was prejudiced much againſt the Truth by that Reverence which now it bore to the Perſon of *Arius*. For he had a ſmooth and flattering Tongue, was of a winning Behaviour, though ſerious Aſpect, and indeed every way a goodly Perſon; a very prevalent means to procure reſpect (even *Cæteris imparibus*) from ordinary Capacities, eſpecially thoſe of the weaker Sex.

His Tenets.

3. Now therefore he held and publiſhed theſe following Doctrines with more Reſolution and Animoſity. "Firſt, That the Son of God is like unto God in "Name only, but not in Subſtance. Secondly, That the Father, Son, and Holy "Ghoſt, are not of the ſame Nature, Power and Majeſty, inaſmuch as the Father "alone is the Inviſible God, and alone to be Worſhipped; the Son may be called "God;

Philaſtr. de hæreſ. Caſſiod. trip. hiſt. lib. 1. c. 12. &c. Niceph. l. 8. c. 5. &c. Hieron. Aug. &c.

" God, but is a created God, being the Son of God by Adoption, and not by " Nature, for there was a time when he had no being at all. Thirdly, That yet " the Son of God was the firſt Creature that ever God made, and was made " of thoſe things which have no exiſtence, and is the moſt excellent of all " Creatures. Fourthly, That the Son of God is the Inſtrument of God his " Father; by whom he made all other Creatures, yet doth he not know his " Fathers Secrets, nor comprehend his Nature and Eſſence. Fifthly, That the " Son is not Infinite as his Father is, for when he lived in the World with " Men, he was not then in Heaven with his Father, and that his Kingdom ſhall " end with the World. Sixthly, That the Holy Ghoſt is a Creature, Created of " the Son of God, knowing neither the Secrets and Nature of the Father nor the " Son, being much Inferior in Nature and Dignity to them both, their Subject " and Servant.

4. *Arius* refuſing to ſubſcribe the Decrees of the *Alexandrian Synod*, and proceeding in the publication and owning of his Opinions, was with his Followers ejected from their ſeveral Benefices, and from Communion with the Church. Yet, as it happened in ſuch caſes, being eſteemed Confeſſors for this their Suffering, and more eſteemed by the Ignorant and prejudiced ſort, was he ſo much flocked after, that Tumults aroſe, and ſeveral Outrages were committed, to the great Scandal of the Chriſtian Faith. The Proceedings of the *Alexandrian Council* were now the general diſcourſe of the Chriſtian World. *Alexander* the Biſhop, to prevent and avoid falſe Repreſentations, was conſtrained by Letter to ſeveral Churches to make Relation of Particulars, which gained belief according to the Inclination of the Receivers; and ſtill the *Arians* ſeemed to get ground. The Biſhop then conſidering what influence Preaching hath upon the Multitude, and how the Pulpits were made to ſerve the Deſigns of Factions and Heretical Spirits, Humour, Paſſion, Ignorance, and all Diſtempers paſſing under the Vizard of Gods Word, he ordained that no Prieſt in *Alexandria* ſhould Preach without eſpecial Licenſe firſt obtained. This proved ſo efficacious a Counter-plot to their Devices, that *Arius* forſook his Poſt, and departed into *Palæſtine*, where meeting with leſs oppoſition, he got opportunity to Preach and gather Companies together, as he and his Party had been accuſtomed.

He is Excommunicated.

Goes into *Palæſtine.*

5. Yet were thoſe of *Palæſtine* ſo ſenſible of the good Effects of Order and Government, that they preſſed *Arius* to ſubmit to his Biſhop, and return into Communion with him. But he not able to ſtoop ſo low, repairs to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, his old Acquaintance when he ſtudied at *Antioch*, who having heard his Tale, ſo far complies with him, as to repair to the Emperour, and miſrepreſent to him the Dealings of the Council of *Alexandria*. *Conſtantine* became ſo taken with *Euſebius*, that ever after he had much his Ear, and in Church Matters had great Application made to him. Thinking himſelf no mean Man, he writes to *Alexander*, adviſes him to paſs by the matter concerning *Arius*, and receive him and his Followers again into Communion, other Churches he ſtirs up to reſiſt the Proceedings of the *Alexandrian*, and ſtrengthens the Hands of the *Meletians* in their Faction and Schiſm. By this means the buſineſs came to more Heat and Contention, and *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* much concerned himſelf in it; by his endeavours a General Council is appointed at *Alexandria*, over which præſided *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain*. He taking *Nicomedia* in his way, where the Emperour then reſided, received his Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius*, wherein one may perceive the Finger of *Euſebius*, ſo ſlight a matter they make of the Difference betwixt them two. But *Hoſius*, notwithſtanding his great Abilities and Endeavours, could do little good, the Council ending without any conſiderable Concluſion. Yet the ſeveral Caſes of *Iſchyras* and *Coluthus* are remarkable, of whom *Coluthus* a Prieſt, bearing himſelf as a Biſhop, and *Iſchyras* a Lay-perſon, as a Prieſt, was reduced into Order by the Fathers. The Hereſie of *Sabellius* alſo, though formerly condemned, yet in thoſe Parts having again got ground was now exploded, and for that he had confounded the Three Perſons in the *Trinity*, taking away all diſtinction by means of this Synod, one οὐσία or Eſſence was ſaid to be in the Bleſſed *Trinity*, and three ὑποστάσεις or Perſons, from which Terms afterwards a great Controverſie aroſe.

Applies himſelf to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia.*

Upon which a General Council is ſummoned at *Alexandria.*

Athan. Apol. 2.

6. Little

Who do nothing in that Matter.

6. Little good proceeding from the Council of *Alexandria*, or any other means of Reconcilement, the Empire began to be generally infected with the Diſtemper of *Arianiſm*, ſo that againſt a Diſeaſe ſo Epidemical as this was like to prove, ſome Catholick Remedy was to be provided; ſuch, an Univerſal or General Council out of the whole Empire ſeemed to be which *Conſtantine* at length reſolved ſhould be Summoned to *Nice*, a City of *Bithinia*, as moſt convenient for all Parts, by reaſon of its Scituation. Now in this reſpect was the Scene of Affairs happily changed. Formerly in great Fear and Secreſie did the Biſhops and others aſſemble to compoſe Differences ſprung up in the Church; Great and Solemn Meetings would have given occaſion of Jealouſie and Cruelty to have been exerciſed upon ſo many Paſtors ſo opportunely met at one time and place. Before thoſe times Differences went not out of one City, or at the moſt out of a Province: now by reaſon of the Liberty of meeting together they extended themſelves over the whole Empire; wherefore it was neceſſary that Councils (the uſual remedy) ſhould alſo be aſſembled from places at a farther diſtance.

Another Council at *Nice* in *Bithinia.*

Vide Paulum Venetum in Concilii Tridentini Hiſt.

7. Hereupon a Council of the whole Empire being Aſſembled, now by the (ſole) Authority of the Prince, it had the Name of the Holy and Great Synod, and a little after was called the General and Oecumenical Council, though it were not Aſſembled from all parts of the Church, a conſiderable part whereof, even long before this time, having extended it ſelf beyond the Limits of the *Roman Empire*, but becauſe it was the Cuſtom of thoſe Ages to call the Emperour Lord of the whole habitable Earth, although the Tenth part of it was not ſubject to him. After this pattern were Councils called by the Succeſſors of *Conſtantine*, upon all ſuch urgent Occaſions, as well after that the Empire was divided into Eaſtern and Weſtern, as before, the Affairs thereof being ſtill managed under a common name as well Secular as Eccleſiaſtical. But when the Eaſt came ſo to be divided from the Weſt, that there remained no more Communion in the Soveraignty, as it happened after the promotion of *Charles the Great*, after that, the laſt was for the moſt part poſſeſſed by *Saracens*, and the Weſt Cantonized into many Kingdoms and Signories, the name of an Oecumenical and Univerſal Council was no more derived from the *Roman Empire*, but amongſt the *Græcians* from the Aſſembly of the *Five Patriarchs*, and in the more Weſtern parts from the Unity and Communion of ſuch Kingdoms and States as obeyed the Biſhop of *Rome* in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. And the aſſembling of thoſe for the moſt part, hath been not principally for the deciſion of Religious queſtions as formerly, but either to make War in the Holy Land, or to compoſe Schiſms and Diviſions in the Church of *Rome*, or for the ending of Controverſies between the Biſhops and Chriſtian Princes. All which we ſhall ſee in their proper places.

Which is ſtiled a General Oecumenical Council.

8. Councils for about (*a*) Eight hundred years were called by Chriſtian Emperours and Kings. Unto them firſt, and in the chief place were ſummoned Biſhops, as the moſt proper Paſtors and Rulers of the Church. After them (*b*) *Prieſts* or *Presbyters* had the next place ſitting together with the *Biſhops*, and giving their voices. *Deacons* were preſent alſo of old, but ſtood by with the reſt of the People. In (*c*) the moſt antient times Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt preſiding, and Charity prevailing againſt all Heat and Paſſion, they adviſed and reſolved without Ceremonies or Forms preſcribed. Before the days of *Conſtantine*, there being a neceſſity to govern them with ſome order, that Biſhop chiefeſt for Learning, or the greatneſs of his See, or for ſome other reſpect of eminency, had the charge to propoſe and guide the Action and collect the Voices. Afterward the Action was guided by thoſe Princes or Magiſtrates that had called them together, who alſo were perſonally preſent, propoſing, governing the Diſpute, decreeing interlocutorily the occurring Differences, but leaving the Deciſion of the principal Point to the major part of Voices. *Conſtantine* ſo ordered Matters in this of *Nice* and others elſewhere, as will be ſeen upon occaſion.

The Perſons ſummoned who

(a) *Cuſanus Omnia octo univerſalia Concilia per Imp. Congregata leguntur.*

(b) *Conſule Filoſacum de paroch. orig. p. 66. &c.*

(c) *Vide Paulum Venetum quo prius.*

9. Of old, ſometime the Matter was ſo eaſie, that all was diſpatched in one Meeting. Sometime by reaſon of the difficulty or multiplicity of buſineſs, there was neceſſity of making many Seſſions in the ſame Council. But this was done without Ceremony, or with intention only to publiſh what was done before, or digeſted elſewhere, but that the opinion of every one might be underſtood, and the Colloquies, Diſcuſſions, Diſputes, and whatſoever was done or ſpoken, was called *the Acts of the Council.* The Notaries appointed to Collect the Voices when a Biſhop ſpoke and was not contradicted, wrote not his proper Name, but this *The*

The Management of Matters in Diſpute.

Holy Synod ſaith; when many ſaid the ſame thing, it was written *The Biſhops acclaim, or affirm*, and the things ſo ſpoken, were taken for Deciſions; if they ſpake in a contrary Senſe, the contrary Opinions were noted with the Names of the Authors, and the Preſidents pronounced. After the Diviſion of the Empire, ſome marks of theſe ancient Councils yet remained in the Weſt, many were celebrated in *France* and *Germany* under the Poſterity of *Charles* the Great, and not a few in *Spain* under the *Gothick* Kings. At laſt the Biſhop of *Rome* his Power prevailing, Princes were abſolutely debarred from meddling in Church Matters, whereby the former ſort of Councils grew out of uſe, and that alone remained which was called by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons themſelves, the Convocation of which Provincial Councils was almoſt wholly aſſumed by the *Pope*, who ſent his Legates to preſide whereſoever he heard that a Council was to be held.

Over all one preſides.

10. At length he aſſumed to himſelf that Power which the *Roman* Emperours had formerly uſed to convocate a Council of the whole Empire, and preſide himſelf if he were preſent, or in his abſence to ſend Legates to be Preſidents and govern the Action. The Prelates aſſembled, being freed from all fear of a Secular Prince by reaſon of many Indecencies which were multiplied as worldly reſpects increaſed, began to digeſt and order their Matters in private, that they might obſerve more decency in the publick Meeting. In proceſs of time this became a Form, and in Councils beſide the Seſſions, they began to make Congregations of ſome Deputies to ſet in order ſuch Matters as were to be treated of, which in the beginning, if many, were divided, and a proper Congregation aſſigned to every one. But all Indecencies being not hereby removed, becauſe thoſe that were abſent having different Intereſts raiſed Difficulties in publick; beſides the particular Congregations, they made a general one before the Seſſion, where all were preſent, which according to the antient Rite, is the Conciliary Action, becauſe the Seſſion, every thing being done before, is but a pure Ceremony. But after an Age or two, National Intereſts being different, cauſed Diſſentions amongſt the Biſhops of diverſe Countries; whereupon thoſe that came from far, being few, and judging it unreaſonable to be outvoted by the neighbouring Prelates, who were more in number, to make the ballance equal, it was neceſſary that every Nation ſhould aſſemble by it ſelf, as formerly the Tribes in the *Roman Comitia*, and reſolve according to the number of Voices, and that the general Deciſion ſhould be Eſtabliſhed, not by the Suffrages of particular Men, but by the Plurality of the Voices of the Nations. This courſe was obſerved in the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*: which uſe, as it was good where the Government was Free, as it was when the World owned no *Pope*, ſo it ill befitted *Trent*, where they deſired a Council ſubject to him.

11. But at *Nice* met Three hundred and eighteen Biſhops from all parts of the Empire, amongſt whom many carried about them the Trophies of their Chriſtian Warfare, Scars all over their Bodies, and mutilation of Members. The Emperour with a ſhort Speech opened the Council, and after general Admonitions commended Two things eſpecially to their Care: the one was for Eſtabliſhing one ſettled Practice in the Church in the Point of keeping *Eaſter*, and the other was concerning the *Arian* Doctrine, the principal cauſe of their meeting. The firſt was effected with little or no Conteſt, the Cuſtom of the Weſtern Churches being Eſtabliſhed, and that of the *Aſian* aboliſhed by Decree of the Council and the Emperours Edict; although from the Acts of the Council now Extant, little appears concerning this Matter. The buſineſs about *Arius* held them long in Debate, who according to Summons appeared, and maintained his Opinions. The Diſpute againſt him was chiefly managed by *Alexander* and *Athanaſius* his Deacon, who charged him with ſuch Tenets as he had formerly maintained at *Alexandria*. The Council examined his Book called *Thalia*, wherein were found ſo many of his Opinions, and ſuch Wantonneſs (he being much ſuſpected of Uncleanneſs, in his ordinary Converſation with Women, which he called his Virgins) that it was condemned by the Council and burnt by command of *Conſtantine*. But when the Fathers ſhould come to eſtabliſh the Orthodox Faith, after they had reſolved againſt *Arius* his Hereſie, it coſt them ſome labour to invent what Terms were fit to expreſs the co-equal Divinity of God the Son with his Father, ſo as no hole might be left for the *Arians* to creep out at. At length they reſolved upon the Greek word ὁμοούσιος or *Conſubſtantial*, which they had obſerved to be much feared and avoided by the *Arians* from an Epiſtle of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* read in the Synod.

Eaſter ſettled.

Author vitæ Conſtant. c. 16, &c.

The Hereſie of *Arius* condemned.

12. The

12. The *Arians* perceiving themſelves foiled by the addition of this, thought to reinforce the charge, by putting in the word *Unbegotten*, with relation to the Father; as thence deducing by conſequence, that the Son was made and Created. But the Fathers aware of their deſign, receiving this word added to it, that the Son was ſo *begotten, that he was not made*, by which their deſign was quite daſhed; then was drawn up a Formulary of the Catholick Faith: whereof *Hoſius*, who præſided in the Council, was Author, now called the *Nicene Creed*, and paſſed *June* 19. on *Saturday*. But in this Council, nothing appears to have been added to the *Apoſtles Creed*, concerning the *Holy Ghoſt*; which happened by reaſon that nothing was now urged againſt his Divinity by *Arius*; which courſe was formerly taken up by his Followers, and more privately before this had been practiced by him, it being very ready and in a manner conſequential to him, who denied the Divinity of *Chriſt* to reject that of the *Holy Spirit*. Having happily finiſhed the Affair concerning *Arius*, they ſettled the matter concerning *Eaſter*; and for that ſeveral Countrys obſerved ſeveral Cuſtoms and Calculations of time, it pleaſed the Synod to commit the charge of the Paſchal Cycles to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in giving notice of the time of Celebation, which was done every Year præceeding; ſeeing that the Letters concerning the time were wont to be publiſhed by the Deacons, on the day of the *Epiphany*, and by the Biſhop of that City, to be ſent up and down to the Churches of the Weſt.

Athanaſ. Ep. ad ſolit. Soc. Lib. 1. c. 5 Leo. Ep. 64.

The *Nicene* Creed paſs'd

13. Having for the better Calculation of time, Eſtabliſhed the Golden Number, containing the period of Nineteen Years, they came to diſcuſs the cauſe of *Meletius*, the Schiſmatical Biſhop of *Lyco*, in the Province of *Alexandria*. This Man for Sacrificing to Idols, in the time of *Diocletian*, and other cauſes had been deprived of his Biſhoprick by *Peter* the Metropolitan, who afterwards ſuffered Martyrdom; at which cenſure conceiving great indignation, he ceaſed not to rail againſt *Peter*, and his Succeſſors, and made a ſeparation from the Communion of the Church; continuing Schiſmatical with a multitude of Followers to this very time. The Synod now tell the Church of *Alexandria*, and their Brethren throughout *Egypt*. *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, that they had dealt with him, with more clemency than he deſerved; having decreed that he ſhould remain in his own City without any Epiſcopal power, retaining only the bare, Name and Title of his Office and Dignity, and they reſolved that the Clergy ſhould ſubmit wholly to *Alexander*, or elſe be deprived of their Spiritual Offices; being alſo to give place to thoſe whom the Metropolitan had ordained: And becauſe that by reaſon of this Schiſm *Meletius* had throughout *Egypt* at his pleaſure made many Ordinations, the Synod by a Cannon forbid that in *Ægypt*, *Lybia* or *Pentapolis*, any ſhould be ordained Biſhop without the knowledge of the Metropolitan, (this being the ancient priviledge of the *Alexandrian* Church) as the Cuſtom was obſerved towards the *Roman* Biſhop.

Soc. l. 1. c. 6. & 9. ubi vide Epiſt. Synodicam.

Meletius puniſhed.

Council. Nic. c. 6.

14. By this Council were framed Twenty Cannons in all, and no more are to be found in any good and certain Author: *Turrian* the Jeſuit tells us of Eighty, which having found in the Arabick Tongue he Tranſlated, and *Ruffinus* counts 22. But *Theodoret* affirms there were but 20. And whereas many things are cited by Writers of ſucceeding times, as from the *Nicene* Council, they rather are to be underſtood of the Acts, than the Cannons thereof, rather of paſſages which happened, not directly but accidentally, and recorded in Story, than of the ſolemn decrees of the Fathers; beſides this being the firſt great and Oecumenical Council, all opinions were ambitious, from it to derive deſcent and pedigree; and the Acts afterwards coming to be loſt and imbezeled, whether through the negligence of the Keepers thereof, or which is more likely, through the practice of Hereticks, who were unwilling to be upbraided with ſo urgent a Teſtimony; great latitude was given for pretenders to enlarge the number of the Cannons, and out of them to forge Arguments for the raiſing or upholding of their particular Sects and Opinions.

Lib. 1. c. 8.

15. The firſt of the Twenty received Cannons (*a*) depoſeth ſuch Clerks, as had voluntarily made themſelves Eunuchs, and prohibits ſuch to be ordained for the future; excepting ſuch as either neceſſity of Cure, or of Force and Violence, had undergone Mutilation from (*b*) Phiſitians, their imperious Lords, or Cruel and Barbarous Enemies. The Second taking notice, that many contrary to Rule, leapt out of the Font into the Epiſcopal Chair, or the Seat and Office of a Prieſt; having been but lately Catechized (*c*) or Inſtituted in the Chriſtian Faith; ſtrictly forbids ſuch practice for the time to come, concluding from (*d*) Apoſtoli-

The twenty Cannons of the firſt *Nicene* Council,

(a) *Diſt.* 55. *Siquis à Medicis.*

(b) In the Latin Cannons its *Medicis* by which both here and in the Imperial Laws, Chyrurgions are underſtood, not thoſe Learned in the Theory of Phyſick.

(c) *Diſt.* 48. *quoniam multâ*

(d) 1 *Tim.* 3.

cal caution againſt a *Novice*, that a new Convert ſhould both ſtand as a *Catechumenus* a convenient time, and a *Probationer* after Baptiſm. If in proceſs of time ſuch an one committed Scandal, and was Convicted by the Teſtimony of two or three Witneſſes, he was to be depoſed, as alſo any ſuch that ſhould Act contrary to this Cannon; which yet, afterwards was diſpenſed with, upon notable occaſions for appeaſing of Tumults, or when the extrordinary worth of a Perſon required it, as in the Caſe of St. *Ambroſe* and *Nectarius*. The Third (*e*) forbids any Biſhop, Prieſt or Deacon, or any Clerk whatſoever, to receive any Woman * as Inmate into his Houſe, except it be his Mother, Grandmother, Siſter or Aunt; in which, and ſuch like Perſons, ſuſpicion may eaſily be declined. By which Cannon nothing was decreed againſt Marriage, that deſign being utterly daſhed by the interpoſition and endeavours of *Paphnutius*, who diſſwaded the Fathers from laying the unſupportable burthen of Cælibate, upon the back of thoſe whom God and his Church had left free. The Fourth (*f*) Cannon præſcribes the manner of ordaining or Conſecrating a Biſhop, affirming the Action ought to be performed by all the Biſhops of that Province, if poſſible, but if that may not be, three at leaſt ought to meet for that purpoſe, bringing with them in Writing the conſent of the reſt, and the confirmation of every Province, was to belong to the Metropolitan.

(e) *Diſt.* 32. *Interdixit.* * *Subintroductam habere mulierem.*

(f) *Diſt.* 94. *Epiſcopi ab omnibus.*

16. The Fifth Cannon (*a*) forbids thoſe that are Excommunicated by ſome, to be received into Communion with others; but to redreſs ſuch inconvenience as might riſe from any Contention or Heat of any Biſhop uſing this cenſure; "it ſeemed good to the Fathers to ordain that twice every Year a Council of "Biſhops ſhould be held in each Province, who urgently ſhould examine if any "complained of ſuch grievance, that ſuch as appeared juſtly cenſured, might be held and eſteemed as Excommunicated Perſons by the reſt, till ſuch time as publickly, or by their own Biſhop they were abſolved. (*b*) One of thoſe Annual Councils they thought fit ſhould be held before Lent; that all grudges, if any there were, being laid aſide, they might preſent themſelves a Pure and Solemn Offering to Almighty God. The Second Meeting they thought fit ſhould be about Autumn. Now this command concerning the rejecting of thoſe by *all* that had been Excommunicated by *one* Biſhop, was not out of conſideration of the ſole Juriſdiction of any particular Biſhop, but of the Nature of the Cenſure, which the Church eſteemed as a thing which ought to be of that great ſtrength and influence that by whomſoever it was applied it might obtain univerſal Force.

(a) 11. *qu. Servetur iſta ſententia.*

(b) *Diſt.* 18. *Habeatur ſuum concilium.*

17. The Sixth Cannon is of very extraordinary remark, as a great Eye-ſore to certain Noveliſts, who ſeek all manner of ways to cover it by their Gloſſes and Expoſitions, as their adverſaries on the other ſide, ever caſt it in their Diſh. It commands that the Ancient Cuſtom be obſerved throughout *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*; ſo that the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, have Power or Authority over all theſe, foraſmuch as ſuch was the manner or uſe of the *Roman* Biſhop. In like manner at *Antioch*, and in the reſt of the Provinces, ſay the Fathers, let every Church enjoy its own Dignity or Honour: However it's manifeſt, that if any be ordained without the conſent and knowledge of his Metropolitan, this great and Holy Council judgeth that he ought not to be a Biſhop. Indeed if two or three out of Animoſity and Contention, ſhall contradict what is generally and rationally and Canonically agreed on, the moſt voices of Prieſts carry it; for Biſhops themſelves are ſo called. The Romaniſts jealous of their Great Biſhops Honour and Authority, labour all ways poſſible to perſwade their Readers that theſe words, *for ſuch is the manner* (*Cuſtom or uſe*) *of the* Roman *Biſhops*, no way do imply any equally of Power or Juriſdiction bitwixt him and the other of *Alexandria*, ſome would make them an Argument of his Authority over the *Ægyptian* Churches, as if *ſuch is the Cuſtom of the* Roman *Biſhop, was to be joyned* to thoſe words *viz. over, or in the Churches of* Alexandria, Pentapolis, &c. And if this will not do, with other of the like ſort, a *Latin* Edition, of thoſe Cannons, is urged wherein it is read not. *Foraſmuch as ſuch is the Cuſtom of the* Roman *Biſhop*; but, *Foraſmuch as this ſame is the Cuſtom of the* Metropolitan *Biſhop*. But their Adverſaries ſcarcely think themſevles in Honour obliged to anſwer ſuch ſlight and palpable Gloſſes; although they might oppoſe ſo many ancient *Latin* Copies, to an obſcure pretended one of *Marcellus* a *Tridentine* Legate, not to mention the *Greek*. And as for the ſence of the words, they ſay it is ſufficiently evinced both by univerſal conſent of pureſt Antiquity, and the Teſtimony of other Councils, eſpecially that of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, which we ſhall ſcan in its proper place. Thus much at preſent we may obſerve, as a learned Man hath learnedly made out in a peculiar Treatiſe, that firſt Cuſtom introduced the Rights and privi-

Diſt. 65. *mos antiquus.*

Vide Annot. a'. Conc. Nic. Can. 6. *in editione Caraniæ pag.* 102.

Privileges of *Patriarchs* or *Metropolitans*: Secondly, Councils confirmed this Cuſtom; and laſtly Emperours who could not but approve of a near agreement and ſimilitude, betwixt the Models of Church and State, Enacted and Confirmed it by their Imperial Authority and Laws.

[1] Dr. *Barier De antiqnâ Eccleſiæ Brit. libertate.* τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρά-τιστα.

18. The Fathers out of the ſame principle of keeping up Good and Ancient Cuſtoms, as ſenſible of the great Influence of change, further Enact by their Seventh (*a*) Cannon, that foraſmuch as by ancient Cuſtom and Tradition, Honour was given to *Ælia* or the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, he ſhould conſequently enjoy the ſaid Honour, provided that the Dignity of the Metropolitan City be preſerved. The Eighth (*b*) Cannon gives directions how *Novatians* which returned to the Catholick Church ſhould be received, concluding, that if a Biſhop came over to a Biſhop, if he thought not fit to receive him as ſuch, he ſhould procure him a place either of a *Chorepiſcopus* or a Prieſt, that he might aſſuredly have ſome Clerical Function, leſt in one and the ſame City, there ſhould be found two Biſhops; this againſt two Biſhops in one City was decreed with very good reaſon, to prevent the Contentions and Emulation, a Biſhops Chair, no more then a Kings Throne, brooking Rivals, although the contrary practice may be found before this time; and St. *Auguſtin* as he himſelf confeſſeth (*c*) out of ignorance acted contrary to this Cannon, being both Conſecrated before the Death of *Valerius*, and ſitting with him in the ſame See. The Ninth (*d*) Cannon decrees that if any Prieſts were promoted without examination, after this confeſſed their Sins, and after confeſſion yet had hands laid on them (by the Metropolitan and others to be made Biſhops) ſuch were not to be owned by the Eccleſiaſtical Order. The Tenth (*e*) near of kin to the former, doth Enact, that whether ſuch Criminals were ordained ignorantly, or with the knowledge of Biſhops contemptuouſly, they ſhould be depoſed.

(a) *Diſt.* 65. *Quoniam mos. ubi vide gloſſam inſulſam de Etymologia Eliæ & Hieroſolymorum.*

(b) 9. 7. *Siqui.*

(c) *Ep.* 110

(d) *Diſt.* 81. *Si qui ſine examine.*

(e) *Diſt.* 81, *quicunq; ex his. vide Gloſſam.*

19. The Eleventh Cannon, preſcribes Rules of Penitence to ſuch as fell through Frailty during the perſecution of *Licinius*, allowing the Biſhop to mitigate the Penance where he ſhould find juſt occaſion. The Twelfth Ordains that the Ancient Courſe be obſerved concerning an Excommunicate Perſon, that if any one dye, he be not defrauded of his *Viaticum*; but if any deſperate Perſon ſhould overlive the Communion, he was only to be admitted to Prayer; and the Biſhops were to approve and judge of thoſe dying Perſons to whom the Communion was to be Adminſtred. The Thirteenth Ordains concerning ſuch *Catechumeni* as fell, that they ſhould be for the ſpace of three Years amongſt ſuch only as heard the Word, and afterwards ſhould Pray with the *Catechumeni* who being but *Novices* or Probationers in Religion, were admitted to hear the Word, but excluded the Congregation at time of publick Prayers and Service. The Fourteenth Reforms a Cuſtom crept into certain Places, of Deacons giving the Sacrament to Prieſts, and receiving it before the Biſhops themſelves, forbidding the like practice for the time to come, on pain ſo Depoſition; and that Deacons ſit amongſt Presbyters. In the Fifteenth, the Fathers taking notice of Commotions and Tumults, which happened by reaſon of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, Fleeting and Changing from City to City, they inhibit this practice for the time to come, and require that an Offender be remanded to that Church wherein he was Ordained; and if this Decree be not ſufficient, in their Sixteenth Cannon they enjoyn that ſuch an one be Expelled and Conſtrained to return to his Church; which if he refuſe obſtinately to do, he is to be Excommunicated.

Cauſ. 26. *q.* 6. *De his qui.*

Diſt. 93. *Prevenit ad ſanct.*

7. *q.* 1. *Non. oportet epiſcopum.*

7. 9. 1 *ſi qui vero.*

20. The Holy and Oecumenical Synod in its Seventeenth Cannon (*a*) Decrees, that if any one ſhould dare to Ordain any Clerk in his own Church, which belong to another Biſhop, without the ſaid Biſhops aſſent, ſuch Ordination ſhould be void. The Eighteenth (*b*) forbids Uſury to the Clergy, upon pain of Depoſition. The Nineteenth (*c*) commands that ſuch as returned to the Catholick Church, from the Hereſie of the *Paulianiſts* and *Cataphrygians*, ſhould be Re-baptized; as alſo ſuch as were Clerks amongſt them ſhould be Re-ordained, but their ſhe Deacons continue lay as they were. The Twentieth (*d*) Cannon containeth an Appendix to the Decree, concerning the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, by occaſion of the *Quarto Decimarians*, or thoſe who were for Celebrating this Feaſt on the Fourteenth Moon according to the Jewiſh Cuſtom, and that of the Eaſtern Churches, and therefore taking no notice of the Reſurrection at that time were wont to kneel at Prayer, as at other times not Feſtival, the Synod therefore Ordains that for Uniformity ſake, on the Lords day, and in the days of *Penteceſt*, all pray ſtanding; for it is to be noted that to the Reſurrection the Primitive Church had ſo chearful a regard, that not only at thoſe times here mentioned, but alſo during

(a) *Diſt.* 71. *ſi quis auſus fuerit.*

(b) *Cauſ.* 14. 9. 4. *Quoniam multi Clerici.*

(c) 1 *q.* 1, *Siquis confugerit.*

(d) *d.* 5. *quoniam ſunt.*

during thoſe Fifty Holy-days betwixt *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, no Man did ſo much as *de geniculis adorare*, Worſhip God or Pray on his knees. Thoſe days, though now neglected, were then, when the memory of the Reſurection, and the benefits thereof was more freſh, carefully obſerved, and *Tertullian* conſidering their number, takes notice that they were more than the Superſtitious Heathen obſerved throughout the whole Year.

21. All things being concluded which the *Nicene Council* thought fit to Ordain, the Fathers came to Subſcribe both the Cannons and the Creed. *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* was the firſt that Subſcribed, not the Legates of *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* viz. *Victor* and *Vincentius*, two Presbyters of that City. Seventeen yet are ſaid to have refuſed being infected, it ſeems with the Principles of *Arius*, which when the Emperour underſtood, as highly affected with the concluſion of the Council, he declared he would Baniſh all refuſers, whereupon Eleven of the Diſſenters were frighted into a Subſcription, of which Diſſemblers *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* was chief; ſo the Decrees being confirmed by Imperial Authority, the Council which had Aſſembled on the Eighteenth of the Calends of *July* (*June* the Fourteenth) was diſſolved, on or about the Eighth of the Callends of *September* (*Auguſt 25th.*) having began and ended in the Twentieth Year of *Conſtantine*, the Firſt of the 276, *Olympiad*, the 1078. Year of *Rome*: Of Chriſt 325. *Anicius Fauſtus Paulinus*, and *P. Pubilius Ceionius Falcanus Camænus* being Conſuls.

Act. Conc. Nic.

Subſcribed firſt by *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* &c.

Ruffinus lib. 1. c. 5.

And confirmed by the Emperours Edict.

22. Beſides *Hoſius* who præſided at the Council, firſt Subſcribed, and is not in the Acts at all taken notice of, as the Legate of the *Roman* Biſhop, the moſt eminent of thoſe *Nicene* Fathers was *Alexander* Patriarch or Metropolitan (the other Name being ſcarcely yet in uſe) of *Alexandria*, *Euſtathius* of *Antioch* and *Macarius* of *Jeruſalem*, all of them Famous for their Chriſtian Faith, Courage and Sanctity: Amongſt thoſe Biſhops which *Alexander* brought along with him, none were ſo Eminent; as *Potamon* Biſhop of *Heraclæa* in *Ægypt*, and *Paphnutius*, one as good as many, who as he equalized the former in the loſs of his (Right) Eye in the Perſecution of *Maximinus*, ſo he went beyond him in the loſs of his left Leg, and his Condemnation to the Mines. He is reported by *Ruffinus* to have been alſo Famous for Miracles, and in ſuch Veneration with all good Men, that *Conſtantine* the Emperour, himſelf would often moſt kindly and familiarly imbrace him, and greedily kiſs that empty place which had formerly held his Martyr'd Eye; and this is not the leaſt of his Commendations that he ſtood up for the Liberty of Clergy-men, when ſome went about to have enſlaved them under the Yoke of forced Continence; although *Caſſiodorus*, *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus* moſt of them, if not all, Grave and approved Authors for but reporting one piece of Hiſtory in Favour of Prieſts Marriages are ſpit upon and diſcarded with diſgrace by certain Grandees of the contrary opinion. But *Eſpencæus* a Learned and Sober Writer defends their Authority about *Paphnutius*.

Socr. l. 1. c. 8.

Soc. lib. 1. c. 22.

Lib. de Continent.

23. As *Ægypt* affording ſuch Biſhops, made ſome amends to the Church, for that detriment is ſuſtained through *Arius* a Clerk of the ſame Province; ſo in producing the moſt powerful Adverſary that Arch-Heretick ever had, and one whom Patience and Magnanimitty, as well as Faith commend as a great Pattern to all Ages; it ſeemed to overballance the inconvenience, as no Country can be blamed for the Generation of a Poyſonous and Venomous thing which carries not its Appology *viz.* a proper Antidote, in its own Boſom. This was *Athanaſius* a Perſon who though he aſſiſted at this Council, but in quality of *Alexander* his Deacon is yet to Act the moſt conſiderable part in this Troubleſome and Tempeſtuous Scene, and for that purpoſe muſt needs change his Quality and dreſs ſucceeding *Alexander* the moſt Worthy Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who about five Months after the concluſion of the Synod, changed this Life, and went to enjoy that Bleſſed Trinity which he had ſo Faithfully and Induſtruouſly defended. *Athanaſius* was born at *Alexandria* about the Riſing and Spreading of *Arius* his Tenets, being a Boy by conſent of all Writers when *Alexander* was Biſhop of that See; and when he was yet a Boy (but Twelve Years old, as *Baronius* gueſſeth) his Genius diſcovered it ſelf, even then ſtrongly bent to an Epiſcopal Demeanure, as appears by a remarkable paſſage.

The Birth place of *Athanaſius*.

24. The Church of *Alexandria* had a Cuſtom of keeping a Solemn Feſtival, and Thankſgiving on that day whereon *Peter* their Biſhop had ſuffered Martyrdom; one day amongſt the reſt (the Anniverſary that happened about that Age of *Athanaſius*) after they were come from Church, as *Alexander* expecting certain of the beſt

Soc. lib. 1. c. 15. Sozom. l. 2. c. 16. Ruffin. l. 1. c. 14.

beſt Rank to Dine with him, by chance looked out at a Window, he eſpied certain Boys on the Sea ſhore, who as he thought were in their ſport Baptizing one another, having called ſome of thoſe that were preſent with him to behold the ſight, he ſent for the Boys, and asked them what they had been doing by the Sea-ſide, and when they being abaſhed and ſilent he urged them to ſpeak, they told him that one of them there, *Athanaſius*, as chief in their ſport, had Baptized ſome of them who had not formerly been Initiated, and that he had made ſome of them Prieſts, others Deacons to aſſiſt him in that Service; having examined them before, and given them inſtructions how they ought to demean themſelves for the future, and ſo they told him the whole Story: *Alexander* together with the Prieſts conſidering the ſubſtance of the Work, concluded the Baptized Boys were not to be Re-baptized, but adding what he thought further neceſſary to be done, he ſent for their Parents, and charging them to Educate them for the Miniſtery, he eſpecially took care of *Athanaſius*, requiring he ſhould be now and then brought to his preſence, that he himſelf might take notice of his Proficiency in Learning He is ſaid to have much profited at School, being well grounded in Grammar, Skilled in Philoſophy, and Studied in the Law; but thoſe he made but ſubſervient to Divinity, in the Study, whereof having good aſſiſtance from many worthy Confeſſors, who could teach him the Practick part by their own example, as well as the Speculative by Arguments and Precepts; he gave ſuch pregnant Proof of his Induſtry, that beſides other Teſtimonies, he had the Books both of the Old and new Teſtament in Memory without book.

His proficiency in Learning.

25. *Alexander* finding *Athanaſius* his Proficiency to have ſurmounted his expectation, took him into his own Family, and made him his *Amanuenſis*, in which Imployment after he had continued ſome time, and made further Progreſs in his Studies, he took him into the Number of his *Deacons* at *Alexandria* and carried him along with him to the Council of *Nice*, where he aſſiſted him in his Proſecution of *Arius*, when the Blaſphemous Doctrines he had uttered at the Council of *Alexandria* were produced and ingaged againſt the Hereticks in a Solemn diſputation publiſhed amongſt his other Works: He was now grown in great eſteem for his Abilities and Integrity amongſt all thoſe of the beſt and Orthodox Party, when *Alexander* dyed, who having more intimate knowledge of him than any other, is thought deſigned him his Succeſſor; the good old Man lying at the point of Death, called for *Athanaſius*, which one of that name hearing, and coming to him, he looked on him, and turned away his Face, and continuing ſtill to call, at laſt ſaid, *thou thinkeſt* Athanaſius *to eſcape, but it ſhall not be*; which words whether he ſpoke Prophetically as ſome imagined, or as deſigning him to his Chair as others think he ſoon after Expired. *Alexander* being dead, *Athanaſius* in a Provincial Council was choſen his Succeſſor, not *Thæonas* and *Achillas*, as *Epiphanius* alone tells the Story. *I was*, ſaith Athanaſius, *choſen by the whole City and Province of* Alexandria; *Biſhops, Prieſts, and People aſſembled together, with Prayers to God, publick Acclamations, Exhortations, Intreaties; Perſwaſions yea Obteſtations for ſeveral Days and Nights without reſt either to themſelves or me, not ceaſing till they had prevailed with me to accept of their Choice.*

He is made a Deacon.

Vide Athan. Diſput. cn t. Arian.

Athan. Apol. 2.

And upon Alexanders death Solemnly choſen his Succeſſor.

26. In the beginning of the Government of *Athanaſius*, was the Goſpel Preached to the *Lower Indians*, by *Frumentius* a *Tyrian*, who when he was yet but a Boy, being carried thither by *Meropius* a Chriſtian Philoſopher, after his death (for he was Slain by the *Indians*) was entertained and preferred by that King, together with *Ædeſius* his School-fellow, and for his great dexterity in managing publick buſineſs, had in a manner that whole Government put into his hands; having this opportunity he firſt procured Liberty for Chriſtian Merchants to meet together and build Churches; afterward he himſelf returning into his own Country, firſt made a Journey to *Alexandria*, to move that Patriarch that ſome fit Perſon might be ſent Biſhop into *India*: *Athanaſius* being lately Conſecrated, thought none ſo fit as *Frumentius* himſelf, who being Ordained and ſent thither, is ſaid by his Preaching and Miracles to have Converted an infinite Number of that People, and there to have Founded a Church: Thus much in more words and with more Circumſtances relateth *Ruffinus* * who ſaith he had the Relation from *Ædeſius* the Companion of the ſaid *Frumentius* and *Socrates* as much more, hath it from him, as alſo *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*; all of them moreover unite that about this ſame time were the *Iberians* converted to the Faith, by the religious Preaching, example, and Miraculous Acts of a certain Captive Chriſtian Woman. *Ruffinus* ſaith he had it from *Bacarius* their King who came to *Conſtantinople*

The *Lower Indians* Converted.

* *L.* 1 *c.* 9. *Soc. L.* 1. *c.* 15, *Soz. lib.* 2. *c.* 23. *Theo. l.* 1. *c.* 23.

And the *Iberians*.

nople to deſire of the Emperour that Prieſts might be ſent to inſtruct his Nation, of whom he not only obtained what he came for, but was dignify'd with the Office alſo of *Comes Domeſticorum*, and *Dux* or General of the Paleſtine Limit. *Baronius* thinks him the ſame that (a) *Ammianus* calls *Bacarius* or *Balarius* the *Iberian*, created by the Emperour *Comes Domeſticorum*, and leader of the *Scutarii* and *Sagitarii*: But whereas that part of *Iberia* which lay toward the *Pontick* Sea, was long before Converted by the Preaching of *Clement* the *Roman* Biſhop, driven thither by Perſecution in the days of *Trajan*, thoſe now Converted muſt be the *Lower Iberians* inhabiting thoſe places near the Mountains of *Caucaſus* and the *Caſpian* Sea. Two things there were which of old mightily contributed occaſions to the Converſion of Barbarous Nations, the one was the Wars againſt ſuch People, who were often conquered by their Captives, that ceaſed not out of their Chains and Dungeons to Preach unto them: The other thoſe tedious and exquiſite Perſecutions of Heathen Emperours, who forcing the Faithful ones to fly for ſhelter amongſt fierce and Barbarous People, God ſtopped the Mouths of thoſe *Lions* and *Tigers* who entertaining thoſe Strangers, entertained Angels or the Meſſengers of glad Tidings for a reward; and though ſome Miſcarried, and as a reward of their Sufferings, received the Crown of Martyrdom (ſuch the Primitive Chriſtians really accounted it) yet through deſignment of Almighty God, the Blood of the Martyrs ſtill became the Seed of the Church.

(a) *Lib.* 31. *ad An.* 327.

27. But the Preferment of *Athanaſius* vehemently diſturbed the minds of the *Arians*, who knowing him a Perſon moſt likely of all others to ruin their Cauſe, left no Stone unſtirred to remove him. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* eſpecially, who by means of *Conſtantia* the Widdow of *Licinius*, and Siſter of *Conſtantine*, had through his great Induſtry and Diſſimulation, not only recovered the Emperours favour, but inſinuated himſelf much into his good eſteem; he often told him how unfit a Man *Athanaſius* was for ſuch a place, leſſening him all ways poſſible, and when this would not take, reſolved to tamper with the Biſhop himſelf, and try whether he might not bring him about to his own Party, or at leaſt perſwade or fright him into ſuch Actions as might weaken the Catholick Intereſt: He adviſeth him by Letter to re-admit *Arius* and his Partiſans into their Churches, or otherwiſe expect great inconveniencies to follow. When neither by intreaty nor threats he could move *Athanaſius*, whoſe anſwer was, he could not receive into Communion ſuch as had been held for Hereticks by the Council, and to this purpoſe enraged at the Repulſe, animated by his Heretical Zeal, and confident upon the account of his intereſt in *Conſtantia*, and power with *Conſtantine*, he begins to patronize Diſputes and Preaching againſt the determinations of the late Council, which that he might do with leſs cenſure of inconſtancy and Knavery, he and his party never left till by indirect practices they got into their hands the Acts of the Council from him, to whoſe Fidelity the Emperour had committed them, and having Obliterated their Subſcriptions, ſo ordered the matter, they deprived Poſterity of any view of them, although concerning the matter of their Fact there was ſufficient Teſtimony. And thus revived the *Arian* Schiſm, which though it ſeemed ſuppreſſed by the Council, yet revived, and ſo increaſed as almoſt to take away Schiſm or Diviſion, the whole World, as one ſaith, admiring to ſee its ſelf all turned *Arian*; thoſe that continued Orthodox were counted Singular, and as *Elijah*, formerly eſteemed themſelves as *only* (b) *left*: Such contentions and horrid diſtractions ſo unexpectedly followed this and other Councils, that to ſome ſober Perſons all (c) Chriſtianity ſeemed to be laid aſide, and although of ſuch Meetings there be very much uſe (d) in the Church of God, yet ſome very (e) Eminent Perſons were ſo much diſguſted as to conclude (at leaſt) from the abuſe, againſt the uſe and deſignment of them.

Arius the Heretick rejected by *Athanaſius*.

Sozom. Lib. 2. *c.* 20.

(b) *Non ſi ego ſolus ſum idcirco minor eſt ratio fidei. Liberius Ep. Rom. ad Conſtant. Imp. Arianum.*

(c) *Dum alter alteri anathema eſſe Cæpit prope jam nemo Chriſti eſt. Nil erat niſi pugna in verbis, quæſtio de novitatibus, de Authoritatibus quærela, de Studiis certamen, in conſenſu difficultas. Hilarius ad Conſtantinum. cæs.* (d) *Concilionum in Eccleſia Dei Saluberrimam authoritatem eſſe Aug. ep.* 118. (e) *Nazienz. Ep. ad procopis. ait ſe φύγειν πάντα σύλλογον ἐπισκόπων, quam nullius unquam Synodi bonum & Felicem Exitum vidiſſet præterea aſſerit non tam λύσιν κακῶν quam προσθήκην habuiſſe.*

28. But *Euſebius* knowing the Power of the Prince of moſt weight for the ballancing of any Party, feared leſt *Athanaſius*, ſhould to begin with, and ſecure himſelf of the Emperours favour; he therefore with his Companions reſolved to ſtrike home and unbiſhop him if poſſible, having in vain tryed formerly to diſgrace the Man, now they queſtion his Title, and quarrel with his Election, as brought about by the Faction and Combination of a few Perſons therein concerned, they Remonſtrate to *Conſtantine*, that after the Death of *Alexander* fifty and four of the Suffragan Biſhops being aſſembled to an Election, when they had upon their Oaths given their Votes for one Perſon, nevertheleſs Seven of the

Uppon which they endeavour to unbiſhop him.

the Number perfidiouſly ſeparated from the reſt, made choice of *Athanaſius*, and Ordained him, upon which account many of the *Ægyptians*, both Clergy and Churches, altogether refuſed Communion with him; and they could not but in Duty further inform their Prince that he was Pragmatical, and Turbulent, occaſioning Diſſentions and Fomenting Diviſions amongſt the People.

29. *Athanaſius* eaſily ſatisfied the Emperour, both that *Arius* who had been forbidden by the Council to return to *Alexandria*, and was the Arch-Hæretick, ought not to be received into Communion, and concerning thoſe Accuſations, having as it fortunately happened, ſent two of his Presbyters to the Court to excuſe his not waiting on the Emperour by reaſon of his more than Ordinary Employments at his firſt coming to the See, and to refel any objections that might be made againſt him. They ſo dexterouſly diſcharged what they had in Commiſſion, as obtaining Audience they cleared all Doubts and Surmiſes, both as to the Biſhops Legal Election, and his Perſonal Carriage and Deportment. This device of *Euſebius* not taking, he grew inraged at the ſucceſs, and reſolved if he could not ruin *Athanaſius* at a diſtance from Court, he would make yet his Seat too hot for him, by kindling a Flame within his own Province. *Meletius* the Schiſmatick being favourably handled by the *Nicene Council* returned to his See at *Lycopolis* in *Ægypt*, and there not only Ordained *Arſenius* contrary to the Canons thereof, Biſhop of the *Arſenitans* (which place he himſelf had formerly held) but being urged to Name his Succeſſor, made choice of one *John* his familiar Friend, to Succeed him: This begetting a Contention, for ſo much as the Juriſdiction of the Metropolitan was thereby much infringed, the *Arians* obſerving their opportunity, ſtrike in withthe *Meletians*, and under their Name and Pretences, reſolve to try the utmoſt with *Athanaſius*.

And make Diſturbances in the Province of *Alexandria*.

Soz. Lib. 2. *c.* 21.

Athan. Apol. 2. *Soz. lib.* 2. *c.* 20. *Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 3.

30. The *Meletians* therefore ſeeking Patronage of their Schiſm from the Emperour, as *Epiphanius* Writes, ſent to him *John Calinicus* and *Iſchyras* formerly mentioned (the one a *Meletian* Biſhop, and the other made again as good as a Prieſt) to obtain a Toleration, and being barred of Acceſs, betook themſelves to *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*; He making advantage hereof, undertook their Patronage under condition of their receiving *Arius* into their Communion; and not only procured them Audience but a Licence for their Separation, which *Baronius* denies, affirming that *Epiphanius* had this ſtory from ſome Writer that favoured the *Meletians*, alledging that *Conſtantine* is cleared of this Calumny, by his Letters to *Athanaſius*, and the Teſtimony of *Euſebius* (a Writer in the Cardinals judgment prone enough to the *Arian* Hereſie) who witneſſeth that he after the Council, did his endeavour to preſerve the Authority of the Canons, and laboured to Compoſe thoſe Diſſentions in the Churches of *Ægypt*. To be ſure this is agreed on all hands, *Athanaſius* went about to bring the *Meletians* to the obſervation of the *Nicene Canons*, which they again reſiſting, *Euſebius* and the reſt of the *Arians* ſtruck in with the Schiſmaticks and Levelled all their Engines againſt *Athanaſius*.

31. *Euſebius* and *Thæognis* laying their heads together, aſſume as Aſſociates and Councellors in the attempt, their old Companions *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalcedon* and *Valens* and *Urſatius* Biſhops in *Pannonia*, formerly condemned by the Council. Thoſe five preſent the Articles of the Schiſmaticks againſt *Athanaſius*, "wherein is objected that he is the great Cauſe and Fomenter of the troubles "in the *Ægyptian* Church. That like a falſe Traitor he endeavoured a Collection "in *Ægypt*, Levying Money, and therewith ſupplying *Philumenius*, who attempted the imbroyling of that Country in Sedition and Tumults; and that he "oppreſſed the People of *Ægypt*, exacting of them Linnen Cloaths or "Veſtments for the Church of *Alexandria*. His two Presbyters then lying at *Conſtantinople* eaſily refelled the objection concerning this Tribute of Linnen, ſuppoſed to be exacted by him, ſhewing that this was no new thing (as indeed there are many Examples) to require Linnen for the Ornament of Churches. But judging it moſt ſafe Perſonally to appear and make his Defence himſelf, he haſted to Court, and preſenting himſelf to the Emperour, ſo plainly and clearly evinced thoſe Articles of Forgery, that he was diſmiſſed with great Countenance and Reſpect, and with Letters Teſtimonial and Commendatory to the *Alexandrian* Church; all the Members whereof, are ſeveerly injoyned to receive and own him as their True, Loyal, and Pious Metropolitan. Some ſay the Emperour was ſo inraged at the double dealing of *Euſebius* and *Theognis* his Aſſociate, that remembring how upon refuſal to Subſcribe they had been Sentenced and

Several Articles againſt *Athanaſius* preſented to the Emperour by the Schiſmaticks

Which being cleared.

Euſebius and the reſt are baniſhed.

afterward Singing a Palinody at his Interceſſion, were freed from the danger of Exile, now in deteſtation both of their Relaps and Malice he cauſed to be Executed on them the former dieræ of Baniſhment, and *Amphion* and *Chiroſtus* were Subſtituted in their Places. *Theod. l.* 1. *c.* 20. *Athan. Apol.* 2.. *Socr. l.* 1. *c.* 27.

32. However their Baniſhment was not long, being within a Year or two recalled, by the interceſſion of *Conſtantia* as (*a*) *Baronius* thinks, though other Chronologers place her Death Four Years before, (*A. D.* 327.) which Lady at her laſt Funeral earneſtly Commended her *Arian* Chaplain to her Brother, who by this means had notable opportunities to ſerve both the Perſon and Cauſe of *Euſebius*. (a) *Ad An.* 331. (b) *Jacobus Capellus hiſt. Eccles. cent. quinq; ad A.D.* 327.

Being recall'd they charge him with new matter.

Being recalled a little after the Dedication of the New City of *Conſtantinople*, they found new Matter wherewith to Charge *Athanaſius*. *Iſchyras* the pretended Prieſt whom *Coluthus* the pretended Biſhop had Ordained, being found lurking about *Meotis*, where he acted the part of a true Miniſter; *Athanaſius* had ſent *Macarius*, one of his Presbyters who defended his Cauſe ſtoutly at *Conſtantinople*, to bring him to his preſence, who finding *Iſchyras* ſick in Bed, left only word with the Father that he had been there, whom he adviſed to Council his Son not to intermeddle any more with the Miniſterial Function till he had ſpoken with the Metropolitan. *Iſchyras* finding he could not continue there, betook himſelf to *Euſebius* to whom he complained, that being a Prieſt he had been outragiouſly abuſed and wronged by *Athanaſius*, his Church by him be- "ing Villified and Prophaned, his Alter overthrown, his Chalice broken in pieces, "his Bible burnt, and himſelf threatned with Cenſures and Perſecution. *Euſebius* "having this advantage, as he thought againſt the Biſhop, yet thought good to add greater Calumnies both that ſomthing might be ſure to ſtick according to the * Proverb, and that they might not utterly loſe the Emperour upon whom they had ſeveral times impoſed with their deviſed Fables. *Socr. lib.* 1. *c.* 20. *Sozom. l.* 2. *c.* 22. * *Fortiter calumniari ut aliquid hæreat.*

33. To the other therefore about *Iſchyras*, they joyn the moſt impudent Calumny of all others, accuſing him of having Murdered *Arſenius* a Biſhop of the *Meletian* Faction: Whom that the device might take, they hid in a ſecret place, and produced a Mans Hand, which as barbarouſly cut from the dead Body of *Arſenius*, they ſhewed to the People. But their ſport was partly ſpoiled by the Confeſſion of *Iſchyras*, who being ſharply reprehended by ſome honeſt Men, confeſſed the Forgery about *Macarius*, and the Emperour was quickly ſatisfied that it was a trick, yet as to the buſineſs of *Arſenius*, he wrote to *Dalmatius* to enquire about it, one that then was *Cenſor* at *Antioch*, foraſmuch as he was bound to take notice of any Complaints concerning the violent death of his Subjects. This was the ſame Year that *Macarius* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyed, after he had ſitten in that See Nineteen Years, whoſe Memory is Celebrated by the *Roman* Church, on the Tenth of *March*. He Succeeded *Maximus*, whom he had not long before Ordained Biſhop of *Dioſpolis*; but the People of *Jeruſalem* would not ſuffer there to ſettle, but reſerved him as a Succeſſor to *Macarius*, who knowing to be an earneſt Defender of the Concluſions of the *Nicene* Council, and fearing ſome of the *Arian* Faction might get into his Chair, willingly acquieſced in their Choice. That *Dioſpolis* was a City of *Palæſtine*, in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly called *Lydda*, which Name it changed when it grew Famous for the Idol of *Jupiter* there Worſhipped; in after times was more taken notice of for a Council there held againſt *Pelagius*, and by reaſon that St. *George* the Martyr who ſuffer'd under the Perſecution of *Diocletian*, the Engliſh Patron who had large Poſſeſſions in this Country, was here Buried, it was by the Chriſtians dwelling thereabouts, called St. *Georges* by way of Conſecration to his Memory. *Jacobus de vitriaci Hiſt. Hieroſol. c.* 57. *Dr.* Heylin.

And add thereto Murder.

34. *Athanaſius* being warned from *Dalmatius* to provide for his Tryal, ſo Induſtriouſly ordered the Matter, that purſuing him from place to place, by good eſpials at length he was detected at *Tyrus*, and though he denied himſelf, yet being brought before *Paul* the Biſhop of the place, was forced to confeſs himſelf the ſame Man, and how he had been wrought upon by *Euſebius*. The Emperour being hereof certified by *Macarius* a Prieſt whom *Athanaſius* had diſpatched to the Court for this purpoſe, commanded *Dalmatius* to deſiſt from any further Proſecution, and rejecting his Accuſers, by very obliging Letters deteſted theſe Calumnies raiſed againſt him which wrought this effect, that both *Arſenius* and *John* the late Ordained *Meletian* Biſhop confeſſed their fault to *Athanaſius*, begged his pardon, and were reconciled to the Catholick Church. And ſo as *Athanaſius* tells us, the Conſpiracy of the *Meletians* here had its period. But the *Arians* ſtill conſidering what an Adverſary their Cauſe had of *Athanaſius*, and how much *Athan. Apol.* 2.

But their Villanies are detected.

much Credit they had loſt by receiving the foil ſo many times, would not here give over, but leſt they ſhould be deprived of ſo fit an Inſtrument as *John* was, brought him about again to their Party. Then do they afreſh ſollicit the Emperour, telling him of freſh Complaints dayly coming in againſt *Athanaſius*, both many, and of great Conſequence: they aſſure, the Witneſſes that would now appear were not mean Perſons, and they pray his Majeſty that a Synod may be called, and the Criminal heard in a legal way.

The *Arians* ſollicit the Emperour againſt *Athanaſius*.

35. Though *Conſtantine* (as at this diſtance one may well imagine) might have had ſufficient cauſe both to ſuſpect their Malice, and acquit the Biſhop in his own Conſcience; yet growing now old he became more eaſie to be wrought upon, both by the Importunities of his own Relations, and the Flatteries and Courtſhip of thoſe about him, Juſtice withall ſeeming to call upon him, which the name of Five Biſhops, who were ready to give in the Information, ſeemed very much to induce him to believe. He granted therefore their Petition, and appointed a Council to be held at *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, a place picked out on purpoſe by *Euſebius* for the temper of the Clergy by whom he was to be judged, *Athanaſius* ſeeing very well as Matters were deviſed, and how they would end; there being ſcarce Four Orthodox Biſhops in that Conntry, gave his reaſons to the Emperour why he might juſtly decline his appearance at that place. Hereat the Emperour was nettled, as conceiving his Authority injured by ſuch a refuſal, yet he betrayed not his Indignation much further than changing the place of meeting from *Cæſarea* to *Tyre* (for which change alſo ſome pretence was made, that the Biſhops might conſecrate that Famous Church lately builded at *Hieruſalem*) he commanded him to appear there at his peril, and leſt he ſhould make a default, orders the Commander in chief of thoſe Parts to bring his Perſon before the Council.

Whereupon a Council is Summoned to *Ceſarea*.

Another at *Tyre* where *Athanaſius* is to appear at his peril.

36. To this Council were aſſembled ſuch as had been of the *Arian* Faction at *Nice*, and as *Euſebius* thought might be moſt for his turn, Sixty only as *Socrates* informeth, over whom he appointed *Dionyſius* the Count to preſide with a Band of Soldiers for a Guard. *Athanaſius* perceiving the Emperours mind to be alienated from him, and that he was to be convented before his Enemies under the Moderatorſhip of Soldiers, whereby neither could the Council, ſuch as it was, be free, debated with himſelf, whether he ſhould preſent himſelf, and for Three Months not Thirty (as the Copy of *Sozomen* now hath it) deferred his appearance, by which he gained time to underſtand the Matters wherewith he was charged, and how to anſwer them. Yet leſt he ſhould give his Enemies occaſion to inſult, and freſh Advantages whereby further to calumniate him to the Emperour, he appeared, and with him Forty ſeven of his Suffragan Biſhops amongſt whom *Potamon* and *Paphnutius* formerly mentioned, and *Macarius* his faithful Presbyter was thither brought in Chains by the Souldiers. The Accuſations were taken from the former Depoſitions againſt him in the Caſe of *Iſchyras* and *Arſenius*, which though he demonſtrated to be frivolous, and that Mans Ordination null, yet did he profit nothing, his Enemies being reſolved, the Count taking away all Freedom, and his Souldiers offering Violence to all of the Defendants Party.

37. When the buſineſs concerning *Arſenius* came to be opened, the Dead Mans Hand pretended to be cut off from his Dead Body, was produced, whereat *Arſenius* who came to teſtifie in the behalf of the Biſhop, preſented himſelf ſhowing both Hands ſound and entire to the Judges. The *Arians* confounded at this ſight, inſtead of Confeſſion, broke out into a rage, facing him out that this was meer Inchantment and Deluſion, and falling upon him, they had torn him in pieces, had not the Count interpoſed. As for the breaking of the Chalice, to all the ſober Party the Story ſeemed ſufficiently confuted by its own Vanity; but the *Arians* would not be content to hear, except they ſend ſome of their own Faction to ſee and report the Matter. This Reſolution was proteſted againſt by the two *Ægyptian* Biſhops, who importuned both the Council and Count that ſo ſtrange a Reſolution might not take effect, but that all things might be reſerved to the cognizance of the Emperour. But when neither the *Arian* Biſhops would alter their Reſolutions, nor *Dionyſius* the Count recall thoſe whom they had diſpatched to *Mæotis*, *Athanaſius* departed from *Tyre* towards *Conſtantinople*, to lay open to the Emperour thoſe Outragious Proceedings. Thoſe that were ſent in the mean time to *Mæotis* aſſiſted by *Philagrius* the Prefect, and the Soldiers addicted to the *Arian* Party, refuſed ſuch Clerks and others as were ready to appear in behalf of *Athanaſius* and *Macarius*, but taking their

After ſeveral falſe Accuſations.

Athan. ut ſuprà. Sozom. l. 2. c. 24. alii.

Evidence from *Jews*, *Catechumeni* and *Heathens*, at their return to *Tyre* gave up to their Maſters a ſuitable Verdict, whereupon enſued a Sentence correſpondent, that *Athanaſius* ſhould be deprived of his Biſhoprick, be ſuffered no more to reſide at *Alexandria*, but *John* the Principal of the *Meletian* Faction, with others of that Gang, ſhould be received into Communion, and all reſtored to their former Dignities and Preferments. Of this their Sentence and Decree they inform *Conſtantine*, as alſo other Biſhops, whom they forbid to have any Communication whatſoever with *Athanaſius*.

The *Arian* Biſhops deprive *Athanaſius* of his Biſhoprick.

38. Several of the honeſt Party ſhewed their diſlike of thoſe Proceedings at that Council with Indignation. *Paphnutius* evidently perceiving the drift of *Euſebius* and his Party, and heard they had got a Guard ſuitable to their Deſign, ſtepping to *Maximus* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, who being his Brother Confeſſor had loſt alſo an Eye and a Leg in the Perſecution of *Maxentius*, and taking him by the Hand, bad him riſe up, telling him it was not fit for them who had ſuffered ſuch things as they had for Chriſt, to abide in the company of ſuch wicked men, foraſmuch as he could not but clearly perceive how contrary to Juſtice the buſineſs was managed; and ſo departing, he told him the whole Story concerning *Athanaſius*, to whom *Maximus* ever after continued a moſt faithful Friend. And *Potamon* ſeeing *Euſebius* ſit in State as Judge, who formerly had denied his Saviour, and *Athanaſius* ſtanding as a Delinquent without any reſpect, though of ſo high a Dignity in the Church as Metropolitan of ſuch a See, he could not refrain himſelf, but upbraided therewith the proud and inſulting Prelate. But all to no purpoſe, *Athanaſius* muſt be ruined, that *Arius* might return, and with him *Arianiſm*, into the *Alexandrian* Province. This year died *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* at the laſt day of the Year, having governed that Church One and twenty Years; to whom ſucceeded *Marcus*, on the Eighteenth of the Calends of *February*. He died on the Nones of *October*, (*October* 7.) and after the See had been void Twenty days, *Julius* ſucceeded on the Sixth before the Calends of *November*, *A. D.* 336. *V. C.* 1089. the Ninth Indiction, the Fourth of the 278. *Olympiad. Fl. Popilius Nepotianus* and *Facundus* being Conſuls.

Sylveſter Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Is ſucceeded by *Marcus*.

Then *Julius*.

Damaſus.

39. The Fathers having diſpatched this buſineſs, removed to *Hieruſalem* to the Conſecration of the Church upon *Calvary*, where they performed the Ceremony with much exactneſs according to the Emperours Orders. It happened in the mean while that *Arius*, by procurement of that Prieſt whom *Conſtantia* at the point of Death had commended to her Brother, was permitted to come before the Emperour, who promiſed him reſpect and countenance, provided he adhæred to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Council. He profeſſes to acquieſce in thoſe Determinations, and offers to *Conſtantine* a Confeſſion of his Faith in Writing, whereat many of the Orthodox Party quarrelled, for that it wanted the word *Conſubſtantial*. Hereupon the Emperour reſolving to reſerve the Examination of it to competent Judges, ſent it to *Jeruſalem*. The Orthodox there plainly perceived that by this new Creed, and leaving out the word *Conſubſtantial* (however he called the ſecond Perſon God, and Begotten of his Father before all Ages) he overthrew all that the *Nicene* Fathers had Eſtabliſhed, yet could they do no good, *Euſebius* his Party being ſo ſtrong, that they approved of his Confeſſion, and Decreed he ſhould be received into Communion. *Athanaſius* e're this was got to the Emperour, before whom he ſo laid open the Original and Progreſs of the Calumnies deviſed againſt him, that *Conſtantine* in great diſpleaſure commanded his Judges to appear before him. There *Euſebius* the Ringleader, with Five others of the moſt bold appeared, the reſt ſlipping away to their own Churches. Now made they no mention of the breaking of the Chalice, or the matter concerning *Arſenius*, but preventing the danger of being called to account for what had paſſed at *Tyre*, charged him with new and ſtrange Matter. This was no leſs than *that he ſhould ſtop the Corn which from Ægypt* (the Granary of the Empire) *was wont yearly to be ſent to Conſtantinople.*

Athan. de Synod.

Soc. l. 2. c. 22. &c Athan. Apol. 2.

Another charge againſt *Athanaſius*.

40. This being atteſted by Five Biſhops, which being formerly of his Party, had now apoſtatized to the *Arians*, the Emperour gave them credit as his Favourers, and in great wrath refuſing to hear his Apology, baniſhed him to *Triers* a City of the *Belgick Gall*, now the See of one of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors of the *German* Empire. He being baniſhed, the *Arians* alſo procured the ſame Judgment to be given againſt his Orthodox Suffragan Biſhops, and this being paſt, and the way made for *Arius*, they procure him Licenſe to return to *Alexandria*. There he had not long been, but he raiſed a Tumult in the City, moſt of the Inhabitants

Upon which he is baniſhed to *Triers* in *Gall*

Arius returns to *Alexandria*.

Inhabitants whereof refuſed to Communicate with him, affirming that as to Religion they were of the ſame Judgment as formerly, and being much exaſperated for the Baniſhment of their Biſhop. The news coming to *Conſtantinople*, the Emperour ſends for *Arius* and *John* the *Meletian* Biſhop his great Friend and abetter. Much of the blame lighting upon the *Meletians*, he was baniſhed, and *Arius* kept ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, where preſently great ſtirs happened again about him, ſome remaining ſtedfaſt to the *Nicene Creed*, and others affirming the opinion of *Arius* moſt agreeable to the Truth. At this time *Alexander*, who a little before had ſucceeded *Metrophanes*, governed that Church, a Man very Pious and Orthodox. Him *Euſebius* threatened ſore, in caſe he would not receive the Arch-Heretick into Communion, which he as conſtantly refuſing, till the Matter was brought before the Emperour. *Conſtantine* calls for *Arius*, and taking notice that where-ever he goes ſtill Tumults follow him; he asked him whether or no he did really imbrace and hold the *Nicene Faith*. He profeſſing that he did, the Emperour required his Subſcription, and when he had as willing, ſet his Hand to the Articles, to take away all ſcruple from *Conſtantine*, made Oath alſo, as he was enjoyned. But it is ſaid that he equivocated in this latter, having his private Opinion in his own Senſe in Writing under his Arm when he made his Oath, and that he Sware in relation to that, and not to what he Subſcribed in the Emperours preſence.

Socr. lib. 1. c. penult. Theod. l. 1. c. 14.

Thence is ſent for to *Conſtantinople.*

41. The Emperour now ſatisfied about *Arius* his Judgment, commands *Alexander* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to receive him into Communion. He ſeeing now his Diſputes would not prevail, and that there was no ſtrugling with the Emperour, betook himſelf to Prayer, wherein he ſpent ſeveral days and nights, deſiring of Almighty God, that if it was his pleaſure to permit *Arius* to come to the Communion, he might be taken firſt out of the way, and never ſee it; but if he intended Mercy to his Church, to cut off that Man. The Lords day being come, he paſſed early in the Morning (that he might get into the Church before *Alexander*) being conducted in great State, till he came to *Conſtantine*'s *Forum*, where whether naturally or out of fear (which ſometimes produceth ſuch an effect) he found himſelf ſeized with a Laske, whereupon being directed to the common Privy near at hand, there together with Excrements he voided his Entrails, Guts, Spleen, Liver and all, and was found dead in a ſtrange and horrible manner. *Sozomen* Writes that this place for a long time continued very remarkable, ſo as to be pointed at by all Paſſengers, and ſo execrable that no Man would make uſe of it; till at length a rich *Arian* that he might aboliſh the memory of the thing, purchaſed the Houſe, pulled it down, and raiſed other Buildings in the room of it. But the horror of this Mans Death had this effect, that many formerly iu Error ſeeing God thus bear witneſs to the Truth, were Converted to it; thoſe of *Euſebius* his Party were ſtricken with great Terror, and the Emperour himſelf was more confirmed in the Orthodox Faith.

L. 2. c. 26.

And the Biſhop commanded by the Emperour to receive *Arius* into Communion.

Which is prevented by *Arius* his ſudden death.

42. But he himſelf lived not long after, a Judgment as ſome ſuppoſed for his too much eaſineſs (to ſpeak modeſtly) towards that Heretick, and his very unequal carriage towards *Athanaſius*. Feeling himſelf ſick, he left *Conſtantinople* and ſailed to *Helenopolis*, where he made uſe of the hot Baths near the Town, but when they gave him no Relief, growing ſtill ſicker, he left them, and went to *Nicomedia*, where in the Suburbs he called the Biſhops together, and ſignified to them his deſire of Baptiſm, ſaying it is now time that at laſt we ſhould receive that Sign of Immortality, telling them that he had ſo long deferred it, becauſe he intended to have been Baptized in the River *Jordan*, after the Example of our Saviour. His Baptiſm being performed, he gave great ſign of incredible Joy, and a little after that died; as writeth *Euſebius* or the Author of the Hiſtory of his Life, with whoſe Narration do conſent all the Antient * Eccleſiaſtical Writers, both as to place and time, that his Baptiſm happened both a little before he died, and that at *Nicomedia*; although Pope *Hadrian* and ſome Modern Writers, as *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, and others contend that he was Baptized at *Rome* in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign; and *Binius*, who hath made Annotations upon the Councils ſtrangely affirms that the *Nicene Council* by the conſent of all Writers was held after that *Conſtantine* was Baptized. Their Arguments are drawn from a ſuppoſed Leproſie, wherewith they make the Emperour to be ſtruck for his hainous Sins, as Perſecuting of the Chriſtians till about that time, and the Murder of *Criſpus* his Son, with others whom he moſt unjuſtly put to death. *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome*, who as they pretend Baptized him, is ſaid to have fled to the Mountains, being forced from his Flock by his Perſecution,

Conſtantine is Baptized at *Nicomedia.*

* *Soc. l. 1. c. ult. Soz. l. 2. c. 32. Theod. l. 1. c. 31. Hieron. contin. Chr. Euſeb. An.* 340. *Ambroſ. Orat. in obitum Theodoſii Pomponius latus alii.*

Perſecution, whereas not only the conſent of Hiſtory, but all the ſeveral Edicts of *Conſtantine* by their Date do clearly evidence that he was converted long before this time, and *Criſpus* his Son, as appears by the Conſular Tables, was alive after this Year. But for the ſupportment of a ſpurious Council, which making much for the Papal Intereſt, they would have to follow this Baptiſm and held at *Rome* by *Silveſter*, as alſo to gain credit to the Donation of *Conſtantine*, which as an act of Gratitude muſt alſo have enſued this his Baptiſm; they take thoſe Arguments from *Zozimus* a profeſſed Enemy both of this Emperour and of all Chriſtianity, to the diſparagement of the Catholick Cauſe, which they would make truckle under that of a Private Church. But to all their Arguments and Weak Pretences, our Dr. *Crackanthorp* hath abundantly anſwered in his Defence of *Conſtantine*.

43. The Baptiſm indeed of *Conſtantine* at *Nicomedia* being performed by *Euſebius* Biſhop of that *City*, as is ſuppoſed at the firſt ſight would ſeem to determine that queſtion, whether or no all his actions againſt *Athanaſius*, and his ſiding with that Biſhop and his Party, may not juſtly denominate him an *Arian*, at leaſt as to us, whoſe Capacity reacheth no further than the bounds of Probability. But although we may obſerve that in his old Age he was more eaſie and lay open to the Craft, Inſinuations and Flatteries of thoſe about him (and amongſt the reſt thoſe of that Courtly Prelate *Euſebius*) which Heathen † Writers have alſo taken notice of, yet have we ſufficient evidence to acquit him from the guilt of that Hereſie. For his conſtant adhering to the *Nicene* Faith is even in the Story of *Athanaſius* all along perſpicuous, againſt whom *Euſebius* never durſt ingage, whatever his private deſigns were, in the Notion of an *Arian*, pretended a love only to good Order, Diſcipline and Tranquillity of the Church, and upon pretence of *Athanaſius* his Male-adminiſtration, raiſed ſuch a Storm againſt that good Biſhop. The Emperour having to do with ſo ſtrong a Faction in his Court, which was formerly bred through his natural affection to his Siſter, and now carried on by the cunning of *Euſebius*, was drawn to do many things which really tended to the Service of that Party. But theſe Perſons appeared not to him in their true Dreſs, they acted not this part but in Diſguiſes and Vizards, they walked one way, but he being in ſight ever looked another. During his whole Reign *Euſebius* and his Party durſt not recant, his Recantation ever pretending an adherence to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Fathers. The Emperours Inclinations were for Peace, and for burying of all old Diſpleaſures, his Age deprived him of his former Activity and Sagacity, whereby he was more eaſily wrought upon, but it is clear that he never countenanced *Euſebius* but as a Catholick and Orthodox Biſhop.

He is cleared from the Aſperſion of *Arianiſm*.

His adhering to the *Nicene* Creed.

† *Victor ait Conſtantinum* 10. *omnia præſtantiſſimum*, 11. *ſequentibus latronem*, 12. *ultimis pupillum fuiſſe.*

44. The Laws alſo made by him, declare him to have been of this Diſpoſition. For in his One and twentieth year, in his own and his Childrens name, he (*a*) forbids that ſuch Priviledges and Immunities as he had conferred upon Orthodox Clerks, ſhould be transferred upon Hæreticks, by which muſt be meant the *Arians*, as well as others, who the foregoing year had been declared ſuch by the *Nicene* Fathers. Being ſenſible alſo what Heartburnings, Diviſions, Scandalous Words and Works thoſe Differences in Religion had raiſed, not only betwixt Chriſtians and Heathens, but Chriſtians themſelves, anathematizing and nicknaming one another, by a Law made in the Twenty third year, he commands that Infamous Libels ſhould not be examined and canvaſed but burnt, as he formerly at the Council of *Nice* had never looked in, but burnt ſuch Complaints and Petitions as the Biſhops had preſented againſt one another. Indeed the time was late to which he deferred his Baptiſm, but it was not his ſingle and peculiar fault, it was a bad Cuſtom which much obtained at that time amongſt all ſorts of Profeſſors; not only Emperours but others who afterwards did eſpecial Service in the Church, long deferring the receiving that Chriſtian Character, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. This may diminiſh if not quite remove the blame caſt upon this Emperour, who for further excuſe pleaded a deſign (though not neceſſary yet ſomething plauſible) of being Baptized in that place where his Saviour had formerly ſubmitted to that Ordinance. However, the Church of Chriſt having received ſuch and ſo great things from his Patronage and Protection, who was the firſt Baptized if not the firſt Chriſtian Emperour of all others; the great diſtance of time betwixt his Age and ours ought not ſo to aboliſh our Sence of thoſe Matters, as either to deſpiſe him, or be unthankful to God for ſo excellent an Inſtrument, much leſs ought we to quarrel with thoſe Writers who having felt as well the ſmart of the former Perſecutions, and undergone the

(*a*) *Cod. Inſt. l.* 1. *tit.* 5. §. 1.

And his Laws againſt Hæreticks.

Cod. Theod. l. 9. *t.* 34. §. 1.

the heat of the day of Trial, as the comfort of thoſe Refreſhments the Church received from God by his means, both praiſe the Author and commend the Inſtrument.

Euſebius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* vindicated from the Calumny of the Cardinal Annaliſt.

45. But the Cardinal Annaliſt warm in his Purple, and not ſo ſenſible of the benefit received by *Conſtantine*, becauſe he never felt the need of it, falls very foul upon *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and as he ſuppoſed, of the Book called the Life of *Conſtantine*. His Language towards ſuch a Reverend Biſhop cannot be excuſed of Incivility, giving him the Lye, ſo often calling him the *Architect and Deviſer of Lyes*, with many other extravagant Epithets, as making his Hiſtories but a Fardle of Lyes, and compoſed rather for the everſion than the Publication of true Story; though he will have them truly and clearly to hold out and maintain his own Aſſertion againſt their Author, that *being not only a Lyar but an Hæretick, an Arian and Theopaskite, one worthily caſt out of the Church, and as ſuch to be rejected by all Readers.* But all have not been of the Cardinals opinion, though *Euſebius* be not to be patronized in all Particulars. St. *Hierome* who was a more capable Judge, as living near thoſe times, ſaith, *He hath excellently written the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and commends him both for that and his Chronicon.* *Evagrius Scholaſticus* beginneth his own Hiſtory thus: Euſebius Pamphilus *a Man without all peradventure as in other things profound, ſo in Penning excellent, is of ſuch efficacy in his Works, that although he cannot make the Readers perfect Chriſtians, yet can he ſo draw them by perſwaſion, that with prompt and willing minds they will imbrace the Chriſtian Faith. Euſebius, Socrates, Sozomenus and Theodoret, have written moſt exquiſitely of the Incarnation of our moſt loving Saviour*, &c. And to paſs by many Modern Writers of the Cardinals perſwaſion as to Religion, remarkable is the opinion of one of their moſt † Grave and Judicious Authors, whoſe judgment is, that *Euſebius was a Man of great diligence and labour, of exceeding variety of reading, and of very grave judgment. Neither do I know*, ſaith he, *whether any Author either in the Latin or Greek Church, though he ſtrive never ſo much, can leave more excellent Monuments of time.*

Temporum everſor, calumniator malicioſus, profuſus adulator, &c.

Eccleſiaſticam Hiſt. politice texuit. Ep. ad Pammach. & Apol. 1. adverſus Ruffinum.

† *Cænus loc. Theol. l.* 11. *c.* 6.

And Pope *Gelaſius* by conſent of good Authors.

46. Pope *Gelaſius* indeed with his Seventy two Biſhops doth cenſure the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, but it is only in reſpect of the Story of *Abgarus* and ſome few things more, not condemning the whole or the greateſt part thereof. But the Fathers of the Second *Nicene* Synod ſtruck him dead by their Decree that rejects and anathematizeth his Book, yea, all that read them, calling him *Hæretick*, an *Arian* and a *Theopaskite*, or *one who taught that Chriſt had no Soul, but the Godhead ſupplied that Office, that ſo the Deity might be ſaid to ſuffer.* But his Crime was, he † had taught that no Image could fully expreſs Chriſt, being both God and Man, and the good Fathers not enduring that any ſhould croſs their Doctrine of Images, thus brand him, making him both an *Arian* and a *Theopaskite*, that is both an *Arian* and not an *Arian*, both a *Theopaskite* and not a *Theopaskite*; for if an *Arian*, then could not the Deity inform the Body, Chriſt not being really God, according to him, and if a *Theopaskite*, then the Deity informing the Body, he muſt have been perfect God though not perfect Man, and of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, or elſe there muſt have been two real and perfect Deities. This Hæreſie (*a*) of the *Theopaskites* ſprung not up till about the Five hundred and thirteenth year of our Lord, more than One hundred and ſixty years after the Death of *Euſebius*, who in all his Writings doth rightly and truly teach two diſtinct (*b*) Natures to be in Chriſt, and the (*c*) Divine Nature to be incapable of Paſſion, Affection or Mutilation. It is true that he inclined to *Arianiſm* before the *Nicene* Council, and was an earneſt defender of *Arius*; but this was but till that Synod, he being Reformed, continued Orthodox ever after, as both his own Writings and other (*d*) Authors abundantly teſtifie, together with the Suffrage of *Conſtantine* the Emperour himſelf, (*e*) who gives not only his own opinion of the Man, but that alſo of the Catholick Church. Of late times (*f*) *Sixtus Senenſis* a Man of infinite Reading, yet (abating his Parts) of great judgment, is of the ſame mind; whence it appears that no time indeed he was an Hæretick. By ignorance and Infirmity, falling into that Error, he did not through Pride, Arrogance, and Obſtinacy therein continue; but now the caſe being defined by the Church, he both conformed his Belief and Deportment to its Decrees, and dying a Catholick, was Canonized for a Saint by the Greek Church, the Commemoration of his Death being celebrated on the Twenty firſt day of *June* in *Palæſtine*.

† *Citantur verba Act.* 6.

(a) *Prateol. in Theop.*

(b) *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

(c) *Apud Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

(d) *Idem ibid. & l.* 2. *c.* 17. *Theod. l.* 1. *c.* 12.

(e) *Epiſt. Conſt. ad Euſeb. vitæ Conſt. l.* 3. *c.* 59.

(f) *In Bibliotheca in Euſebio.*

Conſule Dr. Crackanthorp *omnino lib. Cui titulus.* The Defence of *Conſtantine.*

So

So little did the Conſideration of his having been againſt Images, his telling the plain truth about the Baptiſm of *Conſtantine*, and his not telling that which never was (*viz.* about the Donation) work with unintereſted and unbyaſſed Perſons.

47. It is not the leaſt part of the Apology for *Conſtantine*, that he cauſed his Three Sons *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* to be trained up in the Orthodox Faith. Of thoſe Three two retained the Principles they had been bred in, *viz.* *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans*, but *Conſtantius* revolted and turned a bitter Perſecutor of the Church. It happened very ill that his Father made him the Executor of his Will and Teſtament, which he committed to the Hands of his Siſters Prieſt, whom ſhe at her Death had commended to his care, commanding him to deliver it to no Mans Hand but to his Son *Conſtantius*, hereby as it were commending the Man to his Son, if not as a Counſellor yet as an eſpecial Friend, whereby he got opportunity to inſinuate into the Son, and inſtill thoſe Principles which he durſt never own to the Father. Hereupon enſued moſt ſad and diſmal Conſequences to the Orthodox Party, this Prieſt having gained Intereſt by Degrees; for firſt he tampered with the Courtiers, then having made a Party amongſt them, betook himſelf to the Empreſs and the Ladies, but eſpecially he inveigled the Eunuchs about the Emperour, who were the great Inſtruments which he and *Euſebius* uſed for carrying on their Deſigns, being near to the Perſon, and having perpetually the Ear of the Prince. But in the mean time *Athanaſius* is releaſed from Baniſhment by the Emperour *Conſtantine*, in whoſe Dominions the City *Triers* was, to which he had been confined. He ſent him back to *Alexandria* with his Letters Commendatory to the Inhabitants, telling them they could not but know that his Father did not baniſh their Biſhop out of diſpleaſure, but ſent him out of the way of danger, and that when he died, he left it to him in charge, that *Athanaſius* ſhould be reſtored, in purſuance of which command, and to anſwer their deſires, he now ſent him to them. And ſo returned *Athanaſius* to his See, after he had been abſent two Years and four Months, and was received by his People with great Joy, all ſorts and degrees flocking about to ſee him.

Vit. Conſt. l. 4. c. 52.

Athanaſius is releaſed from Baniſhment.

Soc. l. 2. c. 2. Theod. l. 2. c. 1

48. *Conſtantius* did not at all hinder his Reſtitution, nor the return of thoſe other Biſhops which had been his Companions in Faith and Sufferings, both leaſt he ſhould ſeem to withſtand his dying Fathers orders, and ſhould thereby diſoblige his Elder Brother. But long it was not before *Euſebius* the Prieſt, and others of that Party began to inſinuate into this Prince, that he was by all means to be driven from that Church. "Beſides their old Ca- "lumnies they alledge great Seditions and Slaughters to have happened at "*Alexandria* through the unwillingneſs of the People to receive him again; "they affirm that being deprived by one Council, he cannot Canonically be "reſtored without another, and they again accuſe him of defrauding the "Poor of *Ægypt* and *Lybia* of that Corn which through the Munificence of "*Conſtantine* was wont to be beſtowed upon them. To make their Party more ſtrong, they ſend their Meſſengers into the Weſt to the other two Emperours, whom they labour to poſſeſs with the ſame prejudice againſt *Athanaſius*, as alſo *Julius* the Biſhop of *Rome*; but all this to no purpoſe, the Biſhop alſo ſending ſome of his Clerks, who eaſily wiped off all theſe Slanders. But, Matters grew ſtill worſe, the *Arians* inſinuating themſelves more and more into all Offices of the Church, and by feigned Accuſations thruſting out ſuch of the Orthodox Party as would moſt oppoſe their deſign. *Alexander* the good Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* they much grudged his Seat, but let him alone, as expecting Death ſhould ſave them the trouble of outing him. This ſhortly came to paſs, and when the old Man ſaw his end approaching, as careful to have ſome honeſt Man to ſucceed him, he named two: one *Macedonius* whom he thought moſt acceptable at Court, and *Paulus* whom for his Principles of Religion he commended to his Clergy.

Alexander Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* dies.

49. *Paul* a Prieſt of his Church, and a Man eminent for Learning and Piety was accordingly choſen, Admitted and Ordained by the Biſhops there Aſſembled, according to the Canons of the *Nicene* Council. The *Arians* having ſtickled for *Macedonius* were very much concerned for the Defeat, and *Conſtantius* the Emperour at that time coming to the City, moſt willingly eaſed them of their grief, calling an Aſſembly of *Arian* Biſhops, wherein *Paul* was removed, and to his place preferred *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, the great Patron of the Faction, than

Paul choſe in his ſteed, but outed by the *Arians*; and *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* tranſlated thither.

Soc. l. 2. c. 4. Soz. l. 3. c. 4.

than which they could not have a more notable advantage: For now he hath not only an opportunity for reſiding conſtantly at Court, but more Power and Authority to back his purpoſes, which he quickly improves to the Deprivation of *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who had been very eminent in the Council of *Nice*, and therefore they concluded that as well he as *Athanaſius* and *Paul* were to be removed; laying to his Charge Adultery, *Sabellianiſm* and other leſſer Crimes, they got him Baniſhed to *Trajanople* a City of *Thrace*, where he died and was Buried. After him they ſent many others into Baniſhment, ſome under pretence of various Crimes, others without any thing laid to their Charge, but all in truth for defending the *Nicene Faith*, thoſe of the *Arian* party though never ſo deſpicable, being put in their Places. And from this time it is, as *Baronius* obſerveth, that, what St. *Hierome* hath ſaid in his Continuation of *Euſebius* his Chronicon, concerning the *Arian* Perſecution, is to take Place, *viz.* That henceforth this Impiety being ſupported by *Conſtantius* the Emperour, Perſecuted with Baniſhment Impriſonment and other various ſorts of Afflictions and Miſeries firſt *Athanaſius*, and then all other Biſhops that were not of that Hæretical Party. This was the Fourth Year of *Conſtantius* (though St. *Hierome* places the beginning of thoſe things in his Second) *A. D.* 340. of *Rome* the 1093, the laſt of the 279. *Olympiad*, the 13 Indiction, *Fl. Septimius Acyndinus*, and *L. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus* being Conſuls.

Athan. Apol. & ep. ad ſolit. agentes.

Euſebius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* dies.

50. This ſame Year dyed *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of whom we lately ſpoke, to whoſe Character had *Baronius* added his Induſtry in this particular, and confeſſed how much he was beholden to that very Perſon whom he had endeavoured to render ſo odious, it might have ſerved for an Epitaph more expreſſive both of the Biſhops deſert and the Cardinals gratitude. But whilſt theſe Biſhops leave either their Sees or this World, *Athanaſius* (as great Bodies have ſlower motions) a Perſon though more envied and Maligned, yet of more Intereſt and Authority, was not ſo eaſily removed from his Biſhoprick. *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* receiving complaints againſt him from the *Arians*, as alſo his defenſive Arguments, is by both Parties choſen Arbitrator in the controverſy, and deſired to call a Synod, wherein *Athanaſius* his Cauſe might again be debated: He accordingly as he was Impowered calls a Synod at *Rome*, and appoints a time for all concerned to be preſent; *Athanaſius* made his appearance, and was ready to anſwer, but none of his Accuſors would come, though he ſtaid for them a Year and a half, during which time he is ſaid to have Communicated to the *Italians* thoſe Monaſtical præcepts which he had received from *Antony* in the Wilderneſs, with a Copy of the Creed, ſtill going under his Name, which being written in Latin continued long in the Archives of the *Roman* Church as *Baronius* tells us. The *Arians* unbethought themſelves that they ſhould aſſuredly receive the Foil at *Rome*, the Biſhops of the Weſtern Church being generally Orthodox; they conſidered the Cauſe ſhould only be decided by Eccleſiaſticals, where there ſhould be no Count to præſide, nor any Soulders to affright and threaten their Antagoniſts, by which means they had formerly had the better of him. They pretended they could not ſafely Travel to *Rome* by reaſon of the *Perſian* War, and detaining the Meſſenger which *Julius* the Biſhop had ſent for them, beyond the very day appointed, for their appearance, procured *Conſtantius* to ſummon them to *Antioch*, to the Dedication of that magnificent Church called *Aureum Dominicum*, formerly began by *Conſtantine* and now finiſhed by *Conſtantius* his Son.

A Synod is call'd at *Rome*, where the *Arians* come not

Athan. Apol.

Ad An. D. 340.

51. The *Arians* glad of ſuch excuſe for going to the *Roman* Synod, aſſembled together, to the Number of Thirty Six Biſhops, with whom met ſo many of the Orthodox Party as to make it up Ninety Seven, or Ninety Nine. But many refuſed to be preſent (as *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* for one,) knowing before hand how matters would be determined; others were ſeized on in their Journey and Impriſoned, and as for *Julius* the *Roman* Biſhop, he neither was preſent, nor ſent any in his room; however there met enough and more to do the buſineſs deſigned by the *Arians*, who overpowered the Orthodox, though not in Number, yet in Confidence, Reſolution, and the favour of the Emperour by whom their Decrees and Reſolutions were made Authentick though Excanonical. Now "beſides the charge formerly laid againſt *Athanaſius* at *Tyre*, they make the ſame "complaints againſt him which they had ſent to *Julius*, as that he had broken "the Canons, thruſting himſelf into his former Function without the Admiſſion "and Conſent of the Council, ruſhing into the Church of *Alexandria*, after his re-"turn from Exile; moreover that he had done many acts of Violence and In-"juſtice

Another at *Antioch*, where the *Arians* prevailed.

Socr. c. 8. Græc.

"juſtice, having raiſed Tumults among the People, wherein ſome were Slain, "others Impriſoned and beaten, and others he had forced to anſwer at the Bar. As forthe matters objected againſt him at *Tyre*, they had been over and over Confuted, partly by their own Folly, and partly the confeſſion of the Parties themſelves that were brought againſt him. The report concerning the Tumults was Convicted of Falſhood, by the Letter of the *Alexandrian* Church, wherein *Conſtantius* is told that true Catholicks uſe no ſuch Weapons in their Warfare as Death, Impriſonment, Bonds or corporal Puniſhments; concerning which the Civil Magiſtrate can give beſt account: And as for the buſineſs concerning his intruſion into his Church, without leave or order; it's clear enough that he was not baniſhed by the Emperour, in order to what was done at *Tyre*, the Matter whereof depended upon Appeal before him: but upon new Matter Originally riſing before him, which being of a Political conſideration, concerning the publick Peace, the Emperour might as well reſtore *Athanaſius*, as baniſh him, without a Council.

And *Athanaſius is* condemned both as Guilty and contumacious.

52. *Athanaſius* appeared not himſelf on purpoſe as ſome think, that the matter might not be decided. *Conſtantius* ſent to Apprehend him, but he kept himſelf out of the way, and thereupon was Condemned both as guilty and Contumacious. To Succeed him was choſen one *Euſebius*, born at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, who knowing well how he ſhould be received at *Alexandria*, whilſt *Athanaſius* was yet alive, plainly refuſed their offer: He then is made Biſhop of *Emiſa*, and *Athanaſius* his Chair is conferred on one who will not refuſe it, as made of fit Mettle for ſuch an Exploit, by Name *Gregory*, a Man altogether unknown, both to the Church and Province of *Alexandria*. Having diſpatcht *Athanaſius*, they go about to overthrow the *Nicene Faith*, but ſuch Reputation it had got, and they themſelves had hitherto made Profeſſion of it, that it muſt be covertly by degrees and by way of Inſinuation; as all Parties and Sects hate to be called by the Name of their Founders, they diſclaim that of *Arius*; even the Dignity of their Epiſcopal Office forbidding they ſhould become Proſelites to a Presbyter: They frame a Creed of their own, as ſcorning to Truckle under the *Nicene Council*, which is ſo plauſibly Penned, as yet to beware of the word *Conſubſtantial*, or to own the Son of the ſame Subſtance and Eſſence with the Father. This Creed they ſend in an Epiſtle to the Churches throughout every City. But continuing at *Antioch* a little longer, and unbethinking themſelves, they in a manner condemn it, framing a new one; for being conſcious that they had ſpoken too Jejunely concerning the Divinity of the Second Perſon, and thereby could not poſſibly ſhun that Cenſure which they had indeavoured to prevent, they now profeſs to hold that Faith which had been delivered by the Holy Scriptures Prophets and Apoſtles, and ſo own the God-head of the Son, and yield to the word Subſtance; yet they acknowledge him not of very ſame Subſtance with the Father, but as it were the Image thereof without any diſſimilitude. To thoſe they ſubſcribed and amonſt them *Gregory* with the Title of Biſhop of *Alexandria*, though as yet he had not ſeen the place; but not content with thoſe two (thinking it ſeems that by the later they had given too much to the Son of God, as by the firſt they had aſcribed too little) *Theophronius* Biſhop of *Tyara* compoſed another Form to which they aſſented; and ſtill not ſatisfied, as not knowing where to fix, *Athanaſius* tells us, they compoſed a fourth Form of Confeſſion, which they ſent to *Conſtans* the Emperour into *Gaul*, and diſperſed all over the Weſtern Churches.

The *Arians* here make four ſeveral Creeds,

Soc. l. 2. c. 10. Gr.

And Twenty five Canons.

53. Beſides thoſe four Creeds, they framed Twenty five Canons, againſt which, though ſeveral of the Ancients except, as compoſed by Hereticks, yet by old Collectors of Canons have they been gathered together, as made by Orthodox Biſhops, and in the Council of *Chalcedon* two of them are cited word for word. For Hereticks may decree other things orthodoxly which are not material to the thing in Controverſie, and the *Arians* cunningly cauſed the Names of Biſhops eminent for their Zeal towards the *Nicene* Faith, to be ſet to the Epiſtle præfixed to the Canons, omitting thoſe of *Euſebius*, *Theognis*, *Mæris* and others, the moſt notorious of all *Arians*. And that they might not ſeem in the leaſt to thwart the Council of *Nice*, but as concerned for its Authority, their firſt Canon makes it unlawful to Celebrate *Eaſter* otherwiſe than that Council had determined. The Second ordains that Perſons Excommunicate ſhall not be abſolved without ſatisfaction made, the contrary being now practiced by a new Sect lately ſprung up, called *Anthropomorphites*; as alſo that none Communicate with Excommunicated Perſons. The Third commands that no Clerk remove to another Church, without his Dioceſans leave, and there continue. The Fourth

7. q. 1. Si quis Presbyter.

Ordains

Ordains that no ſuſpended Biſhop or Clerk offer to execute his Function. The Fifth forbids Prieſts to ſeparate themſelves, and erect Altars amongſt themſelves in contempt of the Biſhops. The Sixth prohibits any to receive ſuch as are Excommunicated by the Biſhops, till they be either reconciled to them, or reſtored by Synods. By the Seventh, no ſtranger (Clerk) is to be received without Letters Commendatory. By the Eighth the *Chorepiſcopi* are only Licenſed, no Inferiour Prieſts, to give general Letters. The Ninth ſets Limits to the power of a Biſhop, thoſe of his own Dioceſs forbidding him to meddle with matters appertaining to the Metropolitan, whom it forbids to deal in things proper to him, as ſuch, without the Council and Aſſiſtance of the reſt of the (Prieſts or) Biſhops.

11. q. 4 *Siquis Epiſcopus.*

11. q. 3. *Siquis a propio.*

Diſt. 71. *Nullus atq;* 6. q. 1 *per Singulas.*

Sacerdotum by which Biſhops are often meant.

54. Their Tenth Canon is for the Reſtrainment of the *Chorepiſcopi*, who though they were Conſecrated as Biſhops, yet it pleaſed the holy Synod (as theſe Men call themſelves) that they ſhould recognize the mean of their Power, governing the Churches in the Country Villages committed to them, and content themſelves with that Imployment, and the ordination of Readers, Subdeacons and Exorciſts, not preſuming to Ordain Prieſts or Deacons without the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, upon pain of deprivation. And the *Chorepiſcopus* they command be ordained by the Biſhop to whom he is ſubject. The Eleventh puniſhes ſuch Biſhop or Clerk with depoſition, as without the Letters of the Synod and Biſhops of the Province, eſpecially the Metropolitan, ſhall go and ſolicit the Emperour about buſineſs. This they did to take away benefit of Appeals from the Orthodox. And this Canon was objected againſt *Chryſoſthom* by his Adverſaries, to whom he replied that it was made by *Arians*, and therefore was deſervedly repealed by the Council of *Sardica*. But more to their purpoſe by their Twelfe Canon they deprive ſuch Prieſts and Biſhops of all hope of reſtitution, who being condemned by their Biſhops or by Synods ſhall not abide by their determinations, but have recourſe unto the Emperour. The Thirteenth prohibits Biſhops to Ordain out of their own Province, except they be ſent for by Letters from the *Metropolitan* and his Suffragans, under Penalty of the Ordinations being Null, and Cenſures inflicted upon their own Perſons. The Fourteenth determines that in caſe of Tryal of a Biſhop by his Comprovincials, part be for him, and part againſt him, the Metropolitan is to call other Biſhops to his aſſiſtance out of other Provinces, who in conjunction with the former are to decide the controverſy. The Fifteenth Confirms what is done againſt any Biſhop by the Univerſal conſent of the Biſhops of the ſame Province.

23. q. 8. *Siquis Epiſcopus.*

10. q. 5. *Siquis a propria.*

9. q. 7. *Nullum Epiſcopum.*

6. q. 4. *Siquis Epiſcopus.*

Ibid.

55. The Sixteenth Canon commands that if a Nominal Biſhop (having no Dioceſs) intrude himſelf into a Vacant Church without the Conſent and Decree of a compleat Synod, he ſhall by force be thence ejected, although the People make choice of him for their Paſtor. Now a perfect Synod, that is to be underſtood where the Metropolitan præſides. By the Seventeenth it is decreed that if any Biſhop ordained to a particular Dioceſs, neglectt the charge thereof, or refuſe to take the care upon him, he ſhall be removed from Communion till ſuch he either execute his Office or the pleaſure of a Provincial Synod concerning him be known: But in caſe he be thence kept by force, or otherwiſe not by any fault of his, the Eighteenth Canon takes care that he be elſwhere capable both of Honour and Miniſterial Function, provided that he be not pragmatical in the Church where he is, and ſubmit himſelf to what ſhall be determined in the Provincial Synod. The Nineteenth Enacts that no Biſhop be Ordained without a Synod, and the preſence of the Metropolitan. The Twentieth Ordains that for diſpatch of Church buſineſs, that Biſhops meets in Synods twice a Year throughout the Provinces. By the Twenty firſt Biſhops are forbidden to change their Pariſhes Dioceſs *i. e.* either by conſtraint of the People or compulſion of their Fellow-Biſhops, according to the ancient appointment in this Caſe. By the Twenty Second they are Inhibited from intermedling in anothers Dioceſs; from ordaining any Prieſts or Deacons ſubject to any other Biſhop, without his directions and conſent, upon pain of a Nullity, and Cenſures to be inflicted by the Synod.

Diſt. 91. *Si quis Epiſcopus.*

Diſt. 92. *Siquis Epiſcopus per manus.*

Diſt. 9. 1. *Siquis Epiſcopus ordinatus.*

Diſt. 65. *Epiſcopus noneſt.* *Diſt.* 18. *propter.*

7. q. 1. *Epiſcopum.*

56. The Twenty Third Canon makes it unlawful for any Biſhop to appoint his Succeſſor although at point of Death: This being a breach of the Law Eccleſiaſtical, which makes this appertain to a Synod, and the reſolution of Biſhops, who in a Vacancy have Authority to promote ſuch as be worthy. The Twenty Fourth gives charge to Prieſts and Deacons to take notice of Goods belonging to Churches, that in caſe of the Death of the Incumbent Biſhop there be no confuſion, that neither his Goods be ſeized on in right of the Church, nor ſuch as really

8. q. 1. *Epiſcopum non liceat.*

9. q. 21 *quæcunque rer.*

really belong to the Church be imbezell'd by pretence of his Intereſt. The Twenty Fifth and laſt gives power to the Biſhop to diſpence the Goods of the Church to thoſe that have need, and to ſupply himſelf with things neceſſary, but in caſe either he himſelf or his Domeſticks, Sons or Kindred, by his permiſſion make waſt of thoſe things, and convert them that belong to the Church into their own private uſe, either the Biſhop or his Presbyters ſo doing to the great loſs of the Power and Scandal of the Miniſterial Function, it ſubjects them to the Cenſure of a Provincial Synod. To theſe Canons Thirty Biſhops are ſaid to have Subſcribed, amongſt which ſome were of the Orthodox Party; although ſome, if not moſt of them, as is clear from the Hiſtory of this affair were made to entrap them. The Sum of the Councils made by *Carranza*, tells us that this Council of *Antioch* was approved by the Sixth general Council ſummoned to *Conſtantinople*, and Celebrated in *Trullio*; as appeareth by the Second Canon of the Greek Edition, concerning which we ſhall enquire hereafter: And alſo by Pope *Dionyſius*, as appeareth by *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory-book 7. * *Ch.* 24 and 25. Than which nothing can be more ridiculous: For how could *Euſebius* write of this Council who was dead the Year before? That Council which *Euſebius* writeth of in thoſe Chapters was held againſt the Hæreſie of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, about the Twelfth Year of *Gallienus* the Emperour, when *Dionyſius* was Biſhop of *Rome*, *A. D.* 264. Juſt Seventy ſix Years before this other, for which this *Sciolus* ſtrangely miſtakes it.

12. 9. 1. *Epiſcopus Eccleſiaſticarum rerum.*

* *Ch.* 27. 21. after the Greek

Andæus and his Hereſie condemned.

57. But ſome of thoſe Canons were alſo deſigned againſt certain Heteticks newly crept up in the Church, a ſign that Thieves may fall out when they have ſeveral Ends and Intereſts. There was one *Andæus* born, as *Epiphanius* writes, in *Meſopotamia*, who being of a very ſtrict Life and Zealous, did ſo declaim againſt the looſneſs of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, that for his freedom of Speech being hated and perſecuted, he ſeparated from the Church, and in his old Age was baniſhed by *Conſtantius* into *Scythia*; the Biſhops having accuſed him of a deſigned Rebellion: Having many Followers he is ſaid in *Scythia* to have Erected many Monaſteries, and Travelling farther into *Gothia*, by his Preaching to have Converted many to the Faith; in great admiration amongſt all Men for his extraordinary Zeal and Sanctity. But his zeal was not according to knowledge, teaching that becauſe it is ſaid *God made Man after his own Image*; *God had the former Shape and Members of a Man.* He alſo taught that *Eaſter was to be kept on the Fourteenth Moon*, as the *Jews* obſerved it, to oppoſe which oppinion, the Firſt of thoſe Canons ſeemeth to be made, and that *abſolution was to be granted to Offenders without any ſatisfaction to the Church in token of Penitence*; to obviate which Doctrine they framed their Second Canon. He is blamed for condemning the Riches of the Clergy, for holding that darkneſs, Fire and Water were uncreated. His Followers from his own Name were called *Andiani*, but eſpecially from his opinion concerning the Form of God *Anthropomorphites*. They kept themſelves ſeparate from the Church, becauſe Uſurers and wicked Men were ſuffered therein, but very few of them remained in the time of *Epiphanius*.

Vid Epiphan. hær. 3. 70. *Theodoret. l.* 4. *c.* 10. *Aug. ad quod vult deum. Niceph.*

Euſebius the *Arian* Biſhop dyes.

58. But the Synod of *Antioch* being concluded after ſome Months, the Biſhops returned to their Sees, and *Euſebius* the Ringleader of the *Arians* went to his long Home, or to his own Place; dying immediately after the Council broke up, as * *Socrates* tells us. Being rid of him the Orthodox party now again made choice of *Paul*, who had been formerly Elected; and the *Arians* pitcht upon *Macedonius*, whereupon enſueth ſuch Tumults that many of both ſides thereby periſhed, and *Hermogenes* a Commander, who taking a journey into *Thrace*, was ordered to take *Conſtantinople* in his way, and diſplace *Paul*, had firſt the houſe wherein he was Fired over his head, and then was pulled out and kil'd by the incenſed Multitude. *Conſtantius* upon report hereof, came from *Antioch* to *Conſtantinople*, where he thruſt *Paul* out of the Church, and to puniſh the Citizens took from them 40000 meaſures of Corn, *viz.* half of the quantity that his Father had given them daily for ever, to be ſent from *Alexandria*, and charged upon the Imperial Revenue riſing from *Ægypt*: He deferred to nominate *Macedonius* their Biſhop, being very angry not only for accepting the Place without his knowledge and conſent, but in reſpect of thoſe that were ſlain in the Conteſts betwixt him and his Antigoniſts; yet he gave him leave to execute his Function, in that Church only where he had been choſen Biſhop, and returned back to *Antioch*. And now muſt we return with him, and thence where we left, proſecute the Story of *Athanaſius*.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 12.

Tumults upon the account of a Succeſſor.

59. The

59. The *Arians* having held their Meeting at *Antioch*, and refuſed to appear at *Rome* at a Synod, to the calling of which they themſelves had given occaſion, by referring the Matter to the cogniſance of *Julius*; he in a Synod of Fifty Biſhops examined the Matter concerning *Athanaſius*, pronounced him innocent, and received him into Communion, together with *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia* the leſſer, and many other Biſhops and Presbyters condemned and outed by the Hæretical Party. But the *Arians* hearing this news at *Antioch* where yet they continued were very wroth, and ſending back the two Prieſts he had ſent to them, whom they had retained on purpoſe all this while, ſomewhat ſharply expoſtulated with the Biſhop. They complained that the time ſet them for appearance was too ſhort, and that he had taken upon him to abſolve *Athanaſius* and the reſt, ſignifying that if any were baniſhed the Church, and Excommunicated by their Decree and Cenſure, it was not his part to intermeddle, nor to take cogniſance of their Sentence, no more than when his Predeceſſor had removed *Novatus* out of the Church of *Rome*, they had reſiſted and contraried his doings. In the mean time *Gregory* the appointed Succeſſor of *Athanaſius* goes down to take Poſſeſſion of the Church of *Alexandria*, where he is gladly received by the *Arians*, and as earneſtly rejected by the Orthodox, who were the more concerned becauſe *Athanaſius* their true and lawful Paſtor was now amongſt them, being returned from *Rome* upon notice of the Reſolution taken at *Antioch* to aſſert his juſt Title and Intereſt againſt this Intruder. But *Gregory* had the advantage, bringing with him Letters from the Aſſembly of *Antioch*, the Emperours Mandate, and being guarded by *Philagrius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, who according to orders received from the Prince, had with an Army of Five thouſand Men brought him to *Alexandria*. Horrid Outrages were committed by both Parties to the diſgrace of the Chriſtian profeſſion, but eſpecially by the *Gregorians* for the better Celebration of *Eaſter*, which this Year fell on *April* 11. *Athanaſius* finding the City too hot for him, was forced to fly, and returned as faſt as he could to *Rome*, whence, that he might not be prevented by ſome falſe account from the *Gregorians*, he wrote his Epiſtle to all Orthodox Chriſtians a little before the Death of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, for publick ſatisfaction he wrote in this Epiſtle ſuch things in haſte as in his other Writings he communicates more fully, eſpecially in his Epiſtle to thoſe that lived Solitarily, or Monaſtical Lives wherein he compriſeth ſuch things as were done by the *Arians* againſt the Orthodox Party, eſpecially thoſe of the Church of *Alexandria*.

Athan. Apol. 2. & ad ſcholerias.

The Council at *Rome* clear *Athanaſius* and receive him into Communion.

Gregory intrudes into the See of *Alexandria*.

Athan. Ep. ad Orthodoxos.

60. *Gregory* being got into Poſſeſſion of that Church, made a Progreſs in the Government thereof ſuitable to his beginning, managing his Office like an Hæretick and a Tyrant. In the mean while thoſe of his Party perceiving that whatever they had pretended, yet they ſuffered in Reputation as *Arians*, a Character they ſhunned, as ignominious to their Epiſcopal Degree, to receive a Denomination from a meer Presbyter, and one who was Infamous both in his Life and Death, they therefore agree once more to meet at *Antioch*. There they frame another Confeſſion of Faith, ſo exceeding long and tedious, that it got the Epithete of Μακροστιχον, and this they ſent to the Weſtern Biſhops for their Approbation. But they miſſed of their deſign herein alſo, being ſtill unfortunate in all their Creeds. For the Cheat was eaſily perceived, they having again in this omitted the word *Conſubſtantial*, although they heaped great Epithets and Titles upon the Son of God; and this ſeems the true reaſon why the Weſtern Biſhops rejected their Creed, though they might pretend they were not well ſkilled in their Terms and Propriety of the Language, and thereby put them off, referring themſelves to the *Nicene* Council as ſufficient without any new Gloſſes and Interpretations; but that their Ignorance in the Greek Tongue ſhould be the only cauſe, as *Socrates* ſaith it was, is very improbable, the times were not ſo Illiterate, nor Intercourſe betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches ſo ſtopt up, as to give the leaſt countenance to ſuch an Aſſertion. This Synod (to which aſſembled Biſhops from almoſt all the Eaſt) was held Three years after the other, wherein were framed the Four Creeds, in the Eighth year of *Conſtantius*, *A. D.* 344. *Saluſtius Autor* and *Leontius* being Conſuls.

At another Council at *Antioch* the *Arians* frame four new Creeds more.

Διὰ τὸ ἀλλόγλωσσον εἶναι, *vide Socr. l. 2. c. 19. Athan. de Synodis. Sozom. l. 3. c. 10.*

61. *Athanaſius* all this while continued at *Rome*, where *Julius* the Biſhop could do him little good for Three years together, nor *Paulus* the Elect of *Conſtantinople*, nor any of the Orthodox Party, though he eſpouſed their quarrel and wrote into the Eaſt on their behalf. But now their Caſe became more underſtood by *Conſtans* the Emperour, who could not but take notice of all this noiſe

noiſe betwixt the Weſtern and Eaſtern Prælates, and thereupon bethink of the Publick Peace, which is not ſooner broke any ways than through Heats and ſiding about Religion, which were alſo more unſeaſonable at this time when the *Perſian*, the Common Enemy from without threatened the Tranquillity of the Empire. This was a convenient Seaſon for *Athanaſius* to lay open his Griefs, being commended to the Emperour with all advantage poſſible both by *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Hoſius* of *Corduba*, who alſo earneſtly ſollicited him about the calling of a General Council. Being ſent for by *Conſtans*, he went to *Millain* where then the Court was, and he and his Friends ſo wrought that they obtained a Letter from the Emperour to his Brother *Conſtantius* about the Summoning of a Council. He ſhewed him the neceſſity of Summoning the Biſhops of both Empires together, amongſt whom there ſeemed to be difference both in matters of Opinion touching ſome Points of Faith, as alſo for Supremacy and Juriſdiction, he deſired him to uſe his Power in getting together the Prelates of the Eaſt, who, that they might be the eaſilier perſwaded, he nominated *Sardica* a City of *Illyricum* as very convenient ſcituate upon the Borders of both Empires, but more commodious for them, with whom he would take care that thoſe of the Weſt ſhould meet at the time appointed. In the mean while was a Synod held at *Colein May* 11. againſt *Euphrates* Biſhop of that City, who for denying the Divinity of Chriſt, with *Photinus* and *Marcellus*, was depoſed by the unanimous conſent of the Biſhops of *Gall*, amongſt whom *Athanaſius* is ſaid to have been preſent.

Athanaſ. ad Conſtantium. *Soc. l.2.c.20.* *Soz. l.3. c.9.*

A General Council at *Sardica.*

Conc. Tom. 1.

62. In the Eleventh year after the Deceaſe of *Conſtantine*, and the Conſulſhip of *Fl. Euſebius*, and *Fl. Rufinus*, in the Eleven hundredth Year of *Rome*, the Third of the 281 *Olympiad*, the Fifth Indiction, *A. D.* 347. there met (as *Athanaſius* wrote) about Three hundred Biſhops out of the Weſt, and (as *Sabinus* counted) Seventy ſix out of the Eaſt, to the Council ſummoned at *Sardica*, amongſt whom was *Iſchyras* ſo often mentioned, whom the Depoſers of *Athanaſius* had preferred to the Title of a Biſhop. The reaſon why no more met out of the Eaſtern Churches, though the place lay more convenient for them, and in the Territories of their own Empire, was deſpair of any Iſſue ſuitable to their former Atchievements. Some alledged infirmity of Body, and others complained of the ſhortneſs of time, blaming the Biſhop of *Rome* for not letting them have more timely notice, whereas an whole Year and an half intervened from the Date of the Summons to the time of the Meeting. When the Council met, the *Arians* perceiving how things were like to go, withdrew to *Philippi* a City about a days Journey diſtant from *Sardica*, whence they ſent to the reſt frivolous Excuſes why they could not be preſent, and withall ſignified that they could not joyn with them as long as *Athanaſius* and *Paulus* Perſons formerly condemned at *Antioch*, were permitted to ſit amongſt them. *Hoſius* who præſided in the Council, ſent them word that the Council was reſolved, though in their abſence, to proceed in the Examination of the Cauſe of theſe Biſhops, and willed them to be preſent, that they might if they could make good thoſe Charges againſt them, which never yet ſeemed juſtly proved, and prevent the Condemnation of themſelves for their unjuſt Cenſures. This warning doing no good, the Orthodox Party fell to the Examination of Witneſſes, and after a full and indifferent Hearing acquitted *Athanaſius* and *Paulus*, reſtored them to their Churches, and inflicted upon the Contumacious Biſhops the ſame Cenſures which they had formerly executed upon theſe Innocent Perſons.

63. After this when it was moved that a New Confeſſion of Faith ſhould be framed, it was reſolved in the Negative, foraſmuch as Multiplication of Creeds would beget Confuſion and Uncertainty, whilſt variety of Terms and Phraſes perplexed the Readers, who would not know where to reſt, or wherein to fix, and by this means all thoſe that followed might pretend to amend what their Predeceſſors had done, and ſo as well the *Nicene Creed* as others ſhould be thought Inſufficient and Imperfect. They reſolved therefore to ſtand by the *Nicene Creed*, only for to prevent miſtakes, to lay open the cunning of the *Arians*, and prevent their Subterfuges, they explicated (as ſome have written) the Clauſe of one Subſtance, and ſet forth the Hæreſie of that Aſſertion *that the Son of God is not of the ſame Subſtance with the Father.* This they publiſhed in their Acts or a Narrative of their Proceedings, wherein alſo they ſhewed their Reaſons why they acquitted *Athanaſius* and the reſt, with the cauſeleſs departure of the *Arian* Biſhops, and their obſtinate refuſal to joyn with them. They in the mean time are not idle, but act quite contrary to the Proceedings, condemning

The Orthodox Biſhops ſtick to the *Nicene* Creed.

But the *Arians* make a new one.

demning ſuch as had abſolved *Athanaſius*, and *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* amongſt the reſt, and make a new Confeſſion of Faith, againſt which the other had firmly reſolved. By reaſon of this contrary proceeding of thoſe ſeveral Parties, the Reſolutions and Acts of this Council have been variouſly accepted and reported in latter times; many things being cited as Decreed by the *Sardican* Council, contrary to the Teſtimony of *Athanaſius* himſelf, who had reaſon to know what paſſed, although St. *Auguſtin* and others grant thoſe Decrees to have been of this Council, but except againſt it as Hæretical and *Arian.* So that great Confuſion and uncertainty even in theſe times appears to have been amongſt the beſt knowing in reference to this Council, which ſeizes *Baronius* with admiration. Many alſo ſince the time that he wrote, conſidering the Summons was univerſal, would gladly with him give it the name of a General or Oecumenical Council. But when they conſider how it was divided into ſeveral Parties or Factions, how many guiltleſs were condemned, and how many guilty were acquitted by both Parties, and for theſe reaſons of Ambiguity and Injuſtice, how the Orthodox for many Ages were ſhy of receiving any of its Acts as Authentical, they conclude that the Cardinal in giving ſo high a Title to this Synod, hath not at all advantaged the Opinion concerning the Infallibility of General Councils.

64. For they acquitted *Marcellus* of Hæreſie laid to his charge by the *Arians*, from which Orthodox Antiquity is far from abſolving him: And ſo uncertain were this Synods Determinations, that all Parties made uſe of them, and renounced them when it ſtood moſt with their own advantage, as *Baronius* himſelf inſtanceth in ſeveral Particulars. So that granting the Summoning of the Council to have been Oecumenical, yet if we call Antiquity to give Teſtimony, little of certainty can it produce upon which to found any Catholick Aſſertions, the Relations of *Athanaſius* being moſt Authentick, which were as much known to others as us, and yet they follow other Authors. However as to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline theſe Fathers are ſaid to have made One and twenty Canons; whereof the Firſt upon the Propoſition of *Hoſius* taking notice how little good former Synods had done by their Prohibitions in this Particular, ordains that ſuch Biſhops as flitte and remove from one Church City or Dioceſs to another be Excommunicated even from the Laity; and the Second at the inſtance of the ſaid Perſon decrees the ſame Cenſure to be inflicted, although they be ſollicited to this remove by the Importunity of the People, which eaſily may be by Corruption wrought into ſuch an humour. The Third Canon forbids that any Biſhop remove out of one Province into another, except he be invited by his Brethren, and if any Biſhop think himſelf agreived in any Cauſe determined by his Comprovincials, upon *Hoſius* his motion, it was reſolved he might appeal to the Biſhop of *Rome.* Indeed his Reputation was not a little inhanced by his continuing Orthodox in thoſe times of Trial. So that the Dignity of that City receiving fair advantage from theſe Controverſies, whilſt the *Arians* juſtly denied his right, yet the Orthodox might aſſert his capacity (not Authority) to determine their Differences. And hence were afforded Opportunities and Advantages for that Supremacy which viciſſitude of times, and the comportment of Affairs ſuggeſted afterward to the *Roman* Prælates. But the Canons of this Council in behalf of the Biſhop of *Rome* for the advancement of his Authority, the Fathers of the *African* Council univerſally aſſert to be Suppoſititious, who affirm in their Letters to the Pope that no ſuch thing can be found in any Synod of the Fathers. Now had there been any ſuch Canons, doubtleſs they could not have been ignorant of them.

At this Council at *Sardica* 21 Canons are made.

Diſt.8. Male conſuetudo.

6.q. 4. Oſius Epiſcopus.

65. Upon the motion of *Gaudentius* a Fourth Canon was made, which forbad the Ordination of a Biſhop into his room, who being depoſed, appealed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, till the Matter was heard and adjudged by the ſaid Biſhop. The Fifth Canon at the inſtance of *Hoſius*, takes care that in caſe one Biſhop in a Province be remaining, wherein formerly were ſeveral, and this Biſhop at requeſt of the People, wanting Paſtors, refuſe to ordain any more, the neighbouring Biſhops contribute their aſſiſtance to their juſt deſire, and ordain them a Biſhop. The Sixth expreſly forbids the Ordaining of a Biſhop for one Village or ſmall City, to the care of which one Prieſt ſufficeth, leſt thereby the Dignity and Authory Epiſcopal incur contempt; which it ſeemed to have done by means of *Iſchyras* whom the *Arians* had ordained Biſhop, but to ſuch a See as formerly did belong to a ſimple Pariſh, being not a Pariſh of it ſelf, but a Village or Hamlet appertaining to another Town. The Seventh Canon gives liberty

Vide Whitakerum.

Diſt.63. Qua-

liberty, in caſe of an Appeal, to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Appellant deſiring it; to that Biſhop to ſend thoſe who may joyn with the other Biſhops in judging the Appellant. The Eighth inhibits the Cuſtom of Biſhops flying to the Court, without the Commendation of their Brethren, or the Summons of the Emperour, whereby much Scandal had been lately given. The Ninth gives directions how a Biſhop may ſend his Deacon to the Metropolitan, and he commend him to thoſe Biſhops where the Court reſides. Or he may by his Deacon ſollicite his Friends at Court if he have any. And if it be at *Rome*, the Synod orders that the Petitions be delivered to their moſt Holy Brother and Fellow Biſhop of the *Roman* Church, who upon Examination finding them juſt and fitting, is to uſe care and diligence that they be conveyed to the Emperours preſence.

66. At the inſtance of *Alipius*, it was by the Tenth Canon made Lawful for Biſhops to betake themſelves to the Court in behalf of Infants and Widows. But leſt under ſpecious Pretences ſuch Liberty be abuſed, and ſuch Scandal happen as formerly the Impudence of ſome had brought upon the Church; the Eleventh Canon ordains that ſuch as ſhould break the former bounds be deprived. And that this Canon might take effect, *Gaudentius* the Biſhop further propounded, that ſuch Biſhops as lived in *Canali*, or the way of the publick Poſts, ſhould ſtop ſuch of their Brethren as travelled towards the Court, and upon Examination according to the Merit and Purport of their buſineſs, either forbid upon pain of Excommunication, or allow their Journey, which was unanimouſly Decreed. Yet leſt any ſhould through Ignorance of this Canon be ſurprized, at the requeſt of *Hoſius*, the Twelfth Canon provides that ſuch ſhould have notice of it. Then foraſmuch as great Inconvenience happened by the ſudden Promotion of Perſons to the Epiſcopal Function, and to prevent ſuch damage as may happen to the Church by Novices, the Fathers agreed to a Thirteenth Canon recommended by *Hoſius*, forbidding any to be made a Biſhop *per ſaltum*, or except he had paſſed through the Offices of *Reader*, *Deacon* or *Prieſt*, whereby his Abilities and Virtues might be throughly known before his Præferment to ſo high a Calling. Becauſe much Miſchief and Scandal had happened by reaſon of the ſtay of Biſhops out of their own Dioceſſes and Provinces too long a time; *Hoſius* alſo adviſed the Fathers, that foraſmuch as in a former Synod they deprived ſuch Lay-Perſons of Communion as ſhould abſent themſelves for three Lords days or three Weeks together from Church in the Cities where they dwelt: the ſame might be Decreed concerning a Biſhop, who without great neceſſity was abſent from his Church that ſame ſpace of time, and it pleaſing them well, a Fourteenth Canon was framed to this purpoſe. For the further inlargement of which, a Fifteenth was added at the motion of the ſaid *Hoſius*, wherein is alſo contained, that a Biſhop, if he cannot be in his own Territories, he ought to go to the next Church where there is a Prieſt, leaſt he ſhould paſs over a Lords-day without going to Church at all; but he is ſo to order his buſineſs where his Revenues lye, that he be not abſent from his Cathedral above three Weeks.

67. For the preſerving of Peace and Concord *Hoſius* procured the Sixteenth Canon, forbidding any Biſhop to receive any Clerk into Communion, Excommunicated by another, upon pain of being Cenſured by a Synod. But leſt through the paſſion and haſtineſs of any Biſhop innocent Perſons ſhould at any time ſuffer; Power is given by the Seventeenth Canon to the Neighbouring Biſhops to hear and determine ſuch Matters, and ſeverely to rebuke ſuch as they ſhould find to have carried themſelves irreverently towards their Biſhops. The Eighteenth at the motion of *Januarius*, forbids the enticing of Clerks from other Biſhops, and Ordaining them in their own Dioceſs: Which *Hoſius* found ſo reaſonable, that by a Nineteenth Canon he obtained a Nullity decreed on the Ordination of Miniſters, ſubject to other Biſhops, performed without the conſent of their Dioceſans, with Admonitions and Cenſures to be inflicted upon the Ordainers. The Twentieth Canon renews former Decrees made againſt the ſtay and abode of Clerks, ſuch as were Strangers, at *Theſſalonica*. The Twenty Firſt and laſt Canon at the motion of *Hoſius*, but ſuggeſtion of *Olympius*; decreed that ſuch as were Perſecuted for the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, and for bearing Witneſs to the Orthodox and Catholick Faith, forced into other Cities, ſhould be received with Humanity and Benevolence. And the whole Synod ſaid, all thoſe Conſtitutions, let the Catholick Church diſperſed throughout the World receive; and all the Biſhops which had met together from divers Provinces, Subſcribed

ſcribed ſaith the Latin Edition of this Council to the Number of 121. But *Balſamon* in his Greek Copies hath no ſuch Number, but writes that 341 Biſhops met at *Sardica*, and Decreed thoſe things, but in his Copies the Eighteenth Canon is wanting.

68. The Council of *Sardica* being broken up, and each one departed towards their proper Sees, great Outrages were committed by the *Arians*, againſt all ſuch of the Orthodox party as they could light off; whereof *Athanaſius* gives ſeveral examples. And ſuch was the iſſue of this, as well as other Councils, that the breach was ſo far from being made up, that it was much more enlarged. For the Eaſt and Weſtern Churches were, as *Socrates* telleth us, now divided, the place which ſevered their Communion, being the Mount *Tiſucis*, between *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, where every of them among themſelves, though they differed about the Faith, yet the quarrel being laid aſide, Communicated together; but beyond that, there was no Communion of the contrary Parties. They were called Eaſtern and Weſtern, eſpecially out of the reſpect to the two Empires ſo Named; not upon any exact Geographical account: As if the North and South parts of the World might not juſtly challenge their Share in the Provinces; but the Church, as ſhe took the Model of her Præcincts from that of the State, ſo herein alſo followed that Diviſion of the Empires.

Ad ſolit.

The Church as the State divided.

l. 2. c. 22. qu.

In East and Weſtern.

69. The determination of the Synod for reſtitution of the Biſhops to their own Sees. Notwithſtanding *Conſtantius* purſued the inclinations of the *Arian* Party, rather perſecuting thoſe that were already in, than reſtoring the ejected, till ſuch time as his Brother *Conſtans* found himſelf more than ordinarily concerned. Having found that more difficulty than ordinary was made about *Athanaſius* his return to his See, he ſent for him from *Naiſſus*, whether he had betaken himſelf, and commanded him to abide at *Aquileia*, under his own Protection: Then wrote he to his Brother *Conſtantius*, more earneſt Letters than formerly, minding how deeply the Honour of them both was concerned, in putting the determinations of that Council which had been ſummoned by their Joynt Authority to *Sardica*, to Execution; however he told him, that for his part he was very ſenſible, what ever he might be, of his duty in that particular, and being reſolved effectually to proſecute that deſign, he adviſed him to regard his own Honour, and reſtore *Athanaſius* and the reſt to their places, if not, he told him he would in Perſon make an Expedition, and ſee them reſtored to their Sees, whether he would or no. Thoſe Letters were ſent with the determinations of the Council by two Biſhops *Euphrates* and *Vincentius*, whom the Synod had choſen to go to *Conſtantius*, with whom *Conſtans* joyned *Salianus* a Count. Coming to *Conſtantinople*, and finding the Emperour was at *Antioch*, they Travelled thither, but before their arrival, their coming was known to *Stephen* Biſhop of that City, who had been a Member of the *Arian* Conventicle at *Philippopolis*.

Conſtans ſends to his Brother *Conſtantius* about *Athanaſius* his return to his See.

Soz. l. 3. c. 19. Athanas. ad ſolitar. Theod. l. 2. cc. 9. 10.

70. He as well to fruſtrate their Errand, as to blaſt the reputation both of their Perſons and Party, ſubborns a Rude young Fellow called *Onager* to bring a Common Strumpet into the Inn where the two Biſhops lay, and privily convey her into their Chamber: The Villany was ſo far managed as to convey the Whore into the Room where *Euphrates* was then in Bed, *Vincentius* being alſo at his reſt in an inner Chamber, and according to agreement, the Company ready at the Door entred the Chamber, and finding her there where they had put her, exclaimed abundantly, and a Tumult was raiſed: *Vincentius* upon this getting up, the Gates of the Inn were ſhut, yet *Onager* and other of the Clerks made their eſcape, but the Strumpet together with ſeven of the Conſpirators they ſeized on, and carried them before the Magiſtrates, where upon Examination the whole Plot was diſcovered, which *Stephen* alſo the Biſhop had not ſo much impudence to deny: Hereupon by command of the Emperour, ſuch Biſhops as then were at *Antioch* deprived him of his Biſhoprick, into which was choſen one *Leontius*, a Man not much better, who had eaſtrated himſelf, as it's ſaid, that he might the more ſafely without ſcandal keep Company with a certain Woman whom he pretended to be a Virgin; and this Fellow they promoted expreſly contrary to the firſt Canon of the *Nicene Council.*

The Meſſengers abuſed by the Villany of *Stephen.*

71. The Villany of *Stephen* had this effect upon *Conſtantius*, that conſidering with himſelf, how the *Arians* might have dealt in this ſort with others of the Orthodox Party, it made him ſeriouſly to reflect upon the Contents of his Brothers Letters. Having viewed the determinations of the Council, and received the advice of his own Biſhops, rather to permit the return of *Athanaſius*, than Ingage upon his account in a War, now at ſuch time as the *Perſians* were upon the

Borders, he ſent his Orders to his Lieutenants in *Ægypt*, not to moleſt thoſe of his Party. His anſwer to his Brother was, that he was very ready to comply with him, in the executions of the Decrees of the late Synod; that he was not againſt the reſtitution of *Athanaſius*, for whom he kept the Church of *Alexandria* va-
Conſtantius his reply.
cant, to which he might return at his pleaſure. *Athanaſius* not knowing well how to truſt to his Meſſage, removed to *Millain*, where he received a Letter from *Canſtantius* himſelf, wherein he tells him, that he commiſerated his long Sufferings, that he had long e're this ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*, but that he expected he ſhould have made application to himſelf; which becauſe he thought he had not done, rather out of fear than any neglect of his Perſon or Authority, he now out of his good inclinations to him, aſſured him the kindneſs unasked for, of reſtoring him to his Native Country, and his Biſhoprick: When he demurred yet a little, as thinking if the Emperour had a real kindneſs for him, or intended him any good, he would rather have ſuffered him to take the near-
Vide Athan. & Socrat. l. 2. c. 23.
eſt way by Sea to *Alexandria*, than call him to *Conſtantinople*, and thereby force him upon a dangerous Journey, wherein he might be way laid by his Enemies; a ſecond Letter came, and a third, enforced by thoſe of ſome Noble-men his Friends, and brought by a Prieſt and a Deacon, whom *Conſtantius* had ſent to encourage him to the Journey.

72. *Athanaſius* hereupon betook himſelf to *Rome*, where adviſing further with the Biſhop and his other Friends, they were clear for his venturing to *Conſtantinople*, and *Julius* ſent by him Letters of Recommendation and Congratulation for his return to the Churches of *Alexandria*, to be ſeen in the Hiſtory of *Socrates*. *Ibid.*
He took his way then to *Conſtantinople*, where when he found not the Emperour, he followed him to *Antioch*, and getting eaſily Audience, was received by
Athanaſius returns.
him very Courtiouſly. He found the Emperour conſtant to what he had written, and when he laid open his Caſe, and the many injuries he had undergone, through the Calumnies of his Enemies, he ſeemed to acquieſce in what he ſaid, and ſwore to him for the time to come, he would not harken to any complaints againſt him. His diſpatch for *Alexandria* he obtained ſooner through the jealouſie of his Enemies, who knowing his parts, were unwilling he ſhould contract any familiarity with *Conſtantius*, and his preſence ſeemed mightily to encourage the Orthodox Party at *Antioch*, with whom he Communicated privately, refuſing to joyn in the publick Worſhip with the *Arians*, who were by far the more prævalent Party in this City, and with whom the Orthodox Chriſtians were forced to joyn, having no Liberty of Conſcience as to Publick and Solemn Meetings. Yet through the connivance of *Leontius*, they had their liberty to honour the Son of God, according to their Profeſſion; for when the *Gloria Patri* was Sung, and the *Arians* Phraſed it *Glory be to the Father in the Son*, the Orthodox Chriſtians would add, *and to the Son*, declaring that the ſame Glory was due to the Son as to the Father. But *Athanaſius* conſidered his place and Sphear, and how to the ſin of joyning with Hæreticks, he ſhould add ſcandal and bad Example.

73. The *Arians* being conſtrained to reſtore *Athanaſius* in this manner, not only perſwaded their Emperour to the policy of making a Virtue of neceſſity, but to make ſome advantage alſo out of ſo bad a bargain. This was by deſiring of *Athanaſius* at his departure, when they thought good Nature and Gratitude would work, he having his Letters to the Churches, and all he could deſire; that thoſe of the *Arian* perſwaſion might have ſome one Church wherein they might publickly meet at *Alexandria*. To which when he could not in a manner deny, he anſwered, as not preſuming to diſobey the Emperour, but made bold unto his deſires, to return his humble Petition, that ſeeing there were many Chriſtians in that City of *Antioch*, which alſo in ſome points differed from *Leontius*, that they by his Imperial favour might obtain the like Indulgence. *Conſtantius*, though he diſliked the anſwer, was gravelled by the Equity of the propoſal; and the *Arians* conſidering that by granting the requeſt of *Athanaſius*, they ſhould looſe more ground at *Antioch* than they got at *Alexandria*; the whole matter was waved and paſſed over in ſilence. And much more reaſon they had, if it be true what we have from *Socrates*, that his Petition extended to the Catholicks, diſperſed all over, under the Government of *Arian* Biſhops. But thus
And with the Emperour Letters goes to *Alexandria*.
did *Conſtantius* reſtore *Athanaſius*, abrogating what ever had been done againſt, and ſent him away with three Letters Commendatory; two to the Church of *Alexandria*, and a third to the Governours of *Auguſtomnica*, *Thebais* and *Lybia*; wherein he commands that all that Communicate with him ſhall enjoy their *Athan. Apol. 2. ſocr. ubi ſupra.*
full

full Franchize and Liberty; With him were ſeveral others reſtored, as *Paulus Marcellus*, *Aſclopas* Biſhop of *Gaza*, and *Lucius* Biſhop of *Adrianople*; whom their ſeveral Churches were commanded to entertain.

74. *Athanaſius* in his way homeward paſſed through *Syria* and *Palæſtine*, and came to *Jeruſalem*, where upon his deſire, *Maximus* the Biſhop called a Synod of Biſhops out of *Syria* and *Palæſtine*, by the decree of which he was received into Communion and reſtored. Now, as it ever happens to Men in Proſperity, he is courted on all hands, even by Enemies, *Urſatius* and *Valens* two of the moſt Factious *Arian* Biſhops ſending to beg his Pardon, and renouncing the Doctrine of *Arius*; which that they might ſeem to do Cordially they take a Journey to *Rome*, and make their Recantation before that Biſhop, whom they thought for the Dignity of his See, and his Orthodox judgment, to have been moſt Eminent in the Weſt, during thoſe Controverſies. But at *Alexandria* he is received with joy above the expreſſion of Tongue or Pen, ſuch as was manifeſted by publick Thankſgivings, Feſtivities, Feaſtings and other ſigns too pregnant to eſcape either to the view, or then envy of the *Arians*, who begin afreſh to load him with Calumnies to *Conſtantius*. This they thought they might now do with the better ſucceſs, becauſe *Conſtans* the Weſtern Emperour, his great Patron was e're this Murdered by the Treaſon of *Magnentius* and his Followers; who, to the great ſcandal of Religion, were the firſt Chriſtian Rebels, daring to riſe up againſt their Soveraign; a thing not once thought of by the Ancient Chriſtians, though they groaned under the Perſecution of Ethnick Princes. The Multitude of Orthodox Chriſtians being increaſed at *Alexandria* at his return, and the Churches, where they uſually met, being not large enough now to receive them, he was forced to make uſe of a large and ſtately one, built by *Conſtantius*, but not yet Conſecrated; and this they interpreted as done out of pride or preſumption, and in deſpight of the Emperours Authority, whom he would not deigne as much as to acquaint with his deſigned Dedication. They accuſed him alſo of holding intelligence with *Magnentius*, becauſe that Uſurper had ſent certain *Italian* Biſhops of *Athanaſius* his Acquaintance on an Embaſſy to *Conſtantius*, whom in their Journey, taking *Alexandria* in their way, had been entertained by him; and they had laid to his charge that he had many times conferred Orders out of his own Dioceſs and Province, contrary to the Canons.

where he is received with all the joy imaginable.

But, is again Accuſed by the *Arians*.

75. Such were the difficulties that *Conſtantius* wreſtled with at this time, having his hands full of *Magnentius*, and about to grapple with the *Perſian*, that he thought it not ſeaſonable to meddle with *Athanaſius*, by diſobliging whom he might procure to himſelf freſh troubles in *Ægypt*, a Country he knew to be much at the Biſhops Devotion; inſtead therefore of bad Deeds, he gave him good Words, and thrice did he Write to him encouraging Letters, after the death of *Conſtans*, remembring it's probable what Promiſes and Oaths he had made to him. For two or three Years *Athanaſius* remained in quiet at *Alexandria*, during which time *Maximus* his old Friend the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyed, concerning whoſe Succeſſors who were *Arians* a long time, there is great confuſion amongſt Writers, which *Baronius* attributes to the Strife and mutual Hatred betwixt the *Arians* themſelves: For as it uſually happens to all great Factions, that if they continue long, they part and divide aſunder into leſſer Diviſions; ſo happened it amongſt thoſe Hæreticks, of whom ſome thinking more honourably of the Son of God than others, although they denied alſo his Conſubſtantiallity, yet coming nearer to the Orthodox Doctrine, were called *Semiarians*. But *Conſtantius* having extricated himſelf out of his former difficulties by the ſuppreſſion of the Uſurpers, returned to his wonted humour, receiving impreſſions as formerly from the *Arian* Biſhops. E're his return to *Conſtantinople* he ordered *Philip* his Lieutenant to remove *Paul* the Biſhop thence, and reſtore *Macedonius* to that See, who fearing a Tumult of the Citizens, ſent for him privately and letting him down into a Boat, conveyed him ſecretly to the place of his baniſhment. This good Biſhop having long run the Fortune of a conſtant Confeſſor, at laſt arrived at the Crown of Martyrdom, being firſt baniſhed into *Pontus*, by procurement of *Euſebius* and his Party, then by *Conſtantius* into *Meſopotamia*, where he was kept at *Singra*, thence he was removed to *Emeſa*, and thence to *Cucuſus* a Town of *Armenia*, about *Taurus*, where he was ſtrangled by the *Arians*. His Body *Theodoſius* afterward cauſed to be tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, and Buried in the Church which had been built by *Macedonius* his Adverſary, but was afterward known by the Name of *Paul*.

Maximus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyes, and is ſucceeded by an *Arian*.

Paul of *Conſtantinople* baniſhed, and afterward murdered by the *Arians*.

Athanaſ. ad ſolit. Socr. l. 2.

76. Things going thus with *Paul*, *Athanaſius* his turn could not be far behind; but the *Arians* firſt uſe wiles and tricks before they come to force. *Urſacius* and *Valens*, who as we ſaid pretended to be Converts, went to *Rome* to make their Submiſſion and Acknowledgments to the Biſhop. There they defie *Arius* and purge *Athanaſius*; but for his greater Honour they adviſe *Julius* to call him to *Rome*, that his Virtue and Integrity might be the more apparent, and greater ſatisfaction might be given to the World; concluding with themſelves, that this the Biſhop would not refuſe to do, it being an occaſion of ſhewing his Intereſt, and getting Credit to his Authority; and that *Athanaſius* would in vindication of juſt freedom as earneſtly refuſe to come, and ſo a breach would be made betwixt the two Orthodox Biſhops and their Churches, at which the *Arians* might Triumphantly enter. *Julius* could not do this being prevented by death after he had ſate in that See near Sixteen years. To him ſucceeded *Liberius* a *Roman*, who as ſome write, readily undertaking what he thought might make for the reputations of his See, Cited *Athanaſius* to *Rome*, under pain of Excommunication. *Athanaſius* though he had honoured the *Roman* Biſhop, and in reſpect to his Faith more then the Dignity of his See, had given him the right hand of Fellowſhip, and willingly admitted him Umpire in thoſe controverſies betwixt him and his Enemies, yet he refuſed to obey his Summons (which ſeemed to be made Authoritatively) and thereby gives ſo dangerous a Præſident for the founding of an Uſurped Supremacy.

Julius the Biſhop dyes, *Liberius* ſucceeds who cites *Athanaſius* to *Rome*.

Hilarii fragmenta. Bibliotheca patrum tom. 3. col. 125.

77. Upon this refuſal *Liberius* proceeds to Excommunicate him as Contumacious, and receives the Eaſtern Biſhops into Communion; which coming to the knowledge of the *Ægyptian* Prælates, they call a Synod of Eighty Biſhops, wherein they reſolutely defend *Athanaſius*, maintaining his Cauſe againſt all, and confirm him in his See; which when conſidered by *Liberius*, he was aſhamed of his inconſideration and præcipitancy. But theſe things made much for the *Arian* Party, being good præparatives for what *Conſtantius* had deſigned, to whom now they could Characterize *Athanaſius* as a Man ſo troubleſome and turbulent, that even his old Friends the Weſtern Biſhops had forſaken him; *Conſtantius* having overcome his Enemies, and ſo proud of his ſucceſs, that he aſcribed that to himſelf which he would not allow to the Son of God, calling himſelf *Æternal*, and *our Æternity*, as a prælude to thoſe ſad Tragedies which followed, calls a Council at *Arles* by the advice of his Biſhops, wherein *Athanaſius* was Excommunicated. To this ſubſcribed amongſt the reſt *Vincentius* Biſhop of *Capua*, the Legate of *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, who now in his Letter to *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, diſlikes their proceedings. The Catholicks to divert them from their purpoſe, propoſed firſt to handle matters of Doctrine, but *Valens* (who together with *Urſatius* his Companion had recanted his recantation,) and the reſt withſtood that proportion, and reſolving at preſent to wave the matter of Faith, carried it for the condemnation of *Athanaſius*, and of ſeveral others who were ſent into baniſhment.

And upon refuſal to come Excommunicates him.

Upon which *Conſtantius* ſummons a Councel at *Arles*, wherein *Athanaſius* and others are ſent in baniſhment.

78. This was a good Foundation for what was intended by the *Arians*, but whether this meeting was not ſolemn enough to carry a ſufficient ſhew of reputation, or at the deſire of *Liberius* and other Catholicks, another Council is ſummoned to *Millaine* the year following, where met of the Eaſtern Biſhops but few, by reaſon of the length of the journey, but of the Weſtern above thre Hundred, what the *Arians* wanted in Number was abundantly ſupplyed in the preſence and Authority of *Conſtantius*, who committed the abſoluteneſs of his Power into their hands, for ruin of the Orthodox Faith. They improved it ſo far as to depoſe all the Orthodox Biſhops, of which were moſt notable *Euſebius* of *Verſailes*, *Paulinus* of *Triers*, *Lucifer* of *Calarita* in *Sicilie*, and *Dionyſius* of *Milan*, who that they might not by their preſence in their ſeveral Countries, reſiſt the Decrees of the Synod, were ſent into baniſhment, where ſome of them were Murdered. *Liberius* being at *Rome*, thither the Emperour ſent *Euſebius* the Eunuch his Chamberlain, both by fair and foul means to perſwade him to joyn with the *Arians*, and when that would not do, ſent for him to *Milan*, where they had a diſcourſe recited by *Theodoret*, wherein the Emperour laboured by all arguments to draw him to his party; when he preſſed him to ſubſcribe to the Condemnation of the wicked Man (as he was pleaſed to call him) *Athanaſius* whom he charged with Treaſon and Sedition, he refuſed to Condemn him as a Man unheard, and when he preſſed him with the general practice of the World (which now ran all after *Arius*) he replied with an inſtance in thoſe three Perſons that withſtood *Nebuchadnezars* publick Edict, and that his ſingularity (as he termed it) could

And another at *Millaine*.

There the Orthodox are baniſhed and the *Arians* take their places.

L. 2. c. 16. Athan. ad ſolit & de fuga. Soc. l. 2. c. 36.

could not weaken the Truth he profeſſed, ſo little was he moved by Arguments drawn from viſibility. When he ſaw he could not prævail he baniſhed him to *Berea* in *Thrace*; and in his place was put *Fælix* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, as *Auxentius* into the See of *Milan*, both *Arians* we may eaſily believe, if we queſtion not the cunning and Policy of that Party.

79. *Athanaſius* his doom we may be ſure was very heavy, when the Defence of him was a great part of the Crime for which theſe Biſhops were ſo ſeverely cenſured. By their endeavours to clear him *Conſtantius* was ſo inraged, that he publiſhed a moſt ſevere Edict againſt him, whereby Sentencing him to Death, he commanded he ſhould be Executed whereſoever he was found, ordering the Churches of *Alexandria* to be delivered up to the *Arians*, whom he licenſed to do even what they pleaſed. In purſuance of this Decree he ſends down *Syrianus* a Captain with ſome Thouſands of Men to *Alexandria*. The Inhabitants begged of this *Syrianus* that he would act nothing till they had ſent a Meſſage to the Emperour. He gave them both his Word and Oath, but a little afterward, he came upon them when they were not aware, being at Church, aſſembled with their Biſhop upon an Holy Vigil, and purpoſing to ſpend that night in Devotion, being the next day to participate of the Holy Euchariſt. He beſet the Church round with his armed Men when it was now late at night, and breaking in, made moſt horrid ſlaughter of all Perſons, no Sex Age or Quality conſidered. But he, whom they moſt aimed at, being earneſtly beſought to ſave himſelf by thoſe about him, when they firſt perceived the Treachery, refuſed to make his eſcape, reſolving to fare as the reſt did, yet in the Crowd he paſſed through undiſcovered, and by Gods great Providence got into the Wilderneſs. Thence he was minded to go to the Emperour and lay open his Caſe, before he perceived his ſettled Reſolution for his Deſtruction, which being firſt apprehended by what Quarter the reſt of his Brethren had in *Ægypt*, was fully confirmed to him by the Edicts ſet out againſt himſelf, whereby orders are given to apprehend him in all places, and reward offered to ſuch as could produce him alive, or bring in his Head to the Magiſtrate. The *Alexandrian* Churches are commanded to look upon him no otherwiſe than as the Emperours Enemy, Penalties are inflicted on ſuch as comfort, relieve, or harbour him. Thus had he no place wherein to reſt in ſafety, all the World being as it were in Arms againſt this one Man. All Officers and Soldiers are to enquire for him, ſome hunt after the prey to obtain a reward, and others would purchaſe him with Money, that by ſuch a Preſent they might procure Intereſt and Eſteem. *But they are ſafe whom God keeps.*

Alexandria delivered to the *Arians.*

Athanaſius condemned by the Emperour.

80. Though he eſcaped, ſo did not his Flock, which (though his Enemies objected his Flight againſt him) yet was better provided for by his removal, than poſſibly it could have been by his ſtay, which would have brought him to certain Deſtruction, whereas his Flight preſerved him, and thereby ſecured his Abilities for a better time and further Service. Inraged at his eſcape, they revenge it to purpoſe upon his Friends and Followers in *Alexandria* and *Ægypt*. *Heraclius* a Count of the *Arian* ſtamp, with *Sebaſtian* an Officer, and a Manichee, executing to the full ſuch Orders as they had received from the Emperour. Into the places of the exiled Biſhops they thruſt Men as deſpicable for Parts and Abilities, as Hæretical in their Judgments; and into the See of *Alexandria* one *George* lately come from *Cappadocia*, and as ſome have written originally of that Country, though *Ammianus* tells us he was born at *Epiphania* a City of *Cilicia*, in a fulling Mill as was reported. Indeed he is very often in antient Authors confounded with *Gregory* the *Cappadocian*, who being put into the place of *Athanaſius* by the *Junto* of *Antioch*, was depoſed by the Council at *Sardica*, and died, as *Athanaſius* writes, Ten Months after the finiſhing of that Council. The likeneſs of their Names confounded Tranſcribers, who often put the one for the other; they are ſaid by ſome to have been Country men, they were both *Arians*, both great Adverſaries of *Athanaſius*, and Intruders into his See, and being great Perſecutors of the Orthodox Chriſtians of *Alexandria*, were both killed as ſome ſay by that injured and inraged People. It is neceſſary therefore to uſe great caution and diſtinction in the reading of Authors, who write of them both. But they may be ſufficiently diſcerned from each other by what we have formerly ſaid of *Gregory*, and what we now come to ſpeak of *George*.

George ſupplies his place.

81. *Gregory*

His Character.

81. *Gregory* was of a Clergy-man made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, but this *George* being a Lay-perſon, having knaviſhly diſcharged a ſordid Sæcular Imployment, was thought good enough by the *Arians* for the Epiſcopal Function. *Nazianzen* tells us, that he was of a bad Stock, and worſe Qualities, not at all endowed with ingenuous Knowledge, or affable in his Converſation, not ſo much as prætending to godlineſs, or cloaking his Villanies with ſpecious Prætexts, yet fit for any bold Attempt, and a proper Inſtrument to diſturb the Publick Peace. Such an one in his beginnings as might be properly termed a Paraſite, haunting good Tables; all his Deſigns ſeeming to be laid for the filling of his Belly. His firſt Præferment was moſt baſe and ſordid, being the Proveditor General of Hogs Fleſh for the Army. And here, ſaith he, he left off his rogueing, and began his Villanies. *Athanaſius* writes that he was a keeper of Proviſions at *Conſtantinople*, where being found to have abuſed his Truſt, and converted the Commodities to his own advantage, he was forced to run, and fled into *Cappadocia*. But it ſeems he was taken notice of for a ſubtile headed Man, and fit for buſineſs, and (being an *Arian*,) for ſuch work as was to be done at *Alexandria*, which none but a Knave and Huckſter would, and none but a cunning and reſolute Fellow could, go through. Hereupon he was commended to *Conſtantius*, had his Peace begg'd, and was Ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, where he muſt aboliſh the Memory of, and expiate his former Crimes, by the Service to be performed againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians. *Orat.* 21.

82. Being put into Poſſeſſion by the Emperours Officers in the time of Lent, he ſtaid till the Week of *Eaſter* was paſt, and then began his Villanies. Then were the Sacred Virgins clapt in Priſon, the Suffragan Biſhops haled and toſſed too and fro by the Soldiers, and the Houſes of Poor and Rich pillaged and ſacked. After the *Whitſun* Week the People aſſembling to the Celebration of a Faſt, would not for all this be frighted into Communion with him, but refuſing to joyn with him in the Holy Myſteries, gathered together in the Church-yard, which he underſtanding, procured that *Sebaſtian* to fall upon them, which he did, though on a Sunday as they were at Prayers. Enraged that he found but few, (for the hour being paſt, many were retired) he cauſed a Fire to be made, before which were brought the Virgins, and threatened with Death, except they would imbrace the Hæreſie of the *Arians*. When he could not overcome them by the humour of the Fire, he ſtripped them naked, and cauſed them ſo to be beaten and buffeted, that ſcarcely could their Friends know them a long time after. Forty Perſons he ſcourged ſo with the Twigs of Palm Trees newly cut, and having on their pricking knobs, that many lay long under the Chirurgions hands, and others died of their Wounds, whoſe Bodies they would not reſtore to their Friends, but let them lye unburied. Such as remained were baniſhed together with the Virgins. This done to fright the Multitude, they proceed againſt their Faithful Paſtors, that the Orthodox Doctrine might fail for want of Teachers, baniſhing ſeveral Biſhops of *Ægypt*, and *Lybia*, mentioned by *Athanaſius*, with certain Prieſts whom they handled ſo roughly, that ſome died in the Journey, and others in Exile. But above Thirty Biſhops they made away.

The Cruelty of *George*.

Athan. de fuga & apud Socr. l. 2. *c.* 28.

Athanaſius writes two Apologies for himſelf.

83. *Athanaſius* eſcaping in the Wilderneſs there lay in great ſolitarineſs, but good ſecurity a long time, ſix years it is ſaid, where he improved this ſad opportunity in Writing ſeveral Treatiſes in his own Vindication, and for the ſtrengthening of Orthodox Chriſtians. Underſtanding that his Enemies calumniated him for flying, and leaving his Flock in time of danger, he wrote that piece concerning his Flight, wherein he proves it lawful to ſhun thoſe imminent and certain perils deviſed for him, and clears himſelf of other Calumnies. And becauſe not only the *Arians*, but the Emperour alſo, to prævent the cenſure of Cruelty and Injuſtice, had accuſed him of grievous Crimes, and given him the Character of a moſt profligate Perſon, he wrote another Apology to him, wherein he confutes thoſe Slanders, relating in thoſe two, and his Epiſtle to ſuch as lived ſolitary Lives in the Wilderneſs, the whole Series of all thoſe Sufferings and Troubles which he and the Orthodox Party underwent. But this laſt ſeems written after the Synod held at *Ariminum*, about which time he alſo wrote his ſecond Apology to *Liberius* the Biſhop of *Rome*, then reſtored to his Biſhoprick. In the mean time, a year after the Synod held at *Milan*, a Meeting of the Biſhops was ſummoned at *Biterris* a Town in *Gall* at the procurement of *Saturninus* Biſhop of *Arles*, the Ring-leader of the *Arians* in thoſe Parts, wherein *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, for his former refuſal to joyn in Communion with the Hæreticks, and

At a Council held at *Biterris* *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers* is Baniſhed.

Hil. Col. 286.

and for putting up a Bill againſt them at this time was cenſured and baniſhed into *Phrygia*, the Faith of thoſe, who formerly were zealous in their Profeſſion, now waxed cold, and giving way to the great Deluge of *Arianiſm*, which out of the Eaſt bore down all before it even in the Weſtern Countries.

Leontius of *Antioch* dies.

84. This ſame year died *Leontius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, of whoſe Death when *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Germanicia* a City of *Syria* heard, being then at *Rome*, he deſired leave of the Emperour (who now reſided there, having triumphed over his Enemies) to return to his own Dioceſs, which he pretended had great need of his Ghoſtly Council and aſſiſtance. Coming to *Antioch*, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of the Emperours Chamber, he craftily inſinuated himſelf into that See, and calling a Synod of Biſhops, endeavoured to reſtore *Aetius*, who being formerly a Deacon in that Church, had, for his Hæreſie and Impiety by the *Arians* themſelves, been Excommunicated. This Man being of mean Parentage, was in his Youth taught the Trade of a Goldſmith, afterward getting a ſmack of the liberal Arts, betook himſelf to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, with whom he continued ſo long as the Biſhop lived, but applying himſelf to fallacious ways of Diſputing, and querks of Logick, he was by his Adverſaries driven from that City, when *Eulalius* was Biſhop, returning after the promotion of *Leontius*, he was made Deacon by him. Although he maintained the ſame things, yet did he ſeparate himſelf from the *Arians*, becauſe that after *Arius* his Perjury, they had received him into Communion, when he ſo lyed and diſſembled with *Conſtantine* the Emperour. By reading the *Elencha* of *Ariſtotle* he got ſuch a faculty of Diſputing captiouſly, as amazed meanly intelligent Perſons, and he would propound ſuch Fallacies, as he himſelf through his half Learning of *Ariſtotle*'s Principles could not reſolve. He had read over ſome of the Antient Commentators, but condemned *Clemens*, *Africanus* and *Origen*, as illiterate Perſons. He would exclaim againſt the Divinity of the Son of God, becauſe he could not underſtand how there was an unbegotten Birth, as he ſaid, or how to imagine that the Begotten could be co-eternal with the Begetter. Incurring hatred with the Orthodox for thoſe Opinions, and with the *Arians* for his conceited knowledge, he was further branded with the Title of Atheiſt. For he held, as *Epiphanius* tells us, that *the perfection of Man conſiſted in the knowledge of Divine things alone, without the acceſſion of Virtue*, which he ſo far diſcarded, as he commended (inſtead of condemning) fleſhly Luſts and Pleaſures, affirming that Fornication and ſuch unlawful acts, had no more hurt in them, than picking of the Ears, blowing the Noſe, or other ſorts of avoiding Excrements.

Is ſucceeded by *Eudoxius*.

Suidas.

Socr. l.2. c.35, &c.

Aetius and his Hæreſie condemned.

85. He eſteemed himſelf of far greater Merit than *Arius*, and accordingly had the Honour of giving name to an Hæreſie as well as he, his Followers being after him called *Aetiani*, though he had the ill luck of breeding a Scholar, who ſo far it ſeems outſtript his Maſter, that from his name *Eunomius* were they afterwards called *Eunomiani*. His great Abetter and Friend *Eudoxius* was ſo good a Proficient alſo in his Learning, that he had well nigh robbed him of his Glory. For priding himſelf much in being the Son of *Cæſarius* a Martyr of the leſſer *Armenia*; he alſo improved his Intereſt and Reputation for the Cauſe Hæreſie and Impiety of *Aetius*, as well as his Perſon, and being both remarkable for Dignity and Luxury, his Companions and Followers, inſtead of *Aetiani*, came to be called *Eudoxiani*. But all he could do was inſufficient for the recalling of *Aetius*, whom the *Arians* were reſolved to Sacrifice to their Reputation, affecting much the Title of Catholicks, and thinking to eſcape the odious Imputation of Hæreſie, by ſubjecting thoſe unto the Puniſhment who were ſcarcely their Superiors in the Guilt. But their Severity fell eſpecially upon *Photinus* Biſhop of *Sirmium*, who being formerly Principled by *Marcellus*, * maintained the Opinions of *Sabellius* the *African*, and *Paulus Samoſatenus*, affirming, "That "God is one, and alone, and not ſubſiſting in Perſons: That Chriſt is a Man "begotten by a Man, and not from Eternity, being neither of the Subſtance of "the Father, nor altogether like him. That the Holy Ghoſt is God, and no "diſtinct Perſon. The *Arians*, though they held the Son of God to be but a Creature, and therefore their Opinion was a little more ſound than his, yet ſhewing much Zeal for the Similitude of the Son of God, as if that would heal and make up all, procured *Conſtantius*, then at *Sirmium*, to call a Synod to that City.

And *Photinus*.

Epiphanius.

**Socr. l.2. c.29.*

86. That

Several Anathematiſms.

86. The Hæreſie of *Photinus* being condemned, the Biſhops drew up a ſhort Form of Faith, to which they added thoſe Anathematiſms to comprehend as well that of his, and other opinions. "Firſt, Thoſe that affirm that the Son of things "which are not, or of any other ſubſtance, than of God the Father, let them be "accurſed. Second, Or that there was Time or Age when he was not. Third, Or "that the Father and the Son are two Gods. Fourth, Or that Chriſt was God be-"fore all Ages, and yet the Son of God, did not with the Father make all things. "Fifth, Or that the Son of God, or any part of him is begotten of *Mary*. Sixth, Or "that the Son is born of *Mary*, according to the foreknowledge, and not before "all Ages begotten of the Father, and was with God, and that by him all things "were made. Seventh, Or that the ſubſtance of God may be dilated or con-"tracted. Eighth, Or that the Eſſence of God dilated makes the Son, or ſhall "call the Son as it were dilating of his Eſſence. Ninth, Or ſhall call the Son, the "Word of God ſeated in the mind of the Father, or the Word brought forth. Tenth, "Or that God Man is begotten of the *Virgin Mary*, underſtanding thereby, that God "is begotten. Eleventh, Or that ſhall expound theſe words [beſides me there is "no God] to exclude thereby the only begotten, who is God from everlaſting. "Twelfth, Or theſe [the Word made Fleſh] to be tranſmutation into Fleſh. "Thirteenth, Or by Crucifying the only begotten Son of God, ſhall underſtand, "that the Son of God did undergo Paſſion, Diſtruction, Change, Diminuti-"on, Annihilation. Fourteenth, Or that ſhall expound theſe words [let us "make Man in our own Image] as ſpoken by God the Father to himſelf, and not to "God the Son. Fifteenth, Or ſhall affirm that *Jacob* wreſtled with God, as God, "or with God the Father, and not with the Son as Man. Sixteenth, Or whoſo-"ever underſtandeth this, *the Lord rained from the Lord*, not to be meant of the "Father and the Son, but that the Father rained from himſelf.

Vide Socr. l. 2. 3. Soz. l. 4. c. 30.

87. Or Seventeenth, "Whoſoever ſhall expound theſe Forms of Speech, the "Father Lord, the Son Lord, as if the Father being Lord, be both Lord and "Son. Eighteenth, Whoſoever when he ſaith Lord of Lords ſhall thereby un-"derſtand two Gods. For we do not place the Son, ſay they, in the ſame degree "with the Father, but we make him ſubject to the Father. Nineteenth, Who-"ſoever ſhall affirm the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to be one Perſon. Twenti-"eth, Whoſoever, when he calleth the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter, ſhall thereby "mean God unbegotten. Twenty firſt, Whoſoever ſaith there is no other Com-"forter beſide the Son. Twenty ſecond, Or that ſhall affirm the Holy Ghoſt to be "part of the Father and the Son. Twenty third, Or that the Son, as one of the "Creatures, is made by the Will of the Father. Twenty fourth, Whoſoever "affirmeth the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to be Three Gods, let him be accurſed. "Twenty fifth, Or that the Son is begotten contrary to the Will of the Father. "Twenty ſixth, Whoſoever affirms that the Son had neither begetting, nor begin-"ning, and ſo conſequently affirm, that there are two without beginning, and two "without begetting, and ſo appoint two Gods. The Son is the head and the "Original of all Creatures, and the head of Chriſt is God, for ſo we refer all "things reverently by the Son unto one principle of all things which is without "beginning. Laſtly, Weighing deeply with our ſelves that clauſe alſo of Chriſtian "profeſſion, we ſay, that whoſoever affirmeth Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God who "Miniſtred unto the Fathers at the Creation of all things, not to have been be-"fore all Worlds, but only ſince the time that the Son was born of *Mary* to "have been Chriſt, and then his Deity to have begun, as *Paulus Samoſatenus* was "perſwaded, let him be accurſed. This we have tranſcribed, that once for all it may appear how abſtruſe was the Hæreſie of the *Arians*, how much it gave to the Son of God above other Hæreſies, in allowing him a Deity, confeſſing his being before all Worlds, which the Father made by him; ſometime, though not in the ſecond Confeſſion, they talk of Subſtance too and a perfect Similitude. But ſtill they deny his *Conſubſtantiality*, that critical term which ever limits and determines their Doctrine, though it ſhow never ſo high in the Epithets they give the Son of God. And not knowing what to ſay, or where to fix, they are guilty of prodigious uncertainty, whence ſo many Creeds and Forms of Faith, and ſo many Synods to make and marr, that Heathen Writers take notice of *Conſtantius* his Reign as very ridiculous in this reſpect.

88. *Photinus* was ſufficiently cenſured, but this confeſſion ſeeming too Orthodox, a ſecond Model was drawn, wherewith the *Semiarians* were offended, for that the word *Subſtance* was left out, and meeting afterwards at *Anzyra* a City of *Galatia*, they condemned this Model, aſſerting the word *Subſtance*, wherein they affirmed

A difference among ſt the *Arians* themſelves.

affirmed the Son was like the Father. This was quite contrary to the Second Decree of them at *Sirmium*, who, as *Socrates* writes, after a long contention about the ſignification of the Greek word οὐσία, and the Latin *Subſtantia* ; about the equality or unity of Subſtance, reſolved that the Church of God ſhould no longer be troubled with the interpretation thereof; and that for two Cauſes, both for that the Scriptures of God make no mention thereof, and becauſe the meaning thereof exceeded the capacity of Man; the Scripture teſtifiing, that no Man is able to ſet forth the Generation of the Son, in theſe words, *his Generation who ſhall declare*. This act therefore of the *Semiarians*, ſeeming ſo contrary to the publick Cauſe, another meeting was had at *Sirmium*, in the ſecond year after, where the Parties to agree, came to a compoſition, that the one ſhould leave out the word *Subſtance*, and the other yield this to be inſerted in the room of it, *In all things like to the Father*; and accordingly a third Form was drawn up, to which *Conſtantius* forced ſome Diſſenters to ſubſcribe. Now *Baronius* refers the firſt meeting at *Sirmium* to the Twenty firſt year of *Conſtantius*, the 357. of our Lord, although *Socrates* and *Sozomen* place it in the year after the Conſulſhip of *Sergius* and *Nigrianus*, which happened *A. D.* 351. He takes his argument from the Subſcription of *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, to the Decrees of this Council, and the baniſhment of *Athanaſius*, which could not be before the Exile both of that Biſhop and *Liberius*, as alſo from the preſence of *Conſtantius* at *Sirmium*, which from *Ammianus* he gathers, fell out in this year. Others make there meetings held at *Sirmium*, viz. one *A. D.* 351. another the preſent 357, and another *A. D.* 359. Which produceth ſo many Forms of Faith, whereof the firſt was more tollerable, allowing the word *Subſtance*, but the Second utterly baniſhed it, as never more to be uſed, and by the third they found a middle way, leaſt *Satan* ſhould be too much divided againſt himſelf.

Hil. de ſyn. Epiph. hær. 73.

L. 2. c. 03.

Jacobus Capell. ad A. D. 351. 357. 359.

89. But when the Second Confeſſion came to be ſubſcribed, *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, an ancient and Valient Souldier of *Jeſus Chriſt*, became a remarkable example of humane Frailty, who refuſing to ſet to his hand, was by Scourging and racking at length compelled to it, though a few years after, as is probably conjectured, he died at his See in the Orthodox Faith. *Liberius* alſo Biſhop of *Rome*, who formerly had ſtood out againſt Deprivement and Exile, was conquered with thoſe Baciline Arguments of the *Arians*, and ſubſcribed both to the Confeſſion of Faith, and the baniſhment of *Athanaſius*. The Cardiual Annaliſt labours hard to clear St. *Peter*'s Chair from the guilt and ſcandal of Hæretical pravity, telling us, that it was the firſt Confeſſion of Faith to which *Liberius* ſubſcribed, wherein was contained the word *Subſtance*, and that having nothing but Orthodox in it, according to the natural ſignification of the words, he was not obliged to conſider what might be the meaning of the *Arians*. He endeavours to render invalid, what ever may make him guilty of Hæreſie, by aſcribing to the ſophiſtication and Tricks of the *Arians*, whatſoever is found to his diſadvantage in the writings of the Orthodox. But there are others, who from the credit of ſuch Authors, as they conceive were never tempted to Lye, do much otherwiſe conceive of this action of *Liberius*. For *Felix*, who had ſucceeded him after his baniſhment, perceiving himſelf to be mortally hated for his *Arianiſm*, and that none upon that account would Communicate with him; that he might ingratiate himſelf with the People, thundred out *Anathema's* againſt the *Arians*. *Liberius* perceiving this, when he was not only threatened with the extremity of Torments, but ſaw there was hopes of recovering his Biſhoprick, by complying with the Times, wrote Letters full of flattery to the *Arians*, calling them the Sons of Peace, and both condemned *Athanaſius*, and ſubſcribed to the Second Confeſſion of Faith made at *Sirmium*, hereby he recovered his Biſhoprick, thruſting out *Felix* as an intruder, whom he cauſed to be ſtarved to death: Upon which account *Hilarius* grieviouſly reprehended and Anathematized him, and *Felix*, (though upon another account ſaith *Baronius*,) was accounted a Martyr. The firſt that debaucht *Liberius*, was one *Fortunatianus*, as St. *Hierome* tells us.

Hil. frag. Martyol. Rom. Jul. 29. Athan. ad ſolitarios.

De. Scrip. Eccleſiaſt.

90 But *Conſtantius* the Emperour, underſtanding what *Edoxius* the Biſhop of *Antioch* had done, both in reference to the Biſhoprick, and *Ætius*, wrote unto the Inhabitants of that City againſt him, as one who had crept into that See without his knowledge and conſent; and as to the Hæreſie of *Ætius*, thinking he had not yet ſufficiently provided by the late Tranſactions at *Sirmium*, he reſolved to call

Soz. l. 4. c. 13. Theod. b. l. 2. c. 26.

another Council : Being ſo reſolved, he was perſwaded by the Favourers of *Eudoxius*, to ſummon the Biſhops to *Nice*, thinking, it ſeems, that this City, being as yet famous for the late Council thither aſſembled, would obliterate that Creed, and give reputation to his Hæreſie, by obtruding that for the Orthodox Faith; but afterwards the Emperours mind changed, and it was ſummoned to *Nicomedia* a City of the ſame Province. Here, when they ſhould aſſemble, ſo great an Earthquake happened, that it deſtroyed well nigh the whole Town, and this conſtrains them to think again of *Nice*. But hither alſo the Earthquake comes, and ſo prevents them, that they know not whether to turn themſelves. Some from St. *Hierom* gather that thence, the Aſſembly was removed to *Ancyra*, whither when the Prælates were travelling, *Hilary* wrote his Book of Synods in *Phrygia*, wherein he bewailes the backſliding of thoſe times, which he affirms to be ſo great, that in Ten Provinces of *Aſia* ſcarcely was one Biſhop to be found who knew and feared God. And now it was, that the *Samiarians* might make their proteſtation againſt the Second Form of Faith, agreed on at *Sirmium*. But the favourers of *Eudoxius* and *Ætius* perceiving things to go too favourably in behalf of the Catholick Cauſe, the word *Conſubſtantial* being only wanting to joyn to it, the *Semiarians* obtained of the Emperour that two places ſhould be appointed for the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops to meet at. The pretence was, that both ſorts might have the more convenience of Travel ; but the deſign, that they might not be united in one Body, for then they feared the Orthodox Party would be prævalent ; but being divided into two Aſſemblies, divers forms of Faith and Decrees might paſs them, whereof they doubted not, but ſome they might either eaſily draw or wreſt to their purpoſe. In theſe changes and removes was ſpent this year, which was the Twenty Second of *Conſtantius*, the Fourth of *Rome*, the firſt Indiction. *A. D.* 358. *T. Fabius Decianus*, and *Naratius Ceræalis* being Conſuls.

Another Council held at *Ancyra*.

An Aſſembly held at *Seleucia*.

91. The places determined for the Eaſtern Biſhops, was *Seleutia*, a City of *Iſauria*, and for the Weſtern *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where Four Hundred Prælates, ſome ſay Six hundred aſſembled. But firſt this ſame year which was the Twenty third of *Conſtantius*, was the third Creed made at *Sirmium* (as we formerly hinted) on the Twenty ſecond of *May*, where after great Conteſts, the Parties agreed to leave out the word *Subſtance*, upon condition, that Chriſt might be ſaid in all things *like* the Father, which held them in diſpute till the very Night preceeding the Feaſt of *Whitſuntide*. The Emperour *Conſtantius*, who was preſent at the making of this Confeſſion, ſix days after, ſent it away to *Ariminum*, where the firſt Seſſion was held on the Twenty firſt of *July*. There aſſembled ſo many of the Orthodox Party, that do what the *Arians* could, they carried it quite for the recognition of the *Nicene Creed*, and Condemnation of *Arius*, and his Doctrine, rejecting beſides all others Forms and Confeſſions of Faith, this new one come from *Sirmium* : And they depoſed *Valens* and *Urſacius* the Ringleaders of the Hætetical Party, together with *Auxentius Germanius*, *Caius* and *Demophilus*, becauſe they refuſed to joyn with them. Theſe Men who were wont to carry all before them, becauſe backed with the Emperours Authority, in a great fume poſt to him, to whom they lay open the danger of further troubles, after that the Council at *Sirmium* had taken ſo hopeful a courſe for the peace of the Church, which thoſe Men leavened with the Principles of *Athanaſius*, went about again to diſturbe. The Council ſent alſo their Meſſengers to the Court, deſiring, that having diſpatched thoſe matters for which they were called, they might have leave to depart to their own Sees. *Conſtantius* was about this time moving Eaſtward againſt the *Barbarians*, who broke violently into the Empire, and therefore telling them he could not at preſent attend thoſe Controverſies, he appointed them to expect his return at *Adrianople*.

Socr. l. 2. *c.* 39.

Socr. ut rep. c. 36. *Soz. c.* 28. *Theod. c.* 19.

The *Arians* meet at *Nice* in *Thrace*, and make a new Creed.

92. The *Arians* in the mean time met at *Nice* in *Thrace*, where they drew up another Form of Faith, like unto the third made at *Sirmium*, leaving out both *Subſtance* and *Conſubſtantial*, and in ſome of them, *in all things like*, putting *like* only. *Socrates* tells us, that *Urſatius* called this Aſſembly together, and therein publiſhing that Confeſſion read in *Ariminum*, and forged at *Sirmium*, afterward ſet it forth as agreed to by a General Council, gave it the Name of the *Nicene Faith*, to the intent, that uſing the Name of *Nice*, he might enſnare the ignorant and ſimple ſort of People, who verily thought it the ſame Creed which had formerly been Compoſed at *Nice* in *Bithynia* ; till at length the treachery of theſe Deceivers

was

was diſcovered, and the Impoſture derided. This ſame Author writes, that the Biſhops at *Ariminum*, having anſwered the Emperours Letter, wherein he ſignified his pleaſure that they ſhould abide there till his return from the War, departed all to their own Sees. But *Sulpicius Severus* (who as he ſaith himſelf, had the knowledge of what paſſed in this Synod, from *Gaudentius* a Biſhop) reports, that *Conſtantius* having diſmiſſed the Meſſengers of the Council, who being young, unlearned, and imprudent, were drawn in to ſubſcribe the Creed of *Sirmium*, gave order to his Præfect not to ſuffer the Fathers to depart from *Ariminum* till they had alſo ſubſcribed the ſame Confeſſion. At firſt they refuſed to Communicate with their Apoſtate Meſſengers; but old Age, the cold of Winter, want of Neceſſaries, with threats of Tortures, ſo changed, if not broke them, that all in a manner ſubſcribed, and twenty who remained, were entrapped by *Valens*. Being allowed to add what proteſtation they pleaſed, he joyned to their Proteſtation, *that Chriſt was not a Creature, as the reſt of the Creatures*, whereby he meant, though they perceived not his drift, that *he only was a Creature, though more excellent and perfect, as the reſt*. When they had received and admitted this Clauſe, *Valens* and his Companions triumphed, ſaying, they had not affirmed the Son of God, not to be a Creature, but only the moſt Excellent of Creatures, and herein like the reſt. Now carried they all before them, inſomuch that the World groaned, and admired to ſee it ſelf all turned *Arian*. And from thoſe ſo contrary proceedings of this Council, it came to paſs, that ſomtimes it is imbraced by ancient Catholicks ſomtimes it utterly rejected as Erronious and Hæretical.

Sub. finem lib. 2.

Ingemuit totus orbis & Arianum ſeeſſe miratus eſt. Hieron. ad Lucif.

93. No better was the concluſion at *Seleucia*, where a Synod of about 160. Biſhops was opened on the Twenty ſeventh of *September*. Here the *Arians* themſelves were divided into two Factions, whilſt ſome would have matters of Faith firſt handled, and others would take into conſideration the Caſes of Criminals, (whereof ſeveral, out of fear, pretending frivolous reaſons, ſtaid at *Seleucia*) both Parties alledging the Authority of the Emperours Letters, which were Ambiguouſly written. Some cryed out againſt the making of new Forms of Faith, approving, as a Pattern, that which had been formerly drawn up at *Antioch*, at the Encænia or Dedication, which being to be ſubſcribed, the other Party headed by *Acacius*, who had importuned them to aboliſh the *Nicene Creed*, and make a new one, would not ſubſcribe themſelves but by their Deputies, the Deacons, and Readers. This was done the firſt day of meeting, the Doors of the Church being faſt locked, againſt which *Acacius* afterward proteſted, and by the aſſiſtance of *Leonas* a great Courtier, (who præſided by the Emperours order) having got the Factions again together, when they thought he was about to read ſomthing elſe, produced a Creed with a Præface to it. Herein after he had inveighed againſt his Adverſaries, he rejects quite the clauſes of *Unity and Equality in Subſtance*, both as having no ground in Scripture, and as the occaſions of great Contentions, yet withall accurſing the Clauſe of *Inæquality*, and holding all the Patrons and Favourers thereof as Excommunicated Perſons. When he had ſaid, *Sophronius*, Biſhop of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, told him plainly, that if the new devices and daily invention of his brain were laid down for Creeds, it could not otherwiſe fall out, but that ſhortly they ſhould be found without one grain of Faith. In his Creed he had affirmed the Son of God to be *like* his Father, in the midſt of diſputation he was asked wherein? To which he anſwered, that the Son was *like* the Father, not *in ſubſtance*, but only in Will and Mind, to which when it was replied, that in Books by him formerly written, he had held the Son to be *in all things like* the Father, he returned this anſwer, that no Man that ever was, of old time, or of late days, is wont to be tryed by the Books he wrote. To ſuch prodigious incertainty and inconſtancy doth Hæreſie ſubject Mens minds. One while the *Arians* admit *ſubſtance*, ſomtimes not, one while *like in all things*, another only *like*, ſomtimes any thing but *Conſubſtantial*, other whiles ſcarcely any thing at all will be admitted.

Vide Soc. l. 2. c. 39. 40. gr. ex Sabino.

94. *Leonas* provoked by thoſe Diſſentions above all patience, refuſed flatly to præſide any more, and diſſolved the Council, permitting them yet amonſt themſevles to meet in the Church where the *Samiarians* aſſembling, deprived *Acacius*, with *George* of *Alexandria*, and others of his Party. Depoſing amongſt the reſt, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, they placed one *Arianus* in his See, whom after his Conſecration, their Adverſaries procured *Leonas* to baniſh, againſt which proceedings, after they had in vain proteſted, they ſent ten Meſſengers to plead their Cauſe

before the Emperour. Thus much writes *Socrates* of this Council, who ſpeaks of it as Compoſed altogether of *Arians*, whereas *Hilary* in his Book againſt *Conſtantius*, makes mention of the Biſhops of *Ægypt* their ſtanding faſt to the buſineſs of one Subſtance, all except *George* their Metropolitan. He explains further the meaning of *Acacius* his Creed, which rejecting both Conſubſtantiality and likeneſs of Subſtance, yet withall condemned Diſſimilitude in the Son of God. For although they allowed him not to be like God as God, yet ſeeing he was the Son of his Will, rather than the Divinity, they allowed him like to his Father as ſuch. But in that they held him neither to be God, nor begotten of the Subſtance of the Father, therefore they would not admit of the likeneſs of Subſtance. And here they diſputed that in God there could be no Generation, becauſe there was no Female, and they proceeded to ſuch irreverent Terms as juſtly offended all Godly Ears.

95. But though the *Semiarians* had diſpatcht their Meſſengers to the Emperour, *Acacius* was got before them, and ſo told his Tale, that *Conſtantius* who ever inclined to the worſt and moſt rigorous Party, eſpouſed his Quarrel. Yet muſt another Synod be called at *Conſtantinople*, whither were ſummoned out of the neighbouring *Bythinia* about Fifty Biſhops, and a new Creed muſt be formed, wherein were aboliſhed as formerly the word *Ouſiæ* or *Subſtance*, and the Subſiſtence of Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, forbidden once to be named. Having ſubſcribed this Creed, they took the ſeveral Cauſes of Biſhops into Conſideration, but firſt after much Diſputation condemned *Aetius* the Arch-Hæretick. Then proceeding againſt ſuch as they hated upon the account of private Grudges, in the firſt place they depoſed *Macedonius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, partly becauſe upon his account ſome Slaughter had been committed, but indeed to revenge the Emperour of him who ſought an occaſion to do him a miſchief; it was alſo objected againſt him that he had admitted into Communion a certain Deacon taken in Adultery. They depoſed alſo *Baſilius* or *Baſillas* who had ſucceeded *Marcellus* in the See of *Ancyra*, for tormenting a Man, for forging Slanders, and diſparaging divers Perſons, but indeed for that he withſtood them ſo earneſtly, being one of the Meſſengers ſent from *Selencia*. After this, as well they that came from *Selencia* as thoſe that from elſewhere were aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*, were commanded by the Emperour to ſubſcribe that Creed which was lately ſent from *Ariminum*, though different from the other of *Conſtantinople*, and to be obſerved in the Weſt as this in the Eaſt. So dreadful was the condition of the Church at this time, whilſt every year produced almoſt a new Creed, and by virtue of thoſe, all Churches were ſo diſturbed, as neither could they know what to believe nor any Paſtor left to teach them, ſuch changing and rechanging of Biſhops happened in every Province. *Socrates* in admiration of this number of Creeds, reckons up how many had been made ſince the Council of *Nice*. After that made by the *Nicene* Council, ſaith he, the Biſhops framed two others at *Antioch* when they aſſembled to the Dedication of the Church. The Third was made by the Biſhops in *Gall*, which were with *Narciſſus* who exhibited it to the Emperour *Conſtantius*. The Fourth was ſent by *Eudoxius* to the *Italian* Biſhops. Three were in Writing publiſhed at *Sirmium*, whereof one being glorioufly ſet out with the Names of the Conſuls was read at *Ariminum*. The Eighth was publiſhed at *Selencia* by the Complices of *Acacius*. The Ninth was this ſet forth at *Conſtantinople* with this addition, that thenceforth there ſhould be no mention made of the Subſtance or Subſiſtency of God. Whereunto *Ulphilas* Biſhop of the *Goths* then firſt ſubſcribed, having till this time imbraced the Faith eſtabliſhed by the Council of *Nice*, and been an earneſt Follower of *Theophilus* his Predeceſſor, who was at that Council and ſubſcribed the Creed.

Another Synod at *Conſtantinople*, and a new Creed.

How many Creeds were made ſince that of *Nice*.

Soc. l.2. c.41. gr.

Theod. l.2.c.27.
Soz. l.4 c.23,&c

Soc. ibid.c.42.

Ut ſuprà c.41.

96. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers* incenſed againſt *Conſtantius* for thoſe things, when he was now in Exile, wrote bitterly againſt him, which notwithſtanding for reaſons of State, the Emperour ſent him hence to his own Biſhoprick. *Macedonius* being baniſhed *Conſtantinople* and ſucceeded by *Eudoxius*, (who had formerly intruded into the See of *Antioch*,) now at length began to magnifie the clauſe of one Subſtance, but denied to the Holy Ghoſt the Honour of partaking thereof, together with the Father and the Son, affirming he was a Creature, and one of the Miniſtring Spirits, being only in Degree and Dignity above other Angels. The *Arians* gladly imbraced this opinion, being ſo conſonant to their own, that the noiſe of Contention about the Son of God, and the buſying their

Soc. l.2.c.45.

their brains about that Hæreſie, ſeemeth indeed the only cauſe why we hear no more of this. Into the See of *Antioch* after the removal of *Eudoxius* was elected both by the Orthodox and *Arians*, *Meletius* formerly Biſhop of *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, each Party having a confidence in him, though he had formerly ſubſcribed the Form of Faith which *Acacius* his Party framed at *Selencia*. For ſome ſpace after his Tranſlation he meddled not with any Myſteries of Faith, but preached to his People ſuch Doctrine as conduced to Virtue and a good Life; but afterwards he preſſed them to the belief of the clauſe *of one Subſtance*, and to adhere to the *Nicene* Creed. Herewith the *Arians* much inraged, complained to the Emperour, who being then at *Antioch*, as well for this as other reaſons, another Council was called. *Socrates* writes that the Faction of *Acacius* procured it, that they might have an opportunity of renouncing the Opinion they had formerly held, that the Son is in all things like the Father. After the depoſition of *Meletius*, whom the Emperour baniſhed, *Euroius* (who formerly had been depoſed, together with *Arius*) was by his order promoted to the Church of *Antioch*.

97. The *Arians* met together cannot but fall upon Matters of Faith, and it pained them to think of breaking up without the Production of a new Creed. They call in queſtion what they had Decreed in time paſt, they affirm that the Clauſe of Likeneſs paſſed the Synods of *Ariminum*, and *Conſtantinople*, is quite to be abandoned, and not once to be named any more; they now think it time to ſpeak plain, and no more conceal their opinion that the Son is altogether unequal and unlike the Father, not only in Subſtance but alſo in Will, as alſo that, as *Arius* braved, he had his Original from nothing. They were therefore from holding this Hæreſie, that the Son is unlike the Father called *Anomius*, and from maintaining him to have proceeded from nothing named *Exucontius*. And ſo fruitful is Hæreſie of other monſtrous Births, that from the Hive of *Arius* proceeded many other Swarms, diſtinguiſhed either by the names of their Leaders, or the particular ways and methods which they took, as the *Euſebians*, *Photinians*, *Eudoxians*, *Acacians*, *Eunomians*, *Macedonians*, *Aetians*, *Pſatyrians Cyrtians* and *Dulians*. But when it was demanded of thoſe *Acacians* why formerly they had given Chriſt the ſtile of God of God, that profeſſed they meant it in that ſence the Apoſtle wrote, when he ſaith all things are of God. And therefore the Son is of God, inaſmuch as he is included in the word *All*, for which cauſe they added in their Creed, *According to the Scriptures*. The Author of this Fooliſh Gloſs was *George* Biſhop of *Laodicea*, with whom the *Acacian* Faction joyning, though they were ſoundly charged with Sophiſtical dealing, yet weighed neither the Scandal nor the Cenſure. They repeated again the Form of Faith compoſed at *Conſtantinople*, which being done every one departed home.

An account of ſeveral Hæreticks.

98. Such was the liberty which this prophanely conſcious Age took to it ſelf, of prying into the Myſtery of the Holy Trinity, that innumerable were the Hæreſies it produced whilſt ſuch as were out of the way never could agree to walk together, and almoſt every particular Man made choice of a peculiar Path: Some that agreed to the clauſe of one Subſtance, yet fancied ſtrange things as to the Incarnation, concerning which another Hæreſie was about this time broached by one *Apollonanus* a Prieſt, and a Son he had of the ſame Name. Theſe two uſing too much the Familiarity of *Epiphanius* the Sophiſt, when upon admonition they would not forbear his company, *George* Biſhop of *Laodicea* fearing leaſt they might by his means be drawn to Paganiſm, Excommunicated them both. Diſcontented hereat, or as ſome wrote, being ſcandalized with the *Arian* Doctrine of the Biſhop, they fell off from the Church, and being not heeded, endeavoured to eſtabliſh a new Doctrine. Firſt they taught that God the word was Incarnate, without a Soul in a meer Body, again recanting the ſame, they affirmed, that he took a Soul, yet not the Mind nor Reaſon, but that the Godhead ſupplied the place thereof. Secondly, That he brought that Body with him from Heaven, and made it of the ſame Subſtance with his Divine Nature, and that this Body, when it came on Earth, was paſſible viſible and mortal. Thirdly, That Sin is part of a Mans Eſſence, and therefore if Chriſt had been a perfect Man, he muſt needs have been a Sinner. But beſides thoſe a worſe Sect aroſe in *Meſopotamia* about this time, from their Praying and Devotion called *Maſſalani*, *Spirituales*, and *Euchaitæ* or *Præcatores*, the Founders of the

Soc. l. 2. c. penult. Greg. Nazianz. Ep. ad Nectarium Baſil. ep. 7. Hieron in Catal. Ruffin. Soz.

Epiph. hær. 80.

Theod. l. 4. & 6.

Sect

Sect being certain Monks who lived in the Deſerts of that Country. They placed all Religion in Praying, miſled by a miſunderſtanding of that of the Apoſtle, *Pray without ceaſing*, eſteeming all other Offices of Devotion, Piety, and Virtue, as uſeleſs and unneceſſary. They held that every Man had a Devil in him, even the Apoſtles themſelves, which can no otherwiſe be ejected, than with this Spiritual Engine; that every Man had two Souls, whereof one more than Cæleſtial, and that by this, even with their bodily Eyes they were capable of beholding the Bleſſed Trinity. They prætended to ſtrange Revelations, whereby they attained high Perfection, even as high as Chriſt himſelf, as alſo to triumph over Devils, upon which account they were called *Enthuſiaſts*. *Damaſc. hær. 80.*

99. But a Covetous Devil ſo far poſſeſſed them, that they denied any Almes ought to be given to any other, but themſelves, becauſe they were the truly poor in Spirit. They held it lawful to ſwear, and forſwear, and taught Children, that it was lawful to diſobey their Parents, ſo that the Gift or Corban were but brought into their Box. They pretended to Perfection in this Life, to ſo high a degree, that they could be impeccable in thought; had a ſtrange fancy concerning Spiritual Purgation, as if a Sow and Pigs were ſeen to go out at a Mans Mouth; and viſible Fire, yet without the Propriety of burning, to enter in. Such a virtue they made in Prayer, that it thruſt out Devils in Excrements, through the Mouth, and other parts, being quite contrary in this opinion to the Doctrine of other Monks in *Ægypt* about the ſame time, who refrained from avoidance of all Excrements, as a Sin, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, that *thoſe things which come out of a Man, defile a Man*, never conſidering the Explication of the Text, in which reſpect they condemned Marriage. So ſtrangely did the Spirit of Error poſſeſs Monks at this time, who by their Devotions and Solitary Life, contracted as much of Spiritual Pride, as Melancholly, that ſome would, as too Holy, pray with no others, and therefore both celebrated, though Lay-men, Holy Offices, and Ordained themſelves Biſhops, others caſtrated themſelves, ſome Rebaptized ſuch as turned from *Arianiſm*, and others behaved themſelves ſuitably to thoſe Extravagancies as *Epiphanius* hath related.

100. So fruitful was *Conſtantius* his Reign of Hereſies and Schiſms, that the Church could ſcarcely perceive her ſelf free from thoſe Calamities which the præceding *Pagan* times had inflicted. For though her Sufferings from without were removed, yet ſhe laboured under ſuch inward Preſſures, as almoſt equalled her former Troubles. Her beſt and moſt genuine Sons being ſo roughly handled by thoſe who challenged the ſame Original, that ſhe ſeemed even to ſlight the Friendſhip of the Scepter, which had defended her indeed from her ſworn and proteſted Enemies, but had ſtill kept her Eyes as moiſt as ever, by aſſiſting her falſe, though highly prætending Friends, in the Perſecution of thoſe moſt dear unto her. Her cries were at length heard, and his days were accompliſhed, who was the furtherer of her ſorrow. For *Conſtantius*, who had ſo long robbed the Son of God of his Glory, was now well nigh deprived of his own Earthly Diadem, and although he eſcaped Deprivation, yet it was by no leſs charge and price, than of his own Life, giving place to him who had ſought it, and unwillingly reſigning his Seat to that Perſon, for whom, he had in his thoughts deſigned no other Manſions, than thoſe of the dead. He according to the depraved Cuſtom of thoſe times, deferred alſo his Baptiſm to his death, and then receiving it at the Hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſealed as it were that Doctrine at his end, which he had ſo much defended in his Life. Yet did he much advance the common name and Intereſt of Chriſtianity, improving his Power and Authority for the Suppreſſion of *Pagan* Superſtition, and carrying on that Reformation which his Father ſo happily had begun. This becauſe the continued Series of thoſe *Arian* Controverſies permitted us not hitherto to deſcribe, we ſhall now ſee what Laws he made in reference to Religion. For by them the State and Condition of times is more fully known, than otherwiſe. Particular Relations of private Perſons may fail, their diſcovery being more uncertain, their Fear, Affection, and other Impediments more prævalent. But from the nature and courſe of the Remedy, we may beſt diſtinguiſh and judge of the Diſtemper.

Conſtantius being baptized by *Euzoius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, dies

101. And

His Laws Eccleſiaſtical.

101. And the firſt we ſhall take notice of is that Crime of Adultery, a Sin, which becauſe ſuch, it concerned Magiſtrates to prevent as Chriſtians, and becauſe of ſuch a nature as to confound genitures, and procure ſo great Thefts and Robberies, as of whole Inheritances, it behoved them to prevent, as Fathers of their Country. The Emperours therefore, in the Third Year of their Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Conſtantius* and *Valens*, by a (*a*) Conſtitution, inflict death upon Adulterers as Sacrilegious againſt Marriage, not fearing the cenſure of Hæreſie for ſo doing, which had they lived in the time of (*b*) *Binnius*, they had certainly incurred. This ſame year they (*c*) forbid Chriſtian Women to marry with Jews, as thereby caſting themſelves into great Temptations. And by another (*d*) Conſtitution, taking care leſt inceſtuous Marriages, a thing too frequent in thoſe days, ſhould defile the Chriſtian Faith, they forbid that any Man Marry his Brothers or Siſters Daughter. Perceiving how Religious Zeal is apt to run into the other extream, that whilſt it mends, it is always thereby apt to marr, and to change Superſtition for Sacrilege, Deſolation, and Rapine, in their Fourth Year, and the Conſulſhip of *Acyndinus* and *Proculus*, they were conſtrained to obviate that humour which ever rages in Reformations. Chriſtianity now having ſpread far and wide throughout the Empire, and Chriſtians incouraged by the Profeſſion of Princes, very zealouſly oppoſed whatever they thought tended to Idolatry, and therefore having in their Grounds many Sepulchres Conſecrated, as was the Cuſtom of old to the *Dii Manes*, thoſe without any regard to the Memory of their Anceſtors, or Piety to the Dead, they did not only demoliſh, but convert all Ornaments of Sepulchre to vile and baſe uſes. To ſtop therefore this current, and to prevent the objection of Pagans, that Chriſtianity diveſted its Profeſſors of Humanity, (*e*) a Law was made at *Milan*, againſt ſuch who ſhould violate thoſe Monuments of the Dead, and convert the Marble and Pillars thereto belonging to other uſes.

(a) *Cod Theodoſ. l.* 11. *c.* 36. §. 4.

(b) *Adulteros morte mulctari debere docere, non modo notoriam injuſtitiam verum etiam hæreticam doctrinam eſſe. Binnius in notis ad Concil. veneticum.*

(c) *C.Th.l.*16. *tit.* 6. §. 6.

(d) *C.Th.l.*3. *tit.* 12. §. 1.

(e) *C. Theod. l.* 1. *&* 2. *de ſepul. violand.*

102. Neither could the Heathens take any incouragement hereat, whilſt a diſtinction was made betwixt Superſtition and Irreverence. Indeed notwithſtanding what had been done by *Conſtantine*, and the diſcouragement given by the preſent Princes, yet very many, and thoſe of the greateſt Ranks, as Senators, and others, were both at this time Pagans, and continued ſuch a long time after. But that by degrees the work might be brought to perfection, *Conſtantius* in the Fifth Year of his Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*, Enacts a (*a*) Law againſt Idolaters, which forbids all ſorts of Perſons to offer Sacrifice. This notwithſtanding, the old Inhabitant was ſo unwilling to be diſpoſſeſſed and ſpoiled of his Goods, that Five Years after, there was need of another Edict, (*b*) whereby the Emperours *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* command the Temples of *Pagans*, which ſtood within the Walls of Cities, to be ſhut up, not thinking it fit to proceed further, but permitting thoſe that ſtood without, to remain in the ſame condition as formerly. Yet this Conſtitution ſeemeth to have had this effect, that the Year following the ancient Centenary *Sæcular Games*, of which we have already ſpoken largely, were not celebrated, the *Pagans* it ſeems being diſcouraged, or fearing to be hindred, if they went about it. Notwithſtanding what *Conſtantine* had done, for the incouragement of the Clergy, in freeing them from publick Offices of charge and trouble (which he even granted to the Jewiſh Prieſts) yet this was ſo far forgotten, that *Conſtantius* in his Thirteenth Year makes another Law, (*c*) whereby he ſets free Clerks and their Sons from all *Curial* Imployments, and from all diſturbance of Civil Offices.

(a) *C.Th.l.*2. *de Pagan.*

(b) *C.Th.l.*16. *tit.* 8. §. 3, 4.

(c) *C.Th l.*16. *tit.* 2. §. 9.

103. The Traytor *Magnentius* before the Commiſſion of his execrable parricide againſt *Conſtans*, in compliance with the times, made Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith. But when he had ſet up for himſelf, either out of his own Inclination, or which is as probable, to ſtrengthen his Party againſt *Conſtantius*, he ſeems to have revolted from it; for he then reſtored thoſe Sacrifices which formerly had been forbidden, as appears from the (*a*) Code of *Theodoſius*. Theſe Crimes procuring vengeance from Heaven upon him, his Reign was not of ſuch length, as thereby much to endamage Chriſtianity, to which ſome amends was made by *Gallus Cæſar*, who ſeemed for the ſmall time he continued in Power, to be very zealous for Religion, and contributed to the Reformation. This appeared as ſoon as he was promoted to be *Cæſar*, when lying at *Antioch* he took occaſion to rid that place of a very notable piece of Idolatry. There was in the Suburbs

(a) *De Paganis ut ſupra.*

The Grove of *Daphne* deſtroyed.

Suburbs of that City the famed Grove of *Daphne*, ſo much celebrated by Poets, and other Heathen Writers, for its Conſecration to *Apollo*, and a Temple and Oracle of the Devil. Being much haunted ſtill by the Superſtitious *Gentiles*, he concluded he ſhould ſpoil all their ſport if he removed thither the Body of *Babylas* the Martyr, ſome time Biſhop of that See. This being done, both what he had deſigned did ſucceed, and what was much more obſervable, that the Devil could not utter thence any Oracle as long as the Body there continued, which he confeſſed to *Julian* afterwards, whereas it was commonly thought, that this happened becauſe no Sacrifices were offered. Thus did *Gallus* effect that which his Uncle *Conſtantine* ſeemeth to have purpoſed unſucceſsfully, who to aboliſh the Memory of *Apollo* in *Daphne*, had there erected his Mother *Helena*'s Statue, had called the place *Auguſtale*, and after himſelf *Conſtantiniana Daphne*, giving alſo to the Twenty third Legion, which he had lately raiſed, the name of *Conſtantiniana Dafnenſis*, as from ſeveral ancient Medals, and Inſcriptions, it doth appear. *Vide Baronium ad A.D.* 351.

104. But *Conſtantius*, that he might prævent all Treaſon againſt his Perſon, or remove that, which otherwiſe, through Gods diſpleaſure, might indanger his Cauſe, when he undertook his Expedition againſt *Magnentius*, and *Verannio*, caſhired all his Souldiers, who were not already, or now refuſed, to be Baptized, though he himſelf deferred it till his Death. It happened upon this occaſion, *Pagani* who. that ſuch as refuſed Baptiſm, were called *Pagani* or *Pagans*, which word being firſt peculiar to thoſe that were not Souldiers, in contradiſtinction to Military Men, became after this, a common name of all *Ethnicks*. *Baronius* thinks that the *Gentiles* might ſo be called from this reaſon, that when the Idol-Temples were ſhut up in Cities, they retired into the *Pagi* or *Villages*, to perform their Superſtitious Rites, which they did till the time of *Honorius* or longer. *Honorius* the Emperour uſing the word in this ſence, interprets it, as meaning the *Gentiles*, ſo that it had not been long in uſe, as applicable to Idolaters. *Baronius* tells us, the firſt he finds thus to uſe it, is *Optatus Milenitanus*, who wrote againſt *Parmenianus*, in the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and he contends againſt ſuch as would produce *Tertullian* to the contrary. The word *Gentile* was taken from the *Jews*, but at this time the *Romans*. when they uſed this word, underſtood thereby *Barbarians*, as appeareth by the Reſcripts of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, out of the Code of *Theodoſius*. *Vide annot. ad l.* 1. *Cod. Inſt. de Paganis.* *de nupt. Gentil.*

105. In the time of *Conſtantius* it ſeemeth, that Sæcular Judges drew Biſhops into their Courts, and would take cogniſance of Matters peculiar to them, and purely Eccleſiaſtical, which upon complaint of *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, the Emperour taking into Conſideration, by a (*a*) Conſtitution dated on the firſt of *October*, in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, forbids Biſhops to be accuſed in Sæcular Courts, permitting their Cauſes to be decided by their Brethren, which is to be underſtood of Eccleſiaſtical. The next Year after, taking notice how much Idolatry yet was practiced, notwithſtanding all former Laws, he in conjunction with *Julian* (who though a *Pagan* in his Heart, was at this time glad to diſſemble) publiſheth ſevere (*b*) Reſcripts againſt *Aruſpices*, *Mathematicians*, *Magicians*, *Diviners*, and ſuch like Creatures, with thoſe that ſhould conſult them; as alſo againſt ſuch as ſacrificed to Idols, or worſhipped their Images, making thoſe Crimes Capital, like a ſevere vindicator of the Chriſtian Religion, as he ſtiles himſelf; But this was done rather in terrour, the Rod was ſhaken, but ſeldom or never did it ſtrike Idolaters, however it might reach the Fortune-tellers, againſt whom the Emperour might be acted by other reaſons beſides thoſe of Religion. The Emperours in the following Year, and the One and twentieth of *Conſtantius*, (*c*) except from the general Collation to which Tradeſmen were bound, the Clerks called *Clerici Copiatæ*, that is the *Libitinarii*, or thoſe that ordered Matters belonging to Burials, *Veſpillones* or *Bearers*, *Pollinctores*, or thoſe that waſhed and anointed dead Bodies. They alſo confirmed Priviledges formerly granted to the *Roman* Church, out of conſideration of the Dignity of that ancient Metropolis. This ſame Year alſo *Conſtantius* wrote a Reſcript to the People againſt Inchanters, ſuch as diſturbed the Elements and raiſed Spirits; and to *Orfitus* Præfect of the City, againſt ſuch as exhibited the old ſhews of the Gladiators. It was in the Præfectſhip of this *Orfitus*, that the great Obelisk was removed by order of *Conſtantius* from *Alexandria* to *Rome*, and there placed in the Great Cicque, which long

(a) *C. Theod. l.* 12. *de Epiſc. & Cler.*

(b) *C. Th. l* 16. *t.* 8. §. 6. *l* 9. *t.* 16 §. 4, 5. *De malef. & Pagan.*

(c) *C. Th. l.* 1. *tit.* 1. §. 1. *de Epiſc. & Cleric.*

C. Th. l. 5. *de malef.* *L.* 1 *de gladiat.*

long time after *Sixtus Quintus* tranſlated into the *Lateran Pallace*, and made Chriſtian by a Croſs erected on the top thereof.

106. The Year following being the Two and twentieth of his Reign, and in the Conſulſhip of *T. Fabius Dacianus*, and *Neratius Ceroalis*, he publiſhed, amongſt other Conſtitutions, another Law againſt the ſeveral ſorts of Diviners, and Fortune-tellers, whom if they were found in the Court, he ſubjected to Tortures. It is probable that ſomething he had ſmelt out, concerning *Julian*, and what tricks he plaid at this time in *Gall*, where and elſewhere, when he could privately, he gave up himſelf to Magick, as we have formerly ſhewed out of *Ammianus*, who cannot, though a *Pagan*, forbear to accuſe him of exceſs in this Particular. From him alſo we may learn, that *Conſtantius* was about this time much moved againſt Idolaters, who ſtill continued their Sacrifices, and conſulted Oracles, notwithſtanding all his Laws formerly publiſhed againſt thoſe Superſtitions, which carried him out to that Severity, that ſuch as ſhould but be found to wear Amulets about them againſt Diſeaſes, as the *Quartan Ague*, or were ſeen to wander about the Tombs, he ſubjected to Condemnation. And as he bent his endeavours thus to eradicate *Pagan* Superſtitions, ſo did he curſe the *Jews*, with whom he would not have Chriſtians to Marry, or have Communion. *Hieron. in Chron.* The Inſurrection they made in his Seventeen Year was ſo provoking, that *Gallus Cæſar*, to ſuppreſs their Rebellion, deſtroyed many thouſands of Men, Women, and Children, and burnt many of their Towns. In the ſame Year died *Rabba*, their great Doctor both in the School called *Surana*, and the other named *Pambitana*, to whom ſucceeded *Nachman* the Son of *Iſaac*. In the Two and twentieth Year of *Conſtantius*, *Hillel* the Second, the Son of *Judas*, began the Computation, which the *Jews* uſe at this day. He built upon the Foundations laid formerly by *Hillel* the Firſt, his Progenitor, who died *A. D.* 10. He took this for a Principle, that the Vernal Æquinoctial fell out on the Twenty third of *March*, which was true in the days of *Hillel* the Firſt; but the caſe was altered in the time of the Younger, and the ſaid Two and twentieth Year of the Emperour *Conſtantius*. *Jacobus Cappellus ex Zacuto & Abrahami Cabbala.*

CHAP. IV.

From the Reign and Apoſtacy of Julian *to the Second* Oecumenical *Council held at* Conſtantinople.

The ſpace of Twenty Years wanting five Months.

1. THe Tares of Arraniſm were now grown ſo forward and flouriſhing that there wanted a Winter to check their growth, leſt they ſhould choak the Corn, and quite overrun the Lords Husbandry. As Friends, when they fall out, give advantage to ſuch as ſeek the ruin of both Nations, and formerly allied, being once grown wanton through Proſperity, firſt quarrel and weaken each other, then lye open to Forraign attempts, and in contention for the Fenns, and the right of Soveraignty, are made a prey by one that hovers above them both, for a fit advantage ſo happened it to Chriſtians after the death of *Conſtantius*. *Flavius Claudius Julianus* his Couſin German and Succeſſor (though againſt his will) having been Educated in the Chriſtian Religion, yet from a Child, if we believe *Ammianus*, was much inclined to Paganiſm, and if we credit himſelf, had for the ſpace of Ten years, though privately for fear of *Conſtantius*, yet Really and Cordially addicted himſelf to that Superſtition, reſolving that if ever his Stars ſo wrought as to make him Maſter of the *Roman* Empire, to recall from Exile his baniſhed Gods, reſtore them their Temples, rebuild their Altars, and kindle again thoſe Fires which the late zeal of his Prædeceſſors had almoſt extinguiſhed, without any hopes of reſuſcitation. But this he thought he muſt effect by degrees, and uſed ſuch arts as in contemplation of thoſe means which he perceived had formerly been applied unſucceſsfully, were moſt proper and likely to bring about his deſign.

Julian the Emperour.

2. His ſeverity againſt the Eunuchs and other Courtiers of *Conſtantius*, though proceeding from private indignation and revenge, yet being joyned with Juſtice, and meeting with the ſame paſſions and intereſts in others (who had ſmarted under the late grievances, as well as himſelf) procured him applauſe and good eſteem. He ſeemed to be ſenſible of the injuſtice of the *Arians*, and the hard uſage of the Orthodox, whom he reſtored to their Countries, Sees, Livings, and Eſtates. But though at firſt he compelled none to his own way, and never lived to ripen thoſe projects which he had laid as prævious to that deſign, yet did he take the courſe of all thoſe who prudently reſolve to turn the ſtrong Current of the Multitude, firſt to diſcountenance diſſentions, and give an indifferent liberty to all, yet ſo as to ſhew by his practice, what he himſelf approved, till by ſecuring himſelf of the main chance, and getting firm poſſeſſion of the Soveraignty, having once gained the Poſts of greateſt concernment, and made himſelf Maſter of all the avenues, he could turn the Engines of Peace, which are the Laws, againſt thoſe who had lately been poſſeſſed of them, and then at length enjoy, nwhen had Obedience within his beck. His indulgence therefore extended as well to Hæreticks as Orthodox. Some of that ſort, as *Ætius*, and others being in Exile. To all alike he gave liberty of Conſcience, Inhibiting Conſtraint and Force, which he knew, if it came once to blows, would be firſt put upon his own Party, when the Chriſtians, who filled all places within the Empire, ſhould betake themſelves to other Weapons beſides their ancient Prayers and Tears. He commanded the Temples of Idols to be opened, offered himſelf at the Sacrifices, and not content with the Devotion and Attendance of an ordinary Pagan, both took upon him the Office and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, according to the cuſtom of his Heathen Anceſtors, (in which he was Initiated with the ordinary Ceremonies,) and was alſo made *Pontife* over the *Eleuſinia*, and ordained other inferiour *Pontifes* which he diſtributed into the Provinces.

He tollerates all Religions.

3. In

3. In complyance with this opportunity, offered the Exiled Biſhops return to their own Sees, and amongſt the reſt *Athanaſius* the great Champion of Chriſts Divinity. Some ſay he appeared in his Church ſoon after the Death of *Conſtantius*, but *Gregory Nazianzen*, in the work which he conſecrated to his praiſe, ſaith, he returned thither after the Death of *George*, who being both hateful to God and Man, came to ſuch an end, as his Carriage and Demeanour had deſerved. For beſides what we have formerly ſaid of his Cruelties, his Avarice and Extorſions were great, wherewith he haraſed the *Alexandrians*. *Epiphanius* writes, that he ſpoyled many of them of their Patrimonies, that he ingroſſed to himſelf the trade of *Nitre*, and of the Salt-pits, procured the Monopile of Paper, and making a gain out of the vileſt ſorts of Materials, brought up a new Order of *Lecticarii* or Biere-Carriers in the Church, which he reſtrained to a certain Number to be at his Devotion, ſuffering none, but thoſe by himſelf appointed, to be employed in the Burial of the Dead. This was far from any care of ſeeing Chriſtians decently Interred, his deſign was only his own profit, not to ſpeak, ſaith he, of his laſt Cruelties. Being depoſed in the Council of *Seleucia*, by the *Semiarian* Faction, he regarded not at all the Cenſure, but returned to *Alexandria*, where not at all daunted, he fell upon his former Courſes, plagueing as well the *Gentiles* as the Orthodox Chriſtians. By theſe means he became ſo odious to all Parties and Conditions, that a fit occaſion only was wanting to diſpatch him out of the way, and that at length preſented it ſelf; about which, though there be ſome Variation in Writers as to the manner, yet all agree in the Subſtance. *Sozom.*

Athanaſius returns to *Alexandria* upon the death of *George*.

4. That the Emperour had given him Licence to Convert the ancient Temple of *Mithras* or *the Sun*, which had layn a long time deſolate, into a Chriſtian Church, is affirmed by Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and that great heaps of Slaughtered Bodies which had been offered to that Idol, being found therein, were by the Chriſtians expoſed to publick view, to render the more odious the Irreligion and Impiety of the *Gentiles*. Hereby grievouſly incenſed, and formerly provoked, by his inſolencies having got advantage, and encouraged by the profeſſion of *Julian*, they fell upon him, and ſlew him in the place. *Ammianus* tells the Story thus, that paſſing once by the Goodly Temple, dedicated to the Genius of the place, with many People according to the Cuſtom waiting on him; caſting his Eyes upon it after a ſcornful faſhion, how long, ſaid he, ſhall thoſe ruines continue undemoliſhed? Upon report hereof, the *Pagans* furiouſly inraged, and hearing in the very nick of time, that their Governour was newly dead, they gladly laid hold on the opportunity, not quieting themſelves till they had torn a Man ſo generally hated, into almoſt a thouſand pieces. *Ammianus* relates, as cauſes of the Peoples fury, that he had incenſed the Emperour againſt them, accuſing them as ſpurning againſt his Government, that he was an Informer, and to curry favour with the Prince, had buzzed into his credulous Ears, that all Houſes in the City built by *Alexander* the Founder at the publick charges, he might juſtly appropriate to his Exchequer. Some imputed his death to the favourers of *Athanaſius*, but it is generally agreed on, that he was killed by the Univerſal conſent both of Chriſtians and Heathens, for the reaſons we have recited. The Emperour ſeemed at firſt exceedingly inconſed, threatning bitter things againſt the Murderers, but at length quallifying his paſſion, it ſuffized him to chide them by a Letter,* wherein he lays the fault upon all in general, for thoſe Cauſes before mentioned, theſe take from him the reputation of a Martyr, ſeeing it is the Cauſe, not the Puniſhment, that maketh ſuch, and deny him the Title of Saint. Upon which account we cannot have ſuch hard thoughts of Tradition, as to think him the ſame with St. *George* the Engliſh Patron.

The manner of his death.

* *Apud Socr. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

5. *Athanaſius* coming to his See, after the removal of *George*, was received with all joy imaginable. The *Arians*, baniſhed from the Congregation, held their Conventicles in private Houſes, and Elected *Lucius* to ſucceed in the Biſhoprick, which notwithſtanding, he went on in his way without impediment in the diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Function. In the mean time *Lucifer* Biſhop of *Caralitanum* in *Sardinia*, and *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Vercellæ*, a City, as *Socrates* tells us, of *Ligurian Italians*, being amongſt others recalled by the Emperours Edict, conſidering how they might recover their Biſhopricks with moſt quiet, and agreeably with the Canons, reſolved that the one ſhould go to *Antioch*, and the other to *Alexandria*, to procure a Council wherein thoſe matters might be debated. *Lucifer* ſending his Deacon to *Alexandria*, to ſignifie his aſſent to the Decrees

of the Synod departed for *Antioch*, where he found the State of that Church much out of order, a great variance and diviſion being in the People, as well, as by reaſon of the Hæretical opinions of *Euzoius*, as alſo becauſe the Favourers of *Meletius* and the Orthodox were at odds, thoſe looking upon him as Ordained by *Arians*, though he held not their opinions. *Lucifer* Ordained *Paulinus* Biſhop of that See. *Euſebius* arriving at *Alexandria*, dealt earneſtly with *Athanaſius* about the ſummoning of a Council, to which many Confeſſors, who had lately dared to ſhew their heads, being ſummoned, they Condemned the ſeveral *Doctrines* of *Arians*, *Apollinarians*, and *Macedonians*. They affirmed the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, as being of *one ſubſtance* in the Bleſſed Trinity, and that the Son of God at his Incarnation, took not only Humane Fleſh, but a reaſonable Soul alſo, as the ancient Fathers had delivered.

Vide Socr. ut ſuprà. c. 6. &c.

A Council held at *Alexandria.*

6. The Fathers perceiving that there was ſome difference of terms betwixt the Greek and Latin Churches, in the word *Eſſence*, and *Subſtance*, and *Hypoſtaſis*, though they agreed in ſubſtance by reaſon of the ſeveral proprieties of Speech; by the perſwaſion of *Athanaſius*, ſubſcribing to the ſame thing in ſubſtance, were contented to lay aſide thoſe words which occaſioned the difference, and to uſe no other than thoſe found in the Scriptures, except in caſe of Errors, for a clearer diſcerning and judging of them. Taking into conſideration the Multiplicity of Creeds, they concluded to lay all aſide, except that of the *Nicene Council*, rejecting the Confeſſion made at *Sardica*, as well as the reſt; *Athanaſius* being alſo very ſenſible what imputations the *Arians* had laid upon his retirement in thoſe times of Perſecution, which they called deſerting of his place and truſt, he took this occaſion of clearing himſelf, and recited his Apology for his flight into the Wilderneſs. But there was an other thing which gave greater occaſion to this Meeting, and took up the greateſt debate, occaſioned by the late *Arian* Perſecutions. Several through infirmity had ſubſcribed, and acted againſt their Conſciences, the Terrors of Exile, and Tortures, having wreſted from them a Complyance, which notwithſtanding thoſe that had made reſiſtance and ſtood out, ſo cenſured them, that they held them unworthy of Communion, as alſo ſuch as had any charitable opinion of them. This proved ſuch a growing Evil, as ſtood in need of a ſpeedy Remedy, for which Cauſe many out of all parts, both *Aſia* and *Italy*, as well as *Africk*, had recourſe unto this Council. After much debate, wherein ſome would have debarred thoſe that had fallen from the Sacred Orders; it was reſolved, that ſuch as had relapſed through infirmity, or miſcarried through ignorance, ſhould upon repentance be received into Communion, and to their former Places. By this Decree, which was but conformable to what the Church had practiced in the like Caſes of *Samoſatenus*, the *Novatians*, and *Donatiſts*, the World was reſcued out of the Jaws of the Devil, ſaith St. *Hierome*.

Nicæn. Canon. Athan.

Ruffin. 9.

7. The Reſolutions and Decrees of the Council, being diſperſed amongſt the Churches, did much good. But as God works good out of Evil, ſo the Devil will be ſure to work Evil out of Good, and turn that to poyſon, which was intended as a Remedy. *Euſebius*, after the Council was broken up, went to *Antioch*, where finding much difference about the Election of *Paulinus*, he endeavoured to Compoſe them to no purpoſe, and ſo got him home to his own Biſhoprick. From the State of affairs, he found reaſon to diſlike of the Ordination of *Paulinus*, which *Lucifer* underſtanding, took it as a diſparagement to his Judgment, and growing impatient, refuſed to Communicate with *Euſebius*. From this Indignation he aroſe to that height, as to quarrel with the determinations of the Synod, and made a Schiſm from the Church, wherein he died, giving Name to a Sect, which continuing to the time of *Socrates*, were from him called *Lucifer*ians. *Euſebius*, from *Antioch* paſſed through the Eaſtern Countrys, ſtrengthening ſuch as were weak in the Faith, and inſtructing them in the Doctrine of the Church, whence he travelled into *Illyrium*, and coming into *Italy*, in like ſort he dilligently preached the word of God. *Athanaſius* in like manner ſo managed his buſineſs at *Alexandria*, that the Church proceeded in a very flouriſhing Condition, till the *Arians* envying him this Fælicity, joyned with the common Enemy, and moved *Julian* againſt him, who by this time had ſo far ſettled his buſineſs, and carried on his Deſign, as to be almoſt ripe for Blood and Slaughters. We muſt a little obſerve his Methods, and trace his Steps; for his Pollicies in his own judgment were very refined, and ſuch as noted his Prædeceſſors of indiſcretion.

Socr. c. 9.

The Sect of the *Luciferians.*

8. His

Julian's policies and practices againſt the Chriſtians.

8. His firſt Principle was, that Chriſtians were not to be compelled to his Religion, concluding with himſelf, that ſhould he proceed to Death and Tortures, they would, as he had obſerved of former Perſecutions, and as he himſelf was wont to Phraſe it, flye as faſt, and as thick to Martyrdom, as Bees to a Hive; and thereby gain both greater Reputation and Acceſſion to Chriſtianity. He thought that thoſe whom death could not fright, yet Diſgrace and lingring Penury might drive to Idolatry. Therefore he barred to them all acceſs of Honours and Imployments, and when he was about to march towards *Perſia*, took from all ſuch Souldiers the Military Girdle, as refuſed to Sacrifice to the *Pagan* Deities. He thought Scoffing and Deriſion Engines able to batter that Faith, which the Sword could not reach, and accordingly made it his buſineſs to flout at, and jear both the Chriſtian Name and Profeſſion, giving *Chriſt* himſelf no other Title than that of *Galilæan*, calling the Worſhippers of him *Galileans*, and this he did not only in his ordinary talk, but in his Epiſtles and Reſcripts, and at length commanded by a Law, that no otherwiſe they ſhould be called. He thought that if once he could deprive them of their Teachers, their Zeal, which thoſe continually kept warm, would at length inſenſibly cool, and come to nothing. This made him take away ſuch Stipends, Lands, and publick Sallaries, as formerly had been granted by *Conſtantine* and his Sons, to the publick Miniſtry. And that as well Prieſts as People, might, through ignorance, have their Spirits abaſed, and their Wits without edge; whereby they might be expoſed as well to the Contempt, as inſinuations of their Enemies, he forbad they ſhould be inſtructed in any of the liberal Arts and Sciences.

9. The Glorious advantages of Chriſtian Religion, being (as an Apoſtate) known unto him, he endeavoured to transfer upon his *Pagan* impiety. Being Conſcious to himſelf of the Virtues of Chriſtians, and how much they adorned their holy Profeſſion, he preſſed, upon all ſects of Philoſophers, whom as the Champions of his Cauſe, he much cheriſhed, the advantages of a good Life, which was to be anſwerable to their Pretences. To this purpoſe he appointed, that ſome ſhould be ſet apart to inſtruct the People throughout the Towns and Villages, and in a familiar way, to reduce the ſpeculative part of Philoſophy into Præcepts. The Poor he alſo took care for, that ſuch as could not work might be relieved, and the Sick not periſh for want of things neceſſary to their recovery. Reputing thoſe means moſt effectual, and as deep and prævalent Myſteries for accompliſhing that, in a Calm and Serene manner, which all the fury of ſo many Ages could not compaſs, he added ſome little Arts and Tricks to cheat the Chriſtians, and trappan them into Idolatry. Having removed the Croſs, which *Conſtantine* had added to the *Labarum* or Standard of the Empire, and reduced it to the ancient *Pagan* Model, he alſo added to the Images of himſelf, ſome Pictures of his Gods, as *Mars*, *Mercury*, and *Serapis*, that in the Ceremonies paid to his own Majeſty the reverence of thoſe Idols might be included. Such Victuals as were ſold in the Market, he would cauſe to be polluted by things offered to his Idols, and Springs to be ſprinkled with their Holy Water.

10. By theſe Courſes præſuming he could undermine Chriſtianity, he Vigorouſly proſecuted the reinforcement of decayed Paganiſm. This was both by his own example, by opening the Doors of Præterment to *Pagans*, and them alone, and alſo by taking from Chriſtian Diſcipline ſuch Patterns of prudential Orders, Rites, and Cuſtoms, as he thought might be productive of Peace, Security and Eſtabliſhment. To this purpoſe, he intended to erect publick Schools in each City; in the Temples he would have obſerved ſuch manners of Worſhip, ſuch Seats and Benches as the Chriſtians uſed, placed one above another; reading and explanation of prophane Authors, both in the Theoretick and Practick part, with Alternate Prayers, and Hymns, Animadverſions upon Offenders, with penitence and ſatisfaction injoyned. He purpoſed to build Hoſpitals, as alſo Monaſtaries both for Men and Women, exhorting the Pontifices to ſet about it at the publick and private charge, as *Nicephorus* writes, and approving much the way of Letters Commendatory for diſtreſſed Perſons, he took this courſe of tranſmitting them from one Place and Country into another. Then did he ſpur thoſe on, who were ready enough to run of themſelves, to the reſtitution of Temples, Sacrifices, and other rites of the *Gentiles*, and herein when many Chriſtians, who had been inſtruments in demoliſhing thoſe Buildings, which the Laws had ordered to be pulled down, were miſerably abuſed, and Murdered; he not only connived at thoſe

things

things, but incouraged them in ſuch Outrages. Many alſo, whom their Zeal ſo far tranſported, as to revile him for his Apoſtacy, and oppoſe his Actions, he commanded to be put to death, and applauded moſt horrid Murders and Maſſacres upon this account committed throughout the Empire. Such as refuſed to Sacrifice, and threw away the Military Girdles, though upon other Pretences, he would find ſome opportunity or other to diſgrace, and even put to death, if he perceived they were of Intereſt to oppoſe his Deſigns, and if he could ſpare them in his Wars. At length when he had ſo far brought about his deſign, as to be ſomething ſecure of his Cauſe, the Chriſtians continuing ſtedfaſt to their old Principle, of ſuffering rather than Rebelling, though they oppoſed his Proceedings now and then, as to particular places and things, and ceaſed not to tell him his own plainly; he purpoſed to make away the moſt eminent Biſhops, ſuch as were Fathers of the Church, and Props of the Chriſtian Religion. For this purpoſe, though at the firſt he pretended to be a Lover of Union and Peace, now he began to cheriſh their Differences, and uſe them againſt one another. And had he returned from the *Perſian* War with good ſucceſs, it was his Reſolution for that Victory, to have offered an Holocauſt of *Galilæans* to his Gods, and have tied Chriſtianity to his Triumphal Chariot.

11. The effects of all theſe Arts and Myſteries, was a change of the Scene for ſo ſhort a time as he play'd his Tragedy, whereby one might behold nothing but Sacrifices and Incenſe upon the Stage, which was changed into a Temple, the Diadem transformed into a Miter, and the Scepter into a Sooth-ſayers Rod; Dumb Devils in ſeveral ſhapes running too and fro, but in great Anxiety, as afraid of thoſe, who were now conſtrained to act the Parts of Fools, and forced to put on the Vizards of Idiots, that they might afford matter of Triumph, and Inſultation. The Prieſt wearing a great Beard, and a Stole, whereon were wrought Images of Bulls-heads, taking great pains to reſtore decay'd Altars, then cringing, and conjuring his obliged Deities to grace him with a verbal Incouragement, that he might know they were ſtill in being, and aſſert their right againſt the late Intruſion of thoſe miſerable Sacrilegious Wretches, whom (the Gods approving, and proſpering their own Cauſe, and Reſtitution to their antient right, againſt which no Præſcription could be pleaded,) he doubted not by moſt likely means, and due methods, to remove quite out of the way, being, as he well underſtood, a great eye-ſore to *Apollo*, for whom he had furniſhed and prepared his Antient and Royal Pallace. *Apollo* knowing his Reign was at an end, and a period ſet to his Uſurpation, would fain have put him off, as unwilling to ſhow his weakneſs; and having been Dumb for ſo many years, it was grown even a trouble to him to ſpeak; but unwilling he ſhould know the true cauſe, and thereby diſcover his weakneſs, as well as Treaſon, he gave him ſuch an anſwer, as ſhewed his Antipathy to the Servants, and Loyal Subjects of his Lord and Maſter, whereby he might ſtir him up to Perſecute them, and carry on his own work, which he was glad to ſee done, though more ſorry to think it would be but for a moment. For the Prieſt hereat inraged, and many Scuffles enſuing betwixt him, his Servants, and thoſe whom he termed Varlets, and Sacrilegious, when his Choler was up, and he had reſolved to renew the ancient Devices of his Prædeceſſors againſt them, by adding Violence to his former Stratagems. The Lord and Maſter both of *Apollo*, of him, and all his, did but becken to an Enemy of the Prieſt, whom he had reſerved behind the Curtain, and he breaks into the Houſe of the Prieſt, upon which news he retires, lays aſide his Miter, and reſumes his Diadem. After a little expectation, word was brought that the ſport was at an end, for the Prieſt was ſlain; whereupon *Apollo* gave up all for loſt, yet reſolved to play at ſmall Games rather than ſit out, and promote the differences he knew full well to be amongſt his Enemies, which proſperity he thought would not at all leſſen. And ſo the Act abruptly ended.

12. Such, if the Gravity of Hiſtory permit us to uſe thoſe Terms and Reſemblances, was the Tragedy to which *Julian* fitted all his Præparations. The Religion countenanced, and therefore Rampant was the *Pagan* Impiety Authority and Laws, trampling upon Chriſtianity, and expoſing it to the deriſion of its profeſſed Enemy. The Emperour, though taking care for Reſtitution of all Idol-Temples, yet was eſpecially concerned for the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*, which he knew his Brother, his Uncle, and Couſins had moſt deſpighted, becauſe of the Oracle, which, although ſince the coming of Chriſt, the Devil had been dumb for the moſt part, as appears from many Teſtimonies, and eſpecially from that Book of *Plutarch*, which would fain reſolve the queſtion why Oracles were

He is much concerned for the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*.

were ceaſed, yet it ſeems did ſometimes, for the Incouragement of *Pagans*, give them anſwers. For thoſe Chriſtian Writers which make mention of thoſe Paſſages, tell us, how the Body of *Babylas*, being removed into the Grave, though it drove him not quite away, yet put the Devil to ſilence, and that ſeveral reaſons were given thereof, amongſt which this obtained moſt credit, that it was becauſe *no Sacrifices were offered*. *Julian* being now at *Antioch*, made an experiment, offering Sacrifices in abundance, but *Apollo* ſtill continued dumb, at which the Emperour much diſquieted, when he provoked him to anſwer, at length had this return, *That the Grove was defiled with dead Bodies*. There needed no Expoſition upon this Oracle, *Julian* knowing that the Body of *Babylas* was hereby meant, which he commanded to be removed. Yet he did not offer any Indignity to the Reliques of that Holy Martyr, which the Citizens of *Antioch*, with great Solemnity, carried back into the City, ſinging *Pſalms* in the way, and this Verſe amongſt others, *Confounded be all they that worſhip carved Images, and that delight in vain Gods*; whereupon many were laid in hold, and ſome were tortured.

Lege Chryſoſt. Orat. cont. Gentes.

Pſal. 97. 7.

13. *Sozomen* here relates a remarkable Paſſage of one *Theodorus* a young Man, whom being ſet upon the Rack, amidſt his Torments an Angel comforted, allaying his pains, wiping off the Sweat, and refreſhing his Limbs with cool Water. He thus ſtrengthened and aſſiſted, ſung the ſaid Verſe with greater Alacrity, which invincible Reſolution being made known to the Emperour, he conſidered, that if he proceeded in his courſe, he ſhould looſe, and the Chriſtians gain Reputation, and gave order they ſhould all be diſcharged. The reaſon why he was the more ready to diſmiſs them, as alſo to ſuffer the Body of *Babylas* to be removed with ſuch Honour, might very well be the experience he had had of the Divine Vengeance upon ſome of his own Relations, as *Julianus* his Uncle, Præfect of the Eaſt, and *Fælix*, Præfect of his Exchequer, whom being formerly Chriſtians, he had by his example drawn into the Fellowſhip of Apoſtacy. Theſe two being ſent by him to the *Dominicum Aureum*, as it was called, that ſumptuous Church built at *Antioch* by *Conſtantine*, to fetch thence the Treaſure; *Julianus* firſt cauſed *Theodoritus* a Prieſt that kept it, when he refuſed to diſcover it, to be tortured, and when that would not do, to be Beheaded, piſſed againſt the Holy Table, gave *Euzoius* a box on the Ear, who would have hindred him, and ſate him down upon the Holy Veſſels, whereof *Fælix* viewing their Magnificence, ſaid, *Look with what ſumptuous Veſſels is the Son of* Mary *ſerved!* But Vengeance preſently ſeized on them both, *Julianus* his Members and Bowels putrifying in ſuch a ſort, that he could thence void any Excrements, which he vomited through his Blaſphemous Mouth, till he miſerably periſhed. *Fælix* ſuddenly died by Bleeding at the Mouth. And other Apoſtates by ſudden death began to receive the reward of their Impieties.

L. 5. *c.* 18, 19. *& vide Theodoret. l.* 2. *c.* 11, 12. *Socr. l.* 3. *c.* 19. *Ruffino.*

The remarkable death of ſeveral Apoſtates.

14. But when *Julian* had purged the Grave and Temple of *Daphne* from all Impurities, as he and his God accounted them, by removal of *Babylas* his Body, whether at the Interceſſion of the Martyr's Soul, as ſome conceive, or otherwiſe, the Temple was better purified by Fire, which the Chriſtians of thoſe times affirmed was ſent from Heaven, and conſumed the Roof and the Idol to Aſhes. *Julian*, though by Tortures he could not get any more out of the Prieſt, than that it was conſumed by that means, yet took this occaſion to ſlander the Chriſtians, *Ammianus* alſo, amongſt other opinions (which we have formerly mentioned) delivering this as one, that it was fired by their procurement; yet did certain Country-men affirm, that they ſaw a Thunder-bolt fall from the Air upon the Temple. However the Burning of it was much bewailed by all the *Pagans*, and *Libanius* a Sophiſt of *Antioch* compoſed ſome mourning and ridiculous Ditties. *Julian* more concerned than any, to divert the Joy of thoſe he thought would triumph over the Ruines, bent his Wits how to plague the *Antiochians*, by defiling their Fountains, and mixing things ſacrificed with their Victuals, which he practiced at *Conſtantinople* with more ſucceſs, for there the Citizens abſtained from them, but the Inhabitants of *Antioch* followed the Apoſtles Rule, asking no Queſtions for Conſcience ſake, which the more nettled the Emperour. Certain it is from all Hands, that *Julian* both ill treated, and was ill treated by the *Antiochians*. He wrote a twitting Libel againſt them, called *Miſopogon* and *Antiochica*, becauſe the Chriſtians of *Antioch* jeared him for his Beard, to which they made as ſawcy returns, being a little (which we cannot but take notice of) removed from that dutiful demeanour of the ancient Profeſſors even to their *Pagan* and Perſecuting Princes. Such force hath Proſperity over the Tempers and Conſtitutions of the very beſt.

The Temple of *Apollo* burnt.

The *Antiochians* Libel *Julian.*

15. He

15. He laid to their charge in that Libel, that they were wont to curſe him, and wiſh for another *Conſtantine* to chaſtize his Impiety, that they frequented the Tombs of Martyrs to pray to God to deliver them from his Tyranny, and followed him with noiſe and clamours when he went to the Temples. They upbraided him with his Religion, ſaying that *X.* and *K.* never hurt the City in the leaſt, by which two Letters they meant *Chriſt* and *Conſtantine*, thoſe being the firſt Letters of their Names. This oppoſiton he met with in Chriſtians did but whet his Courage, and inflame his Paſſion to a greater degree of Malice. Underſtanding that there were ſome Churches built at *Miletus* near the Temple of *Apollo Didymæus*, he wrote to the Præſident of *Caria*, to ſee them burnt, and levelled with the Ground. *Artemius* an old Soldier of *Conſtantine*, being ſent for from his Government of *Ægypt*, and finding the Emperour in Examination of ſome Prieſts of *Antioch*, for upbraiding him with his Apoſtacy and Impiety, was after various Tortures put to death. He incouraged the *Pagans* in their revenge, who to the Chriſtians making oppoſition, returned Wounds, Tortures, and Death it ſelf, in all places. At *Aſcalon* and *Gaza* the Prieſts and Virgins they horribly abuſed, ripping up their Bellies, which ſtuffing with Barley, they then caſt them quick and breathing to the Hogs. At *Heliopolis* a Town of *Phœnicia*, they pulled in pieces *Cyril* a Deacon, and refrained not from eating his Liver. They were ſo highly incenſed againſt him, becauſe in the Reign of *Conſtantine* he had deſtroyed their Images, but Vengeance overtook them, the Teeth and Tongues of thoſe who did the Fact rotting away, and the Eyes of ſuch as beheld the Spectacle; *Mark* the Biſhop of *Arothuſa*, being for the ſame cauſe ſought after to be put to Death, firſt removed out of the way, but underſtanding that ſome of his Friends were apprehended for him, returned. He had formerly in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, deſtroyed a ſtately Temple in that place, and now condemned to re-edifie it by *Julian*, refuſed. Unſpeakable were the Torments he underwent, being at laſt beſmeared all over with Honey, and hung up to the Waſps, for which *Julian* was noted of Ingratitude, who was ſaved from Deſtruction by the care of this Biſhop, when he and all his were ſought for to be deſtroyed, ſome ſay he at laſt eſcaped, and both by his Example and Inſtruction, converted his Tormentors. *Amachius* Governour of a City in *Phrygia*, as a Puniſhment for breaking their Idols, after long and various Tortures, was roaſted with a ſmall Fire. Such was the carriage of the Vulgar, backed by the encouragement of the Prince.

Τὸ χ ἐδέν ἠδίκησε πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κ. *Soz. l. 5. c. 19. Theod. l. 3. c. 17. alii.*

His Cruelties.

16. When the Chriſtians complained of thoſe Outragious Dealings, his Impious anſwer was, that Afflictions rendred them more fit for the Kingdom of Heaven, as alſo to ſuch as Petitioned him for their Goods which his Officers had ſeized on, under pretence of their having converted the Materials of the demoliſhed Temples to their own uſes; for he executed upon them the old Laws made againſt Sacrilege. Rendring them uncapable of Offices when he was undertaking his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, the better to furniſh himſelf with Money, he ſet Fines upon all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to Sacrifice, which Tax was very grievous, as *Socrates* writes, and duly demanded of Chriſtians, not only where the Emperour travelled, but alſo in ſuch Countries as he came not near. Then did the *Gentiles*, ſaith he, inſult over the Chriſtians; the Philoſophers celebrated their frequented Conferences, they ſolemnized certain deteſtable Rites and Ceremonies: they made ſlaughter of Infants, ſparing no Sex, they uſed their Entrails for Sooth-ſaying, and taſted of their tender Fleſh, which horrible Practices were both at *Athens*, *Alexandria*, and other places. *Julian*, in the mean time ſcoffed at Chriſtians for their belief, ſaying, all their Wiſdom lay in the Verb *Crede*, and as the Heathens of old, ſo he now derided them for worſhipping Croſſes. But he thought he had ſtill a notable device, which he kept ſecret till times were ripe for its accompliſhment. Knowing what bitter Enemies the *Jews* were to Chriſtians, which they had lately ſhewn alſo in his time, by burning many of their Churches, that by owning and preferring their Worſhip, he might depreſs Chriſtianity, render invalid our Saviour's Prædictions, and advance the Trade of Sacrificing, to which he himſelf was ſo much addicted, he reſolved to re-ediſie the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, which had lain waſte and demoliſhed ever ſince the days of *Veſpaſian*. By his commandment the Coſt and Charges were awarded out of the publick Treaſury, and all Neceſſaries provided to the Work, which the *Jews* to think of, were raviſhed with Joy, and got them, for the Honour thereof, Silver Inſtruments.

He lays heavy Taxes upon Chriſtians.

17. At

His Fruitleſs attempt to rebuild the Temple at *Jeruſalem.*

17. At the ſame time *Cyril* Biſhop of the Church, who was lately returned from Baniſhment, exerciſed his Faith in reference to the prædiction of *Daniel* the Prophet, confirmed by our Saviour, concerning the deſolation of the place, which the event failed not. For, as they were about their work, an Earthquake happened, and great Balls of Fire iſſued out of the Earth, which drove away, confounded, or deſtroyed the Workmen and Overſeers, tore up the old Foundations of the Temple, from the very bottom, and is further ſaid to have broken and melted the Tools of the Artificers. Hereby though the *Jews* were conſtrained to deſiſt, and confeſs the Power of *Jeſus Chriſt*, yet would they not forſake their *Judaiſm*; and notwithſtanding the thing was ſo notorious, that it was acknowledged by the *Pagans*, and confeſſed by their Hiſtorians, of whom *Ammianus* hath related the matters with ſome Particulars, yet had it not that effect, as to work any great alteration in behalf of the Chriſtians. Many Perſons indeed coming from far to behold the Spectacle, went away both convinced, and converted; but as it happeneth to ſuch as ſin with an high hand againſt knowledge, *Julian* became the more inraged and reſolute. Perceiving that the Temple could not be re-edified, he cauſed the Materials to be gathered together, and therewith commanded a Theatre to be built, wherein after his return from *Perſia*, he purpoſed to expoſe the Chriſtians of that Country to Wild Beaſts, as * *Oroſius* tells us.

* L. 7. c. 30.

He forbids the burying of the dead by day-light.

18. But his own fate preſſed him hard on to the *Perſian* Expedition, which before he Proſecuted, he publiſhed as was congruous, a Reſcript to the People, bearing date on the Twleſth of *February*, from *Antioch*, againſt the Violation of Sepulchres, and alſo carrying out dead Bodies to be Enterred by day-light. Hereby he ſeemeth to ſtrike at Chriſtians, who, by their too forward Zeal againſt all manner of Paganiſh Superſtition, defacing what Inſcriptions were made to the *Dii Manes*, were injurous to the memory of the Dead, and drew out a Reſcript of this nature, formerly from *Conſtantius*. The Burial of the dead in the day-time he condemns as ſtrikeing the Eyes with an unlucky Proſpect, and making the lookers on unfit for the Service of the Gods, whereas privacy was fitter for Mourning, and it being a thing indifferent to the Dead, to be buried by Night or by Day, and to ſhun Oſtentation, he thought it fit the Eyes of the People ſhould be delivered from ſuch Objects. Hereby he alſo ſeemeth to reprehend no others but the Chriſtians, who were wont to accompany their dead Friends to the Grave in great Companies, with ſinging of Pſalms, and that in the day time, concluding this laſt Office with Prayers and Praiſes to Almighty God. In latter times came in many Ceremonies; to the uſe of *Incenſe*, of which (*a*) *Tertullian* ſpeaks, afterwards were *Lights* added, in which and the *Clergy* (*b*) *Stapleton* aſſerts *Seemlineſs*, *Solemnity* and *Sanctity* to conſiſt. (*c*) *Rebuffius* affirms it to be contrary to good manners, to deſire to be buried without Ringing of Bells, for it would ſavour of Singularity. Yet *Budæus* a Man both very Learned and of good Repute for Morals, would be buried without any Ceremonies, as *Slerdan* writes, with *Turnebus* and others.

C. Th. l. 9. tit. 19. l. 5.

Quis enim dies eſt bene auſpicatus à funere, aut quomodo ad deos & templa venietur?

Id eo q; quoniam & dolor in exequiis ſecretum amat, & diem functis nil intereſſe, utrum per noctes, an per dies eferantur, liberari convenit populi totius aſpectui, ut dolor eſſe in funeribus, non Pompa exequiarum nec oſtentatio deatur.

(a) *Apologet. c.* 42. (b) *In expoſit. Evang. Lucæ.* 7. *Dominica* 15. *poſt Penticoſt.* (c) *l.* 202. *de verb ſignif. Petr. Paris Conſil.* 91. *vol.* 4. *de orig. Campanarum & uſu vide Hoſpin. de origin. temp. c.* 14. *l.* 2. *de ſepeliendi rit. vid. Petrarchani Ep. famil. l.* 2. *Ep.* 2. *Alciat. in l.* 2. *c. de SS. Eccleſiis.*

Burying in Churches when introduced.

19. Of old time Sepulchres were out of the Cities to the *Jews* and *Romans*. So *Cicero* deſcribes the Tomb of *Archimedes*, and *Pauſanias* in his perambulation of *Greece*, mentions many without, but none within the City. Therefore it was an extraordinary favour granted to *Poplicola* and his Family, mentioned by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, to *Cæſar*, as writes (*a*) *Dio*, and *Adrian* to be buried in the Forum; anciently none were buried in Churches, as appears both by the (*b*) Imperial and Canon Laws; at lentgh they came to bury in Church Porches (ſo was *Auguſtine* the firſt Biſhop of *Canterbury* buried) and ſo they got at laſt into Churches * (whereof yet that part called the *Baptiſterium*, where the Font ſtood, was excepted) and Chancels; a Cuſtom that ſome think neither decent nor wholſome, in Populous places eſpecially, ſo that though ſuch as offended herein by former Laws, were to be puniſhed arbitrarily, yet Cuſtom prevailed ſo much to the contrary, that they became rather antiquated than repealed, which Cuſtom the (*c*) Canon Law ſo far gives way to, as to ſuffer a faithful Lay-Perſon to be buried in the Church. Anciently the Cæmiteries or burying-places, were (*d*) out of the Towns, both for cleanlineſs and health, as that Chriſtians might be put in mind that the dead are gone out of this World, have left thoſe Cities, and are made Citizens in Heaven. But as Superſtition and

(a) *Lib.* 44. *p.* 243.

(b) *c. de SS. Eccleſ l.* 2. *c. ul. c. th.* 17. *Concil Braccar.* 36. 13. *q.* 2.

(c) *nullus & gloſſa Carolus M. in th. libr.* 1. *c.* 15 9. *Non licet in Baptiſterio Corpora Sepelire. Conc. Antiſiodor. can.* 14. *Dic. nullus.*

(d) *Theod. l.* 2. *c.* 14 *vola t. l.* 22.

Covetouſneſs increaſed about the time of *Gregory* the Great, they began both for convenience of Ceremonies, and for Gain and Advantage, to bury in the Cities: Although the Canon Law forbids any thing to be Exacted for the Ground, yet is it the obſervation of *Hoſpinian* ſo true (*viz.* that never was there found out a more profitable device, than the ſale of Graves) that in ſome Reformed Churches this Cuſtom is become both burthenſome and ſcandalous; as in ſome Cities of * *Saxony* ſcarcely can a Grave be purchaſed for One hundred *Joachims*, and in other places which I need not mention, it ſhall coſt a Man nigh as much to bury his Son, as in *Ægyt* of old time (if *Herodotus* tell true,) his whole Education would have amounted to, but to our purpoſe.

De ſepult. c. penult.

L. 3. c. 1. de orig. templ.

* *Eberharti a weihe Meditam pro federib l. 2. p. 47. &c.*

20. *Julian* e're he ſet forward for *Perſia*, ſent to *Delphos*, *Delus*, and *Dodona*, to enquire of the Oracles concerning his ſucceſs, as *Cræſus* of old had done, and had ſuitable anſwers, if not ſo ambiguous, yet as deceitful. *Maximus* the Philoſopher, whom he prized above all Men, and as an Oracle, little leſs Infallible than the other, promiſed him the ſame, if not greater Matters, of which he was ſo confident, as ſtudying only to be grateful, he vowed at his return to offer up the Chriſtians as Sacrifices to his Gods, to deſtroy and root out the whole Party, and place the Images of *Venus* in their Churches. Thinking verily, that according to the Pythagorial *Metamſychoſis*, *Alexander*'s Soul was paſſed into his Body, he rejected all Auxiliary ſupplies offered from other Princes, only to *Arſaces* King of *Armenia*, becauſe a Chriſtian, he wrote Letters (deſcribed by *Sozomen*) full of contempt of *Conſtantius* his Prædeceſſor, reproach of *Arſaces*, and Blaſphemy againſt *Chriſt*, threatning, that in caſe he failed to attend him with his Forces, the God whom he worſhipped, ſhould not be able to defend him. In his expedition he ſate up late writing Commentaries in imitation of *Julius Cæſar*, and as St. *Hierome* tells us, now he Compoſed ſeven Books againſt Chriſtian Religion, which were abundantly anſwered by *Cyril* of *Alexandria*. Being affrighted with ſome Prodigies, he is ſaid to have cut up a Woman to conſult her Entrails about his ſucceſs, and to have had a familiar Devil, which upon occaſion, ſent by him into the Weſt to bring him intelligence, coming to the place where a certain Monk called *Publius* inhabited, was ſtopped there, not able to proceed any farther. His Gods indeed, if ſo far they were permitted, did not ceaſe, by ill Omens, to lay his danger before him, but nothing could deterr him from proſecuting the means of his wretched end, which ſome Heathens aſcribed to the Chriſtians, ſome Chriſtians to an Angel, and others to the Enemy, but generally they agree in the incertainty of the Executioner, of that Divine Vengeance which took him away. *So let thine Enemies periſh O Lord!*

Theod. l. 3. c. 18. Nazianz. contra Julian *orat. 2. Chryſoſt. adverſus Gentes.*

He conſults the Oracles about the ſucceſs of his *Perſian* expedition.

Julians death.

Cedrenus.

21. *Theodoret* writes, that having received the Wound, he filled his hand with Blood, and caſting it up into the Air, cryed out *viciſti Galileæ*. *Nicophorus*, that his words were *Saturate Nazarene*. It is reported alſo, that he complained much of his Gods, probably of *Mars*, which *Ammianus* confeſſeth; but he was ſo deſirous to be reckoned into the Number, and enjoy that eſteem amongſt the Vulgar, which *Libanius* gave him in his Oration, of being reckoned amongſt their Divinities, that the report goes, he would have caſt himſelf into ſome River, and ſo on a ſudden diſappearing, as *Æneas* of old, *Romulus*, and others; a report might have been plauſibly ſpread by his Followers, that he was taken up into Heaven, but the deſign was diſcovered, and daſhed by one of his Eunuchs. His Body brought back, was received every where with Scoffs and Deriſion. The Philoſophers and Magicians, his boſom Friends and Councillors, were no better treated, and the Victory of the Croſs, or Chriſt Crucified, was all over owned and magnified. His Character is variouſly taken, according to the affection and Party of the Deſigners, of which elſewhere we have ſaid enough, but much more in this Eccleſiaſtical account, the length thereof may be excuſed by the Importance of the Subject. Only at parting we may take a view of him, as he is deſcribed to us by *Solomon*, very aptly both as *Baronius*, and others judge, which will ſeem an exact Epitome of what has been at large diſcourſed. *A naughty Perſon* (ſaith our Tranſlation, but *Homo Apoſtata*, an Apoſtate *Baronius* reads it) *a wicked Man walketh with a froward Mouth, he winketh with his Eyes, he ſpeaketh with his Feet, he teacheth with his Fingers; frowardneſs is in his Heart, he deviſeth miſchief continually, he ſoweth diſcord; therefore ſhall his Calamity come ſuddenly, ſuddenly ſhall he be broak without remedy.*

See this book ch. 2. out of *Ammian. &c.* Prov. 6. 12. *&c.*

His Character.

Homo Apoſtata, vir inutilis, graditur ore perverſo, annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur, pravo corde machinatur malum, & omni tempore Jurgia ſeminat, huic extemplo veniet perditio ſua, & ſubito conteretur nec habebit ultra ultra medicinam.

22. Into

Jovian ſucceeds.

22. Into the Throne of *Julian* was Elected *Jovian*, by univerſal conſent, ſay Chriſtian writers, though *Ammianus*, who is very partial in behalf of *Julian*, makes his Election difficult, and attributes thoſe difficulties and hard conditions, with which he was conſtrained to purchaſe Peace, to his weakneſs, whereas all indifferent Perſons muſt neceſſarily aſcribe them to the temerity of his Prædeceſſor. Being a Tribune, when *Julian* caſhiered all Chriſtians, he willingly quitted the Military Girdle; but for his Abilities he took him into Service again, and when he was now Elected, he refuſed the Purple, crying out he was a Chriſtian, and would not command a Pagan Army, at which the Souldiers cryed out that they alſo were Chriſtians. According to this beginning he proceeded ſo far as his ſmall time would permit, revoking what ever had been done by *Julian*, againſt Chriſtian Religion, reſtoring all the Profeſſors thereof to their ancient Priviledges, and opening all ways for the baniſhed Biſhops to return to their own Sees. Amongſt thoſe moſt eminent, was great *Athanaſius*, againſt whom, as we formerly ſaid, the *Arians* and *Pagans* Conſpired, and moved *Julian* againſt him. *Julian* therefore lets him know, that being baniſhed, he had not only returned to *Alexandria* which was lawful, but had poſſeſſed himſelf of his Church and Government without his Warrant, which he ought not to have done; but this was not the matter, there was another thing which galled the Emperour, and that was the Converſion of ſeveral Families, and amongſt the reſt ſome *Pagan* Prieſts to Chriſtianity. *Julian* therefore is reſolved to rid the World of him, which though at firſt it did not appear, yet *Athanaſius* expecting the worſt, and no good from Apologies, reſolved to quit *Alexandria*, and that in an open way, that his Friends might not fare worſe for being thought to conceal him. The Conjurers and Magicians rejoyced exceedingly at his departure, confeſſing their Arts failed them when he was reſident; but the good Chriſtians lamented the departure of their Paſtor, to whom he anſwered, *be of good Courage my Brethren, it is but a ſmall Cloud that will quickly paſs over*, and ſo he took Boat for the Wilderneſs.

Soc. l. 3 c. 14. Theod. l. 4. c. 9. Sozom. l. 5. c. 15.

23. He had not been long upon the Water, when the Governour underſtanding he was gone, took Boat with an Executioner to follow, and diſpatch him, being afraid to put him to death in *Alexandria*, the place where he was ſo exceedingly beloved. Of this he had timely notice from his Friends, upon which Meſſage, thoſe in the Boat deſired him to Land, and make his eſcape into the Wilderneſs; but he took a contrary courſe, reſolving to turn back again, and thereby deceive him, from whom he could hardly fly; which being done, they preſently met the Purſuers, who little ſuſpecting who was there, demanded only if they ſaw *Athanaſius*, they anſwered they ſaw him a little above upon the River, whereupon the Governour purſued with all the Sails and Oars he could make, and *Athanaſius* eſcaped thither, where he hid himſelf, and lay ſecure all the while the ſhort ſtorm continued. The *Alexandrians* afterward laboured to mediate in his behalf to *Julian*, who being reſolved upon other courſes now, beſides thoſe of meer Policy, returned nothing but Rebukes and Blaſphemies to all Complaints, anſwering, that their Religion teacheth them to ſuffer patiently. But he being gone to his own place, the Cloud paſſed over, and the Skies clear, *Athanaſius* returned the third time out of Baniſhment, being met with acclamations and other expreſſions of infinite joy by the Multitude.

Athanaſius returns out of baniſhment.

24. Now all flock to adore the newly riſen Sun, and, as the Cuſtom is, all Sects and Factions labour to ingratiate themſelves, and if they cannot make him wholly their own, yet render him favourable to their Party. The *Arians* ſtickled hard, but the *Semiarians* or *Macedonians* got before them, meeting the Emperour in his return from *Perſia*, to whom, when they complained of the *Acacians*, or rigid ſort of *Arians*, the Emperour rejected them, ſaying, he was for Peace, and an Enemy to Contention. *Acacius* himſelf perceiving how Matters ſtood, and that the Empire was devolved upon a Perſon who encouraged *Athanaſius*, and had ſent to him to draw up a Creed or Form of Faith, which he aſſembling his Suffragan Biſhops, did as he was enjoyned, according to the *Nicene* Rule, was reſolved not to make tryal of that condition to which he had been the Author of bringing many Orthodox Biſhops. Fearing Baniſhment or the diſpleaſure of the Prince, who yet declared he would force none, he brought ſeveral of his Followers to *Antioch*, where joyning with *Meletius*, they held a Council, and therein, as ſaith *Socrates*, acknowledged the Faith of one Subſtance, and ratified the

Nicene Creed; yet, as appeareth from St. *Hierome*, rejected the word *Homouſios*, or of the ſame Subſtance with the Father, as alſo *Anomæos*, or of a diverſe Subſtance, and choſe the word *Homoiouſios*, as a mean betwixt both, as aſſerting the Son neither of the ſame, nor of diverſe, but of like Subſtance with the Father, and ſo herein cloſing with the *Semiarians*. Their Faith they ſent in a Supplicatory Letter to the Emperour, whoſe anſwer was, that he was for Peace, and ſhould countenance and eſteem ſuch as were of that Principle and Opinion, for which *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher, in the Oration intituled *Conſul*, and made in his Commendation, extolled him to the Skies, becauſe that in granting every Man his Liberty, he ſtopped the Mouths, as he ſaid, of Paraſites and Sycophants, which kind of Men (ſuch as was *Acacius*) worſhip not the King of Heaven, but the Earthly Crown and Scepter, much like to *Euripus*, ſometimes carried this way, and ſometimes that.

25. But *Euzoius* Biſhop of *Antioch* (of his own Faction,) and other *Arians*, little obſerved thoſe Rules, who remembring their old Trade, endeavoured to bring *Athanaſius* into an evil opinion of the Emperour, laying to his charge heavy Crimes, which the Emperour little regarded, yet either ſent for by him, or of his own accord, (both which are written) he came to Court and fully ſatisfied him. Though the Emperour was for Peace and Liberty amongſt Chriſtians, yet made he a diſtinction betwixt them and *Pagans*, commanding the Idol Groves and Temples to be ſhut up, whereat the *Ethnicks* wandered abroad and hid themſelves, and ſuch as wore the *Pallium* or Philoſophical Habit laid it aſide, and put on the uſual and common Attire; the Bloody and deteſtable Sacrifices, wherein they had taken their fill, during the Reign of *Julian*, were alſo taken away. And yet though he was very cordial for Chriſtianity, and abhorred the Religion of *Pagans*, yet did he favour *Maximus* and *Priſcus* the Philoſophers, who had been of Council with *Julian*, and were the great Enemies of his Faith, for which, as alſo for his intention to adorn *Julian*'s Sepulchre at *Tarſus*, ſome who pry into the Secrets of God Almighty, think him taken away ſo ſhortly after by ſudden death. *Jovian dies.* However thoſe Hiſtorians that write of theſe times condole his caſe, and it is their judgment, that as well the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of the Church, as the Politick State of the Empire, would have much flouriſhed, had it ſo pleaſed the great Diſpoſer of all things, under his Government. *Vide ſupra & Socr. l. 3. c. ult.*

26. *Valentinian* and *Valens* who ſucceeded him, were his Fellow Confeſſors, having both caſt off the Military Girdle, and refuſed to Sacrifice to Idols. They proſecuted the Magicians, eſpecially *Maximus* they handled roughly, who had not been only the cauſe of much miſchief in general to Chriſtianity, but had created trouble and danger to *Valentinian*. At their firſt beginning alſo they made a Law againſt Idolaters, forbidding the Celebration of their Myſteries by night. But it ſeems their Zeal was too quick, the times would not bear it, ſuch an alteration in mens minds had the courſes of *Julian* effected. Therefore by the violent importunity of *Prætextatus* a Pro-Conſul, and a vehement defender of *Paganiſm*, they rather diſpenſed with, than abrogated it, as *Zozimus* writes. For the *Pagans* might take it the worſe, becauſe *Valentinian* in the beginning of his Reign, had publiſhed an Edict, whereby he granted liberty of Conſcience to all, in which reſpect he is much commended by *Ammianus*. But ſuch learned Chriſtians as profeſſing the Sciences, had been inhibited by *Julian*, they reſtored to their antient Liberty and Priviledge, by a Law enacted for that very purpoſe. Notwithſtanding they were both Chriſtians, there was great difference as to their Faith. *Valentinian* clave to the Doctrine of the *Nicene* Council, and troubled none of the contrary Perſwaſion. *Valens* being Baptized by *Eudoxius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, eſpouſed not only the Opinions, but the Quarrels of that Party, raiſing a great Perſecution againſt ſuch as owned the Clauſe of *One Subſtance*. *Valentinian and Valens ſucceed.* *C. Th. l. 7. de malef.* *C. Th. l. 9.* *C. Th. l. 6. de med. & profeſ.* *Socr. l. 4. c. 1.*

27. *Valens* lying at *Conſtantinople*, the *Macedonians* waited on him, and were not ſo forgetful as not to move him about the calling of another Synod, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Faith. He thinking them of the Party of *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, gave them Licenſe to meet together at *Lampſacus*, a Town ſcituate on the *Helleſpont* toward *Aſia*, where aſſembled, they eſtabliſhed the Form of Faith long before publiſhed at *Antioch*, and confirmed at *Seleucia*. They condemned *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, who were not in capacity at this time either to hinder this cenſure, or to revenge themſelves by reaſon of the Commotions and Wars raiſed by *Procopius* the Tyrant. It ſeems that however theſe *Semiarians* ſpoke fair for the Son of God, yet they rather denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, which *Socrates* thought was a reaſon why ſo many of the *Macedonian* Sect in his days *Valens* calls a Synod at *Lampſacus*. *Idem ibid. c. 2. & 4.*

continued

continued at *Lampſacus*. But their Decrees they ſend abroad to Biſhops of their own Confeſſion, and certain Legats to the Weſtern Biſhops, who in their Names ſubſcribe to the *Nicene* Faith, and the Clauſe of *one Subſtance*. The Letter directed to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Socrates* hath exemplified, as alſo his, in return to the Eaſtern Biſhops, congratulating with them, that thoſe who had formerly been drawn aſide at *Ariminum*, and elſewhere, had now acknowledged the Truth, and made Reparation to the Honour of the Son of God. Thus was he impoſed on, by the cunning eſpecially of *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*, one who had been often depoſed, and very skillful in ſuch Arts as were conducing to make advantage of times and Perſons, which he alſo did of this Letter. It ſeems that *Liberius* alſo had not let ſlip the opportunity afforded him under the time of *Julian*, of openly declaring againſt the *Arians*, which had reconciled him to his Flock, and obliterated the Memory of what he had done Eight Years before. *Socr. c.* 11.

28. In this ſame year which was the Second of their Reign, of Chriſt the 365. they themſelves being Conſuls, the Emperours made many Conſtitutions of Religious concernment. As one (*a*) which exempted Religious Virgins, Widows, and Pupils, from paying of Poll Money. Another (*b*) that Chriſtians ſhould not on the Lords-day be convened before the Officers of the Exchequer, in Proſecution of what *Conſtantine* had formerly Decreed concerning the obſervation of this day. A third (*c*) againſt Magical Arts. Another whereby was forbidden the Condemnation of Chriſtians to the Gladiators, which Cuſtom formerly aboliſhed, had been revived by *Julian*. By a Fifth they increaſed the Authority and Juriſdiction of Biſhops, formerly conferred on them by *Conſtantine*, and added to their Antient and Primitive Power. For when Perſecutions ceaſed, and Chriſtian Religion came once to be incouraged by the Prince, Biſhops were conſtrained to erect Tribunals, which were much frequented, becauſe as Temporal Commodities ſo Suits did increaſe. The Judgment, though it was not juſt the former in regard of the Form, many things being determined by the opinion of the Church, yet was it as * one obſerves, of the ſame ſincerity. Whereupon *Conſtantine* ſeeing how profitable it was to determine Cauſes, and that by the Authority of Religion, which was moſt dear to the Profeſſors thereof, captious Actions were diſcovered, which the Judges could not penetrate, made a Law that there ſhould lye no Appeal from the Sentences of Biſhops, which ſhould be executed by the Sæcular Judges: And if in a Cauſe depending before a Sæcular Tribunal in any State thereof, either of the Parties, though the other contradict, ſhall demand the Epiſcopal Judgment, the Cauſe ſhall be immediately remitted unto him. Here the Tribunal of the Biſhop began to be a common Pleading place, having Execution by the Miniſtery of the Magiſtrate, and to gain the name of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, Epiſcopal Audience, and ſuch like. Now the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Valens*, did much increaſe their Power, giving Biſhops the care over all the Prizes of vendible things, and Authority to over-rule the Sellers in their Sale. How this their Power was either increaſed or diminiſhed we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Several Conſtitutions of Religious concernment now made.

(a) *C. Th. l.* 4. *de cenſ.*
(b) *C. Th. l.* 10. *de exact.*
(c) *L.* 8. *de malef.*
De pœnis l. 8.
* *Author. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. l.* 4.

29. But perceiving what influence the Reputation of a Monaſtical Life had at this time into the Affairs of the State, they command ſuch Perſons to be ſought for, and pulled out their lurking places, as had deſerted Civil Offices; and betaken themſelves into the Wilderneſs. And (what ſeems of greateſt importance as to the State of Religion of this preſent time) though the neceſſities of Affairs had conſtrained them to tolerate a Liberty, yet leſt Chriſtians might be conſtrained to defile themſelves with the *Pagan* Superſtitions, they took care, that they ſhould not be ſet to the Cuſtody of Idol Temples by a Conſtitution directed to *Symmachus* Præfect of the City, and dated on the Seventeenth of *November*, in theſe words, *Whatever Judge or Apparitor ſhall appoint men of the Chriſtian Religion to the Cuſtody of Temples, let him know that neither his Life nor Fortunes ſhall be ſpared.* By which Law the *Æditui* or ordinary Keepers of Temples cannot be underſtood, who anciently of courſe were appointed to watch the Treaſures, Images, Furniture, and other things Sacred to ſuch Employments, from Thieves and Robbers; for ſuch were not appointed by Magiſtrates, but either by lot and deſignment out of the number of Prieſts, or by the Teſtaments, or appointment of the Founders. But extraordinary Keepers ſeem here to be meant, extraordinarily appointed by Judges and Magiſtrates, to preſerve thoſe Temples from Force and Violence. For it may well be ſuppoſed, that Chriſtians, who were ſo ill treated during the Reign of *Julian*, and ſuffered infinite Indignities, offered both to their Religion and themſelves, perceiving many lately erected in his time, perhaps out of the Spoils of Churches, and vexed moreover by

L. 1 *C. de Epiſc. audient.*

C. Th. l. 1. *de fide Catholica. Quiſquis judex ſeu Apparitor ad cuſtodiam Templorum hominem Chriſtiana Religionis adpoſuerit ſciat non ſaluti ſuæ, non fortunis eſſe parcendum. Dat.* 15. *cal. Dec. Med. valentin. & valente Coſſ. Vide Jacob. Gothofred. de interdicta Chriſtianorum cum Gentilibus communione.*

by Toleration granted to their Perſecutors, and ſomething altered in their Tempers from the patience of their Prædeceſſors, would hardly hold off their Hands from executing their Indignation and Spleen againſt the *Pagan* Rites and Temples, and that within the Præfectſhip of *Rome*, holden at this time by *Symmachus*.

30. Hereupon grievous Complaints being made by *Pagans* to the Magiſtrates, they (it is very probable) appointed their Officials Apparitors or Serjeants, to preſs Men to watch and guard the Temples, being very many, if not moſt of them both now, and long time after of that Religion, ſuch as this *Symmachus* himſelf was. Now they, though they had Officers enough of their own (for Cities eſpecially) or had the Power of preſſing ſufficient numbers, yet out of Envy and Revenge, they would puniſh Chriſtians by the Preſervation of what they ſo deſired to deſtroy, and forced them to this Employment, wherein their Eyes, Ears, Noſes, and all their Sences could not but be contaminated, vexed, and provoked by their Sacrifices, Incenſe, Prayers, and other Rites, their Complaints making Melody to the *Pagans*, who thereby had opportunity to inſult. How grievous to a Chriſtian thoſe abominable Rites were, *Valentinian* himſelf was very ſenſible, who having, when an Officer about the Perſon of *Julian*, waited on him to a Temple, was ſprinkled by the Prieſt with their Holy Luſtral Water, which he received with ſuch Indignation, as he returned the affront with blows. Being ſenſible therefore of the Indignity hereby both intended and offered to Chriſtian Religion, he forbad the thing by this ſevere Edict, at the Suit and Petition of *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, or ſome of that City where this intollerable Servitude was impoſed. Therefore was this Conſtitution directed to *Symmachus* now Præfect there, as alſo that we have even now hinted againſt the Condemnation of Chriſtians to the ſport of Gladiators, which ſport as yet could not be removed; but ſeeing the *Pagans* were ſo tenacious of it, he would not have them double their pleaſure by ſuch objects. But as all Chriſtians were not free from Crimes, ſo did he not exempt them from all Puniſhments, but only ſuch as were opprobious to their Profeſſion. They were therefore lyable to that of the Bakers, a Body of Malefactors ſerving the City in that Imployment inforced alſo by another Reſcript of this ſame Emperour, to the ſaid *Symmachus*, which ſeems with thoſe other two to have made one entire Conſtitution, in which we have longer inſiſted, to make out the State and Condition of the times.

Soz. l.6.c.6. Theod. l.4.c.6.

31. *Valens* being to undertake the Expedition againſt *Procopius*, thought fit to be Baptized, and received that Sacrament from the hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, commended to him by his Wife, to whom he ſwore to defend that Hæreſie to the utmoſt. Not long after he called a Synod at *Singedinum* a City of *Pannonia*, wherein it was accounted ſufficient to aſſert the Sons *Likeneſs* to the Father. But the Legates ſent into the Weſt by the Council of *Lampſacus*, maintained the Controverſie againſt thoſe *Arians*, finding no greater countenance than in *Illyricum*, where a Council being aſſembled by the Authority of *Valentinian*, that Legates ſhould be ſent back to the *Orientales*, both in the Emperours Name and theirs, to take notice of their former Meſſage, to applaud their Faith and Courage to aſſert it, and promiſe them all conſtancy on their part, with all good Offices to be performed. This ſame Year died *Acacius* Sirnamed *Luſcus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, the *Anteſignanus* of the *Arians* who choſe to ſucceed him *Euzoius* another of that Profeſſion, not the ſame with him, who in the time of *Conſtantius*, as we ſaid, was ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*.

Valens is Baptized.

Theod. l.4.c.8,9. Socr. l.4. c. 11, Vide Jacob. Cappellum ad A. D. 366.

32. The Year following, which was the Fourth of theſe Emperours, died *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, into whoſe See was *Damaſus* elected, after it had been void ſix days. But he being of *Fælix* his Party, though conſtituted Vicar by *Liberius*, great Diſſentions aroſe, and the Diſſenting Party made choice of *Urſicinus* a Deacon of that Church to ſucceed *Liberius*. Such a Schiſm and Tumult hence aroſe, that both Parties armed with Power as well as Animoſity, betook themſelves at length to their Weapons, to the great Scandal of Chriſtian Religion, and Inſultation of the *Pagans*, of whom *Ammianus* obſerves, that in one day were taken up out of one place, no fewer than One hundred thirty and ſeven dead Bodies, and *Vinentius* Præfect of the City, not able to quiet them, was forced to withdraw into the Suburbs. But *Damaſus* got the better of his Adverſary, and *Urſicinus* was baniſhed to *Naples*, where he ceaſed not to foment the

Liberius Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Damaſus

A Tumult about the Succeſſion.

Vide quæ ſupra ex Ammiano.

the Schiſm, and promote his own Intereſt, againſt that of *Liberius*. This ſame year the Emperours, by their Reſcript dated *May* the Fifth, commanded all Goals to be delivered at *Eaſter* of all Malefactors, except Sacrilegious Perſons, Traytors, Poyſoners, Adulterers, ſuch as committed Rapes or Murder; and forbad any one to be removed from Priſon to the Theatre to be puniſhed. *C. th. l. 9. tit. 38. §. 3. & tit. 20 §. 11.*

33. About this time dyed *Donatus*, made Biſhop of *Carthage* by the Faction of the *Donatiſts*, of whom he was the head, and main Actor, into whoſe place they choſe one *Parmenianus*, as earneſt a zealot of the ſame Sect. He preſently brandiſhed his Quill againſt the Orthodox Party, and for that being challenged to a publick Diſputation, refuſed to entertain ſuch Commerce with the Biſhops, as *unclean Creatures*, whereas he eſteemed himſelf and his Followers as the only *pure*, *undefiled*, and the *Children of God*. But *Optatus* Biſhop of *Milenis* in *Numidia*, grappelled with him at his own Weapon, writing ſeven Books againſt him, wherein he chaſtized his Folly to purpoſe, yet treated his Perſon as a Brother; againſt that uncharitable and Hæretical opinion of his, that the Catholick Church was only in *Africk*, and that within the Communion of the *Donatiſts*, *Ticonius* an *African* alſo wrote, whom *Parmenianus*, having in vain exhorted by a Letter to revoke his opinion, did Excommunicate, as St. *Auguſtine* teſtifies in his Writings alſo againſt *Parmenianus*. During thoſe ſtirs in *Afrrick*, *Italy* was ſtill diſquietted by the Schiſms in the *Roman* Church, though *Prætextatus* the Præfect of *Rome*, and an Heathen, uſed all means poſſible to compound the differences, amongſt which was baniſhment of ſome of the Party of *Urſicinus*: The Emperour gave him order to prohibit all of that Faction, any ingreſs into the City, thinking this would be ſufficient, but they ſtill continuing reſolute, and chuſing rather to meet together privately, and in Conventicles, than to communicate with thoſe that ſided with *Damaſus*; he commanded they ſhould not be ſuffered to come within Twenty Miles of *Rome*.

The Sects of *Donatiſts*. *Hieron. de ſcript. Eccleſ.* *Ammian. l. 27.*

34. This was much about the ſame time that *Valentinian* the Emperour, having diſpatched the War againſt the *Allemans*, came to *Milan*, where granting out a Reſcript in behalf of *Auxentius* Biſhop of that City, a notable *Arian*; the zeal of *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, was much ſtirred up to undeceive the Prince as to his apprehenſions of him, and therefore came and accuſed him of Blaſphemy, whereupon a time was appointed for them to be heard, by two certain Commiſſioners, aſſiſted by ſome Biſhops. *Auxentius* ſo worded it in this Aſſembly, by condemning the Perſon of *Arius*, and colouring his profeſſion, that he went away with the credit, and *Hilary* was eſteemed as an envious Perſon, a ſlanderer, and ſower of diſcord, who dyed not long after, having given an account of the conference, in an Epiſtle directed to all Catholicks, that they might ſhun the Communion of the ſaid *Auxentius*. *Hilary* dyed at his own See at *Poictiers*, and became ſo famous for his writings, and adherings to the Orthodox Faith, that he hath obtained the Reputation of a Saint, having a Church in the upper part of the City conſecrated to his memory, wherein they ſhew a Room appointed to the keeping of a certain Trunk of a Tree made hollow, they ſay by his Bile or Choler, called the Cradle of St. *Hilary*, into which they put Mad-men, and think that by virtue thereof they recover their Senſes. Hereupon ſuch as upbraid one another with madneſs, bid them to be gone to St. *Hilary*'s Cradle, though they tell ſuch like ſtories alſo at St. *Tubery* another Town of *France*, in the Province of *Narboune*. In the great Church alſo of *Poictiers*, dedicated to St. *Peter*, and founded by our *Henry* the Second, they ſhow part of that Apoſtles Beard, which they ſay was brought thither from *Rome* by St. *Hilary*, at his return from a Council held there againſt the *Arians*.

de St Hilario. *Vide Itimetta. Gallier. p. 99.*

35. The warning which *Hilary* had given concerning *Auxentius*, ſeems to have had this effect, that ſome Councils were called, wherein he, and others of his Complices, were condemned, yet he kept his Biſhoprick till he reſigned his life and it together. Much about the ſame time that *Hilary* dyed, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* left this life, into whoſe place was brought *Baſil* with much adoe, who foreſeeing what would follow, had withdrawn himſelf out of the way, but was elected notwithſtanding, by the procurement eſpecially of *Gregory Nazianzen*. His Brother *Gregory* was about the ſame time Ordained Biſhop of *Nyſſa*, a City of the ſame Country, who is gently blamed by *Nazianzen* for giving his mind to the ſtudy of Rhetorick, rather more than became a Chriſtian Man. But they were ſcarcely warm in their Sees, when they forced to diſlodge by *Valens*,

Naz. in conc. Baſil & Ep. 21. 23.

Valens baniſhes the Orthodox Biſhops

Valens, who though he had ſtood rather neuter, before his Baptiſm by the *Arian* Biſhop, yet afterward remembring the vow he had made to promote that Hæreſie, and continually encouraged by his Wife, which the *Arians* were ſo wiſe as to make their own, he firſt Patronized that Sect, and then fell upon perſecution of the Orthodox. He publiſhed an Edict for the baniſhment of ſuch as being formerly ſent into Exile by *Conſtantius*, had returned upon the promotion of *Julian*; and foraſmuch as many ſince that time had been ordained, care was taken that they ſhould be condemned in Synods called for that purpoſe; by virtue of thoſe tricks were driven into Exile, *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nyſſa*, *Baſil* his Brother, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Samoſata*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea* and others. About which time *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the Confident and Ghoſtly Father of the Emperour, went to his own place, after he had held that See Eleven Years. In the third Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and *Valens* Emperours, the Seventh of their Reign, of the *Rome* 1123. *A. D.* 370. *Sozom. l. 6. c. 12.*

36. Into his place the Orthodox party Elected *Evagrius*, a Man of their own opinion, who having been called out of Exile by *Jovian*, at that time remained in ſecret at *Conſtantinople*, to aſſiſt and confirm ſuch as were of the Faith of *one ſubſtance*. But the *Arians* made choice of *Demophilus*, whereupon aroſe ſuch Conteſts and Diſorders, that *Valens* then lying at *Nicomedia*, fearing worſe, ſent great numbers of armed Men into the City, and drove *Evagrius* into baniſhment. The *Arians* grown inſolent at this ſucceſs, and as knowing whom they had to back them, heap all publick affronts and injuries upon their Adverſaries, who thereupon betake themſelves to the Emperour for redreſs, ſending Eighty of the Prieſtly rank to *Nicomedia*, amongſt whom *Urbanus*, *Theodorus* and *Menedemus* were moſt eminent. When they had opened their griefs, though he concealed much of his diſpleaſure, yet he was ſo inraged as to give order to *Modeſtus* an Officer to apprehend, and put them to death, which order he executed in ſo ſtrange a manner, as *Socrates* thought he was obliged to leave a deſcription of it to Poſterity: *Modeſtus* fearing to Execute them publickly, made them believe they ſhould be baniſhed, and for that purpoſe got them into a Ship, and thereby to be conveyed into Foraign Countries; but gave in charge to the Seamen that as ſoon as they came upon the Main, they ſhould fire the Veſſel and there leave them; they obeyed their orders to the full, for after they were come into the *Aſtacen Sea*, they conveyed themſelves into a Boat, and ſet fire to the Ship, which was driven by a ſtrong Eaſtern Gale into the Haven called *Dacidazus*, where, together with her Fraight, ſhe burnt down to the Water. This cruelty, ſaith *Socrates*, was revenged from Heaven by a grievous Famine, which ſorely afflicted *Phrygia*, whence the Inhabitants were forced to flye to *Conſtantinople*, and other Provinces for relief. Of which Famine St. *Hierome* alſo maketh mention at the Seventh year of the Emperour *Valens*.

His cruelty to thoſe at *Conſtantinople*.

Vide Socr. l. 4. c. 13.

In Chron.

37. Some Biſhops yet eſcaped the rage of theſe tempeſtuous times, rather ſecured by that veneration which their ſanctity ſtruck into the Perſecutors, than out of any merciful inclination; amongſt which where *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Salamina*, and *Baſil*, who being tampered with to no purpoſe to change his Religion, was condemned to baniſhment, when the Son of *Valens* the Emperour fell ſick, upon which accident execution of the ſentence was ſtopped, and he was ſent for to pray for the Health and recovery of the Child, of ſuch force is Conſcience to force an owe and acknowledgment, where Intereſt and paſſion are prædominent, ſome ſay, he promiſed recovery of the Child, on condition the Emperour would turn to the Orthodox Faith, which he refuſing, *Baſil* left off Praying, and ſo the Child dyed; others write that the condition was of bringing up the Boy in the Catholick Religion, ſome make it of not Baptizing him by *Arians*, others of their not praying for him; but however the Child miſcarried. *Theodoret* delivers it for a truth, that *Valens* taking Pen in hand to ſubſcribe to the baniſhment of *Baſil*, could not cut one Letter, but ſpoyling three Pens one after another, at laſt proceeding to attempt it, he was ſeized with a trembling in his hand, whereat aſtoniſhed, he tore the Paper; yet proceeded he to perſecute at *Cæſarea*, ſuch as held the Doctrine of *one ſubſtance*, and removing to *Antioch*, drove *Meletius* into Exile, turned the Prieſts out of their Churches, and here, as well as in other places throughout the Eaſt, tormented them, and made them away by ſeveral ſorts of deaths, eſpecially by drowning in the Sea.

He perſecutes others.

Socr. Sozom Theod.

38. The

38. The Orthodox Chriſtians in thoſe times of Perſecution not knowing well where with ſafety to meet together to ſerve God, repaired to the Church of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, in great numbers, which being underſtood by *Valens*, who in his Journey to *Antioch*, went to ſee that ſtately Fabrick, he gave the Governour a blow with his Fiſt, becauſe he had not ſcattered thoſe Conventicles, according to his former injunctions: He notwithſtanding ſo publick an affront, gave notice to thoſe Chriſtians of the Emperours pleaſure, as unwilling to put them all to death, but they nevertheleſs would not give over their meetings, which continued as full and frequent as formerly. Hereupon with a ſufficient power of armed Men he marches down to execute his Orders upon ſuch as he found in the Temple, and in his way meets a poor Woman, which having her young Son in her hand, haſted thither, and unwilling to be put out of her way, thruſt her ſelf into the midſt of the ranks to march along with them; he beginneth to ask her queſtions, to tax her folly, and expoſtulate with her, for her raſh thruſting her ſelf into moſt certain deſtruction, ſhe plainly tells him, ſhe was going where the People of God were met, and was ſo far from being deterred with his threats, that ſhe ſaid ſhe made what haſte ſhe could, leſt ſhe ſhould come to late, and fail of ſerving God by Martyrdom; he then demanded of her, wherefore ſhe carried with her the little Child, to which ſhe replyed, that he might alſo meet with the ſame meaſure, and receive the like reward. Hereat as way laid, this Officer repairs to the Emperour, and telling the ſtory, lays before him the reſolution of the whole company, and the infamy to which he would expoſe his Reign by ſuch a Maſſacre. Hereupon he deſiſts, having ſo far already proceeded in thoſe Cruelties, that ſome Rivers bluſhed at the Bloody Maſſacre of Innocents, receiving a crimſon tincture from their ſlain Bodies.

Deſigns a Maſſacre.

39. The Edict concerning the Baniſhment of Biſhops, who had been Exiled formerly by *Conſtantius*, it may well be ſuppoſed fell as foul upon *Athanaſius* as any. This Edict being backt with threats of ſevere proceedings againſt ſuch Officers as ſhould fail to execute what was enjoyned, the Præfect of *Ægypt* lets *Athanaſius* know what he was to expect, and prepare for it accordingly. The *Alexandrians* aware of the ſtorm, had reſolved to ſecure him from it, if poſſible, and ſend word back to the Governour, that *Athanaſius* was not comprized in the Edict; for though he was baniſhed by *Conſtantine*, yet had *Conſtantius* reſtored him, and he had been driven into Exile by *Julian*, ſuffering rather more than any other Biſhop by his direct command, from which he had alſo been reſtored by *Jovian*. When this would not ſatisfie, they plainly ſignified their reſolutions to protect him by force, which ſo moved the Governour, that fearing a revolt, he demurred, and promiſed all ſecurity to *Athanaſius*, till he could further underſtand the Emperours pleaſure; but the Biſhop was too much verſed in ſuch buſineſs, to be ſo lulled a ſleep, for either diſcovering by his own foreſight, what would follow, or receiving intelligence from ſome private Friend, he was aware of the Governours coming, and removed himſelf thither, where he was not eaſily to be found, the Governour coming in a dark and Tempeſtuous night, and finding the Bird flown, was much diſturbed with the diſappointment, and when all Men admired where he could lye ſo cloſe, they variouſly diſcourſed of the matter; his Enemies ſaid, as formerly upon ſuch occaſions, that he was a Conjurer and dealt with the Devil, ſome of his Friends attributed it to Divine Revelation, and indifferent Perſons could not but very much apprehend his Sagacity. But he lay hid, it's ſaid, in his Fathers Monument for ſome Months, till *Eudoxius* being dead, *Valens* became more peacably inclined towards the Orthodox Biſhops.

Athanaſius forced to ſhift for himſelf.

Soz. l. 6. c. 12.

40. The Eaſtern Church groaning thus under Perſecution, could not but juſtly expect ſome aſſiſtance and comfort from that of the Weſt. The Orthodox Biſhops having conſulted together, Commiſſionate *Baſil* to write to their Brethren, requiring their aſſiſtance, eſpecially that of the *Italians* and *French*, who were nearer the Emperour *Valentinian*, and of greateſt Intereſt with him, who, they deſired, might be moved to write to his Brother, and take him off from this ſevere courſe; but little good came of it, more than ſome

Baſil. Ep. 78. &c.

comfortable Letters written to thoſe under Perſecution. The Biſhop of *Rome*, who by reaſon of his See, was firſt in order, and moſt concerned to ſtickle in their behalf, meddling little, or rather ſtifling thoſe complaints, leſt by offending *Valens*, he ſhould make him his Enemy, and cauſe him to Patronize the Plea, and pretence of *Urſicinus*, who having been baniſhed into *Gall*, was now permitted to return into *Italy*, on condition that he came not within the *Suburbicarian* Countries; therefore might *Baſilius*, as he did, write again and again, inſomuch that when ſome preſſed for a fourth Meſſage to be ſent into the Weſt, he diſſwaded it, bidding them reſt contented, and leave off their intreaties, for he was proud, and no good was to be expected. *Baſil* had a large ſhare of trouble, not only in reſpect of the *Arian* Perſecution, but through miſunderſtandings of the Orthodox Party, being accuſed of ſeveral Errors, by reaſon of the obſcurity or ſtrangeneſs of ſome expreſſions about the three ſubſiſteneies of the bleſſed *Trinity*, which miſtakes he cleared ſufficiently by ſeveral Writings, and after his death, his great Friend and admirer *Gregory Nazianzen* wiped off ſuch aſperſions as lay upon his memory, who was alſo of the Party in ſome other troubles which he underwent. *Ep.* 10.

41. This *Gregory* was the Son of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nazianzum* in *Cappadocia*, whence he had the Syrname of *Nazianzen*, being born * after his Father was in Orders, and as it ſeems, after he was made Biſhop of that place, which was about the Year 325. From which, to the time we now write of, intervened Forty five. He had a younger Brother called *Cæſarius*, and a Siſter, alſo younger than himſelf, by Name *Gorgonia*, of whom, he ſeems a very accompliſhed Perſon, and was very well eſteemed at Court: *Gregory*, as alſo his Brother, being well ſeen in Learning already, went in his Youth to *Athens*, at this time the moſt flouriſhing Univerſity of the Eaſt, where he contracted a familiarity with *Baſil*, and had occaſion of making ſuch obſervations upon *Julian*, who ſtudied there alſo at the ſame time, as enabled him to give him that Character we have formerly mentioned; at *Athens* he was detained ſome time, to read Oratory, but withdrawing himſelf thence, he was afterwards invited to Court by *Julian*, who had taken eſpecial notice of him; but deteſting his Apoſtacy and Principles, he refuſed the Attendance, and drew off his Brother from the ſame Imployment: Retiring to a ſolitary life with *Baſil*, he compoſed two Orations againſt *Julian*, and being e're this ordained Prieſt, was afterward called home by his Father, to aſſiſt him in his Epiſcopal Function, in which Imployment he continued, till *Baſil* drew him very unwilling into the Epiſcopal Rank. For *Cappadocia* being divided into *Firſt* and *Second*, as *Baſil* was Biſhop of the former, his See being at *Cæſarea*, ſo *Authimicus* was of the later, whoſe Seat was at *Tyana*, betwixt them happened great Controverſies, about the extent of their Juriſdiction, which cauſed *Baſil* to erect ſome other Biſhopricks within his Dioceſs, and amongſt the reſt one at *Saſima*, over which with much adoe was ſet *Gregory*. But this compoſed not the differences, ſo that he perceiving he ſhould offend, both by the one and the other, *Authimicus* being reſolute and chollerick, he withdrew himſelf again to a ſolitary life, but this diſpleaſing his Father, he obeyed his commands, returning to his aſſiſtance as long as the old Man lived.

* Ἀπὸ τοσούτου ἐκμεμίμηκας βίον ὅσος διπλοῦς ἐμοὶ χρόνος, &c. Ita Patrem inducit eum alloquentem latine de vita ſua edit. Morelli Paris. Tom. 2. p. 9. alibi paſſim.

42. But we muſt return to *Athanaſius*, and take our laſt farewel of him, who having now finiſhed his long and troubleſome courſe, was to receive his Crown. *Valens* wearied with his own Perſecutions, or rather underſtanding how the *Alexandrians* were affected towards their Biſhop, for fear of Commotions ſuffered him to return in quiet to his See, and there ſpend his laſt days, which he knew could not be very many. This was two or three years which he ſpent not only in Affairs of his own Province, but of the Catholick Church alſo, aſſiſting by his advice and Council his Fellow Biſhops, and contending for the *Nicene* Faith, where there was occaſion. His Maſter found him ſo doing after he had governed the Church of *Alexandria* Six and forty Years, and weathered out ſo many Storms of Perſecution under *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, *Julian*, and *Valens*, that for Labours and Suffering

Socr. l. 4. c. 16.

Valens ſuffers *Athanaſius* to return to *Alexandria*.

Suffering next after the Apoſtles, he ſeemeth to diſcern the firſt place, and living in the Memory of Chriſtians to all Poſterity hath juſtly obtained the Syrname of the *Great*. He was a Pillar, ſaith *Nazianzen*, holding forth the Myſtery of Godlineſs againſt Spiritual Wickedneſſes in high places, meek and gentle, ſeldom angry, for which cauſe he was not unacceptable to his very Enemies, of a couragious Spirit, eſpecially in danger; not ambitious, yet of excellent Parts both for Learning and Prudence. His Perſonage was comely, his Countenance Angelical, Affable and Courteous, yet Grave. His Speech was proper, conciſe and acute, his delivery pleaſing. His Doctrine came to be accepted of by the Churches, and his Confeſſion of Faith a Rule to theirs, even to this preſent day. Such was his Sagacity, that by Gods Bleſſing he miraculouſly eſcaped all ſuch Plots, Devices, and Ginns, as were laid for him, which made the *Arians* ſay he was a Conjurer, and foraſmuch as in the Legend of St. *George*, we read that he was oppoſed by a Conjurer of this Name, we may conclude that they corrupted the true Story, changing *George* the *Saint* for *George* the *Arian* Uſurper, as they dealt with all other ſorts of Hiſtories. The death of *Athanaſius* fell into the Ninth Year of *Valentinian*; of *Rome* the 1125. *A. D.* 372. *Fl. Modeſtus* and *Fl. Arintheus* being Conſuls.

Ἀγγελικὸν τὸ εἶδος Θ. ἀγγελικὴν ἡ διάλεκτον.

Who dies.

43. Into the See of *Alexandria* the Catholick Party elected *Peter*, an ancient Presbyter of that Church. But the *Arians* produce *Lucius*, whom formerly they had choſen to ſucceed *George*, and reſolving now that they would not be defeated, they ſend, and give an account to *Valens*, both of *Athanaſius* his death, and what had enſued, who fully complying with them, appoints *Euzoius* the Biſhop of *Antioch*, being aſſiſted by a great Officer (ſome name *Magnus* the Quæſtor, others *Palladius* Præfect of the Province, and a *Pagan*,) to ſee *Lucius* poſſeſſed of the Chair. Accordingly they either Impriſon or drive away *Peter*, who perceiving no good was to be done, (ſome ſay he eſcaped out of Priſon) got himſelf to *Rome*, and by his Epiſtles gave account to the World, of the moſt horrid Outrages committed by the *Arians*, by Killing, Impriſoning, and Baniſhing the Orthodox, no Sex, Age, nor Condition being ſpared. Therefore the *Arians* being few in number, yet backed by the Emperours Authority (who by an Edict commanded all ſuch as hold the Clauſe of *one Subſtance* to be expelled) got Poſſeſſion of all the Churches of *Alexandria*. Then were Religious Houſes in the Deſert ſpoiled and beaten down to the Ground, thoſe who inhabited them making no reſiſtance, and being ſlaughtered by the Soldiers in ſo Savage a manner, as cannot well be expreſſed.

Is ſucceeded by *Lucius* an *Arian*.

Vide Socr. l. 4. c. 16. Theod. l. 4. c. 18. Ruff. l. 2. c. 3.

Socr. c. 17.

44. So ſad a change was made in the Eaſt, from St. *Athanaſius* to *Lucius*. But in the ſecond year after happened ſo happy a one in the Weſt, as made a great Compenſation to the Church, for her loſs of ſo excellent a Paſtor. *Auxentius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Milan*, whom St. *Hillary* had in vain laboured to remove, was now taken away by death, and great endeavours were uſed by both Parties for the choice of ſuch a Man to ſucceed him, as might ſerve their Deſigns and Intereſts. *Valentinian* obſerving his rule not to meddle with Church Matters, had called to him the Biſhops, and given them free Power to chuſe whom they ſhould think fit; but ſuch a Tumult happened in the Church, in the heat of Contention, the People having a ſhare in the Election, that *Ambroſe* Governour of that Province, then in Town, fearing ſome great Inconvenience would follow, came to appeaſe it. Having admoniſhed them calmly to go to work about ſo ſerious a buſineſs, it came to paſs that he himſelf was named to be Biſhop, which he heard with much trouble, excuſed himſelf from the unfitneſs as well of his Perſon, as Abilities, being but a *Catechumeniſt*, whereas it was flat contrary to the Cannon of the *Nicene* Council, for ſuch to be ordained. When no excuſes would ſerve his turn, the Multitude being violently inclined towards him, he withdrew himſelf; but the Matter being referred to the Emperour, he acknowledged a particular Providence in the caſe, and foraſmuch as it was contrary to the Laws, for any in Publick Imployments of the State, to be received into Orders, he moſt willingly granted a Diſpenſation.

Hieronym. in Chron.

St. *Hillary* Biſhop of *Milan* dies.

Vita Ambroſii Theodoret. Socr. alii.

C. Th. de Epiſc. & Clericis. l. 5.

45. *Ambroſe* in the mean time had made his eſcape from thoſe whom the People had ſet to watch him; but upon notice of the Emperours pleaſure, was brought forth, and then apprehending it his duty to ſubmit to ſo ſignal a Providence, was Baptized on the laſt day of *November*, and conſecrated on the Seventh of *December* following, both which days fell upon the firſt *Feria*. Though this Election was againſt expreſs Cannons, yet was there much joy amongſt all of the Orthodox Party, and Congratulatory Letters written to, and fro. And ſo highly were the Citizens of *Millaine* pleaſed with it, that, as * *Socrates* tells us, being formerly at diſcord amongſt themſelves, they thenceforth imbraced Peace and Unity. *Valentinian* it is ſaid acknowledged the goodneſs of God towards him, that he had ſuch an Officer as was fit to be made a Biſhop; but he lived not long to ſee the happy Fruit of this Election, dying the year following at *Bergutium*, as we have already deſcribed the manner of his death. His humour was not to interpoſe much in Matters of the Church as to the Government thereof, ſaying, *It was not proper for him, being a Lay-Perſon*, and it is certain he did not meddle enough, ſuffering his Brother to act his pleaſure againſt the Orthodox Party, of which yet he ſeemed to be a Member. But as he was unequally Yoaked with his Brother in the Empire, ſo with an *Arian* Wife in his Bed, which unlucky Conjunction ſo overpowered him, as to intercept and hinder that influence which elſe he might have had into the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. Though he meddled little himſelf with the Diſcipline, yet as Emperour, he joyned with his Brother in the enacting of ſeveral Conſtitutions, which being of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature, and ſo conducing to the knowledge of the State of ſuch Affairs, we muſt add to thoſe we have formerly mentioned.

Is ſucceeded by *Ambroſe*.

* C. 25.

Valentinian dies.

46. The firſt of theſe ſufficiently diſcovers how unwilling he was to meddle with Church Matters in the caſe of *Chromatius* a certain Biſhop, who, being condemned in a Synod of Seventy Biſhops, from them appealed to the Magiſtrate. For ſo doing by a Reſcript in the Sixth Year of his Reign, he and his Colleagues impoſe upon him a pecuniary Mulct, and take care for preventing the like in time to come. But as he was earneſt for maintaining Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, finding what eaſe it procured to his Government, ſo was he ſenſible of the forward Zeal of Chriſtians, who according to the Nature of Mankind, which is ever prone to one of the Extreams, thought they could never give enough to the Church, and that Women, eſpecially acted by that fervent Devotion which is commonly ſeen in firſt Reformations to overrun diſcretions, lay open to the covetous deſigns of certain Church-men. For prevention hereof, in the Seventh year of his Reign, *Valentinian* and his Colleagues make the firſt Law of *Mortmain*, directed to *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, whereby Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, Clerks, or Monks, are inhibited to receive any Inheritances, Legacies, or other Gifts from Women. Both *Hierome* and *Ambroſe* take eſpecial notice of the Cauſe, rather than the Edict it ſelf, falling very foul upon the great and ſordid Avarice of many Prieſts and Monks of that time, who accounting Gain to be Godlineſs, devoured Widdows Houſes, and made a prey of ſilly Women laden with diverſe Luſts. But this Law was afterward repealed, and others elſewhere of the ſame and larger nature, enacted, according to comportment of times, and the inclination of ſuch as were poſſeſſed of Supream Power.

C. Th. l. 20. appel.

C. Th. l. 20. de Epiſc. & Cler.

His Laws.

47. This ſame year by another Reſcript, they take care for the Reformation and Improvement of the Schools at *Rome*, wherein they forbid any Youths to ſtay longer than the Twentieth year of their Age, out of a Senſe of the vitiouſneſs of that City it ſeems, although the placing of Univerſities in Capital Towns, contributes much to the breeding of Youth, by acquainting it more with the World and Men, and prevents that Ruſticity, to which Solitary and Monaſtical places are more ſubject. But the Year following ſeveral Conſtitutions were made, which ſhows the Temper of *Valentinian* very indulgent to *Pagans*, and indeed would make us jealous, that his ſuffering the Orthodox to be Perſecuted, and his not meddling with Matters of the Church, proceeded from a great indifferency as to all Religion,

C. Th. de ſtudiis liber. Rom. l. 1

C. Th. l. 1. de ſcen.

gion, and unwilling to trouble himſelf with things of that nature. For whereas Chriſtians could not be Stage-players, but upon their Baptiſm changed that courſe of Life, he ſignified his Pleaſure to be, that thoſe *Scenici* being publick Slaves, deſtinated to the common Theatre, ſhould not be Baptized before the point of Death. By another he conferred upon Prieſts of the *Gentiles*, the Honour that was wont to be given to *Excomites*. But what was of moſt Conſequence, by another Conſtitution they permit to *Pagans* the uſe of the *Aruſpicina*, provided it were executed without Magick, and give therewith liberty to every Man to profeſs what Religion he pleaſed. Theſe things vehemently inculcate a ſuſpition of his lukewarmneſs, or (which is fully as probable) declare to us the Conſtitution of the times, to have been ſuch as inforced him to ſlacken the Reins of his Government, *Paganiſm* being yet ſo common and prævalent, as to make ſuch a Party for ſtrength and Intereſt, as the Scepter was not in any fair Capacity to cruſh it.

C. Th. l. 7. de decur.

C. Th. l. 9. de maleſ. tit. 16. § 9.

48. For this reaſon in Charity we may believe, he ſuffered the Altar of *Victory* ſtill to remain in the *Capitol*, and thereto the *Pagan* Senators to pay their Devotions, for we cannot well imagine he could be ignorant of ſuch a practice: And permitted the *Ethnicks* ſo far to abuſe his Indulgence, as not only to uſe the old, but erect new Altars for freſh Sacrifices, as it appears they did by ſeveral Inſcriptions. The Year following being the Ninth of his Reign, he makes a ſharp Law againſt the *Manichees*, prohibiting their Meetings, fining their Teachers, and confiſcating the Houſes where they held their Conventicles; whilſt his Brother *Valens* imploys himſelf in furniſhing Libraries at *Conſtantinople*. In that following, by another Law he reſtrains the Practice of Rebaptizing, uſed ſo much by the *Donatiſts* in *Africk*. And although leave was given to *Pagans* to ſin againſt the Law of *Faith*, yet not againſt that of *Nature*; if as Chriſtians the Emperours would not reſtrain them, yet as Princes and as Men. Therefore whereas they aſſumed the Ancient Barbarous Power of Life and Death over their Children, thinking it a ſmall matter to kill their Infants, by a Conſtitution in the Eleventh of *Valentinian*, that unnatural Cuſtom is taken away. As for that Law mentioned by *Socrates*, whereby out of love to *Juſtina*, he ſhould give liberty to all Perſons to Marry two lawful Wives, it may juſtly be ſuſpected of falſehood. For by Heathen Writers he is ſaid to have been very Chaſt, that *Juſtina* which *Socrates* would have a Virgin, had been Wife, as appears from *Zozimus*, to *Magnentius* the Tyrant, and Married to *Valentinian* after the Death of *Severa*. It was a thing ſo contrary to Chriſtianity, that Heathens themſelves diſapproved it. Neither do the Hiſtorians of thoſe times make mention of ſuch a Paſſage. Only *Socrates* who lived long after, and ſuch as received it on truſt from him. For *Valentinian* it may be ſaid, that he was a Chriſtian Emperour, and had been a Confeſſor before he reached that Dignity. On the other ſide it may be believed, that through his connivance at his Brothers Actions, the *Pagans* had far better quarter during his Reign, than had the Orthodox Chriſtians themſelves.

Ambroſ. Ep. ad Valentin. Jun.

Vide Inſcript.

C. Th. l. 3. de hæret.

C Th l. 14. de ſtudiis liberalibus tit. 9. §. 2.

C. Th. l. 9 tit. 14. §. 1.

49. At the ſame time as *Valentinian* died, his Brother *Valens* then at *Antioch* with greater violence Perſecuted the Orthodox Party, till *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher took off the edge of his hatred, by ſhewing him that there were greater and many more Diſſentions amongſt *Pagans* in reference to Religion: than amongſt Chriſtians about Matters of Faith. Yet did he but divert the Storm upon the Monks of this time, upon whom he looked as Fugitives from the Commonwealth, and ſuch as caſt off thoſe Obligations which nature and their Country had laid upon them, to betake themſelves to a courſe of idleneſs. Having formerly laid ſuch Burthens upon them again, as *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius* had taken from off their ſhoulders; by another Reſcript, he now commands them to be pulled by the Ears out of their Monaſteries, and liſted in the Army, or upon refuſal to be knocked in the Head, whereupon great Outrages were committed upon this ſort of People about this time, and they received Letters full of comfort from ſeveral eminent Eccleſiaſticks of this Age, who were generally affected to the Monaſtical Life. At the ſame time *Gratian*

Soz. l. 6. c. 25. Socr. l. 4. c. 27.

C. Th. de Decur.

Valens ſevere towards Monks

Oroſ. l. 7. c. 33. Hieron. in Chron.

tian in the Weſt ran a contrary courſe, who ſucceeding to his Fathers Principles, as to Religion, yet, out of a ſence it ſeemeth of his remiſneſs in point of Diſcipline, and too great Indulgence towards the *Arians*, the Year after his death, forbids their Aſſemblies under the notion of Hæretical Conventicles, and confiſcates the places of their Meetings. The ſame Year alſo the Three Emperours, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, joyn in a Conſtitution for the regulating of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, ordaining that the leſſer ſorts of Faults ſhould be heard and determined in Dioceſan Synods, but greater Crimes by higher Powers. In the mean while *Paganiſm* rather recovered ſtrength than otherwiſe, the *Gentiles* erecting many Monuments of their Superſtition, as to the *Mother of the Gods*, *the Great Gods*, (*Dii Magni*) and at this (the Daughter of *Gnaeus*, which gave name to the Country of *Attica*) the Emperours conniving at this Practice, as not able to reſiſt that Impiety, which had been foſtered to ſuch a degree of vivacity by *Julian*, as was to be dulled and abated by time, before the Scepter could give it its fatal ſtroak.

C. Th. de hæret. l. 4.

C. Th. l. 16. tit. 2. §. 23.

Inſcript. Gruteri p. 28.

50. But *Valens*, being at length taught ſome Moderation by Afflictions, having received a great overthrow from his Enemies, which was ſeconded with dreadful Peſtilence and Famine, began to be more favourable to the Orthodox Biſhops, recalling them out of Baniſhment, though he did not reſtore them to their Sees. Yet they at *Alexandria* took heart, and being encouraged by the Letters which *Peter* their Biſhop brought from *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, they expelled *Lucius* from the Biſhoprick, who got him in all haſt to *Conſtantinople*, and confirmed *Peter* in his Seat, wherein he ſate but a ſhort time, for he died not long after, and left his Brother *Timothy* to ſucceed him. This ſame Year the Emperours, by a Conſtitution, exempt all Clerks from Perſonal Imployments. And *Gratian* by another Reſcript, reſtrains the *Donatiſts* in *Africk* from their common practice of Rebaptizing, as alſo the Aſſemblies of the *Manichees*, amongſt whom was *Auguſtine* a young Man of the Age of Three and twenty, of which number the odd Three he had ſpent as an Auditor and Novice in their Diſcipline. He was born, as he himſelf writes, at *Tagaſte* a Town of *Numidia*, in the Nineteenth year of *Conſtantius*, and the Conſulſhip of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, on the Thirteenth of *November*. His Mother *Monica* being left a Widdow about the Seventeenth year of his Age, a moſt Religious Matron, was much afflicted for him, ſeeing him run ſuch a courſe of Hæreſie and looſeneſs. And not only by her importunate Prayers and Tears laboured for his Converſion; but dealt with ſuch as ſhe thought moſt able to convince him of his Folly, to reaſon him out of the *Manichæan* Errors, and urged thereunto a certain Orthodox Biſhop, eſpecially, who thinking it not ſeaſonable as yet to incounter him whilſt young, hot, and newly entred into that courſe, he abounded ſo much in his own ſence, ſhe ſtill followed him, weeping and bewailing her Sons condition. With which when the good Man was wearied, and could not put her off, he bad her, *Go her ways, for it could not be, that a Son of thoſe Tears could periſh*; as we ſhall ſee it came to paſs.

Hieron. in Chron. Oroſ. l. 7. c. 73.

C. Th. l. 16. t. 2. §. 24. C. Th. ne ſanct. bapt. iter.

De vita beata & Confeſſ.

51. But ſuch is the condition of this preſent life, that as one comes upon the Stage of the World to act his part, another paſſeth off, having done his duty, which was the lot of *Baſil*, the great Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who dyed on the firſt day of *January*, and of the following Year: A Man of ſuch eſteem in his life time, that what ever he did was accounted a ſufficient and warrantable Pattern, and even ſuch paſſages as in another would have been accounted defects, as proceeding from him, were taken for no other than perfections; when dead, ſo precious was the memory of him, that through the great crowd at his Funeral, whilſt Multitudes flocked to pay him their laſt reſpects, many were preſſed to death. His Abſtinence and Auſterity of life, were ſuch, that he only fed upon Bread and Salt, and drank nothing but pure Water; contented himſelf with one Coat and Gown, and made the ground his Bed; he was of tall and uppright Stature, dry and lean in his Body, blackiſh wanniſh Complexion, had a large Noſe, a round Forehead, wrinckles in his Face, long

Baſil Biſhop of *Cæſarea* dies.

Ὁ Κόσμος σχολὴν ἔδοσε βίου μέρος.

Naz.

Baron. ex Anonym. codice vatican.

long Vizaged, had hollow Temples, wore a great Beard, was ſomthing gray, and looked thoughtfully; he is ſaid to have præſcribed Rules of living to Monks, Clerks, and Lay-Perſons: Yet this *Aſſetica* aſcribed to him, are not to be found amongſt the reſt of his Works, in the Catalogue of *Nazianzen.* And *Euſtathius* who Inſtituted the Monaſtical life in *Armenia*, hath been by ſome eſteemed the Author of them; the Rule alſo going under his Name, is juſtly ſuſpected, foraſmuch as there is no mention of it in *Nazianzen*; and there is another ſaid alſo to be his, which contains only Thirty five Chapters. In the midſt of his Book concerning the Holy Ghoſt, *Eraſmus* thinks ſome things inſerted which are no wiſe like his. His Epiſtle to *Cæſarea Patricia* is alſo ſuſpected. And the Book written of his life, under the Name of *Amphilochius* is by all Parties accounted ſpurious, being full of Fables and things repugnant to other good Hiſtories, and therefore unworthy of credit in the opinion of *Baronius* himſelf.

Sozom. l. 5. c. 13.

Vide Jacob. Duplicat. contr. Hardart. 1. §. 33. *Ad. A. D.* 378.

Valens burnt alive by the *Goths.*

52. A Month after the death of *Baſil*, dyed alſo *Ephræm* the Deacon at *Edeſſa*, on the firſt day of *February*, a Man of extraordinary Sanctity, whoſe Vertues are much ſet forth by *Gregory Nyſſen*, in an Anniverſary Oration. And this year was the laſt alſo of *Valens* the Emperour, whom as we may ſay, the *Goths* burning a live after a defeat in Battel, thereby revenged upon his Body the injury he had done to their Souls, by ſeducing them from the Orthodox Faith to the *Arian* Hæreſie. His death brought a new life and reſuſcitation of the ancient Heat and Vigor into the Eaſtern Churches; which *Gratian* by a ſeaſonable Law for Reſtitution of all baniſhed Perſons to their proper Places, ſo cheriſhed, that the Catholick Doctrine began ſpeedily to flouriſh again. Yet ſo powerful was the *Arian* Faction, that he thought it unſeaſonable to apply any ſudden remedy to that Sore, and therefore he gave liberty of conſcience to all excepting the *Eunomians*, *Photinians* and *Manichees*, the groſſer ſort of Hæreticks. But that the Catholicks might not be overpowered by Faction or Intereſt, and receive the full benefit he intended them, *Theodoret* tells us, he ſent into the Eaſt one *Sapores*, a Man of great note, who publiſhed an Edict at *Antioch*, and turned the *Arians* out of thoſe Churches into which they had intruded. The Orthodox Biſhops incouraged by his preſence, and the favour of *Gratian*, met together at *Antioch*, where conſulting how they might beſt improve the opportunity God had given them for the reſuſcitation of the true Faith, and proſperity of the Churches, they firſt compoſed differences betwixt *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, both Biſhops of that Church, ordaining, that the Survivour ſhould be immediately ſeized of the Biſhoprick upon the others deceaſe, without any farther Election, to which award they bound by oath Six of the Principal Presbyters of the Church, who ſeeemed moſt fit to ſtand as Competitors at the next Vacancy of the See.

Gratian reſtores the baniſhed Orthodox in the Eaſt.

Socr. l. 5. c. 2.

Soz. l. 7. c. 1.

L. 5. c. 2.

Some Hereſies revived.

53. Hereby was removed much matter of Scandal, for the caſe of thoſe two Perſons had occaſioned great Tumults and Seditions. The Friends of *Meletius*, as *Socrates* writes, would have joyned them together in the Epiſcopal Function; but *Paulinus* objected it was againſt the Canons, for any Ordained *Arian* Biſhops to execute that Office, and when he would not conſent, the People endeavoured to effect it by force, making preparations for his Inſtallment in a certain Church within the Suburbs. This being done, all the City was in an uproar, and great diſſentions continued amongſt the People, till this means of reconciliation was found out, wherewith the Multitude was fully quieted, only the Favourers of *Lucifer*, who had Ordained *Paulinus*, were offended with this Manner of dealing, and took hence occaſion (to make (ſaith *Socrates*) or rather) to continue Schiſm, pretending that *Meletius* being Ordained by *Arians*, could not poſſibly be admitted to the Government of that See. But the Biſhops having thus removed this notorious Dyſcore, appointed certain eminent Biſhops to viſit other Churches of the Eaſt, and to *Conſtantinople* was *Gregory Nazianzen* ſent, which of all others ſtood moſt need of an able Phyſician. Yet, as it happeneth

L. 5. c. 5.

happeneth to thoſe, who have to do with ſuch diſtempered Perſons, as account their Diſeaſes health; his kindneſs was returned with opprobrious Language: And as *Licurgus* of old, when he acted the Phyſician of the State, they caſt Stones at him, all which Indignities he bore with great pity and patience, continuing three years in this imployment, wherein he made thoſe five famous Orations, concerning *Theology*, which deſervedly procured him the Syrname of *the Divine*. *Carm. de vita ſua.*

A diſcourſe about *Hypoſtaſis.*

54. At this time there was much ado made about the word *Hypoſtaſis*, which ſome underſtanding in the ſame ſence as *Subſtance*, condemned ſuch as aſſerted three Hypoſtaſes in the Bleſſed *Trinity*, as thoſe that hold three Gods; and on the contrary thoſe, who took the word as it is uſed for *Subſiſtance* or *Perſonality*, it condemned ſuch as rejected it, as guilty of the Hæreſie of *Sabellius*. Of this ſort it, ſeems was *Meletius*, who importuned *Hierome* to confeſs the *Hypoſtaſes*, but he refuſed to comply with him therein, and conſulted *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* by Letters. This Perſon whom the Church in all Ages ſince his time hath, and that deſervedly ſo much eſteemed, was born at *Stridon*, a Town of *Dalmatia*, where his Parents lived in good rank. In his Youth he travelled to *Rome* with *Bonoſus* his Foſter Brother, a young Man of a very great Fortune, where they became Auditors to *Donatus*, and performed their exerciſes in declaming, and otherwiſe, according to the Cuſtom. Here when he arrived at ripeneſs of Age, he was Baptized, and then leaving that courſe of life, which formerly had been none of the ſtricteſt, he betook himſelf to great ſeverities and laborioufneſs in Study: Afterwards he travelled *Gall*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Thrace*, to improve himſelf by the Converſation of learned and Pious Men, and being much taken with the Lives and Rules of ſuch as profeſſed the monaſtical life in *Syria*, he was ſo allured by their example, that he choſe the Deſert of *Chalcis*, a Province lying betwixt the *Syrians* and *Saracens* for his abode. Here beſides the conſtant practice of Scleragogy, he followed his book with great diligence, having got togather in this place a good Library, through the aſſiſtance of *Evagrius*, one of his Aſſociates, a very rich and noble Prieſt, afterwards Biſhop of *Antioch*. But that which much Crucified the contentment he received from this courſe of life, was the jealouſie and ſuſpicion, which he being a Weſt-Country Man, incurred with the Eaſtern Monks, and the contention which followed about the word *Hypoſtaſis*. *In Ep. paſſim. in chron. alib.*

55. Having been formerly, whilſt at *Rome*, acquainted with *Damaſus* the Biſhop (with whom he continued as *Amanuenſis* for ſome time, till he was wearied with the vitiouſneſs of the place) he conſulted him by Letters, and at length tired with the importunities of *Meletius* and his Party, againſt whom, he ſeemed to patronize *Paulinus*, he returned unto him to *Rome*, after he had ſpent ſix or ſeven Years in that ſolitary courſe of life. Some ſay he firſt went to hear *Gregory Nazianzen* at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſpent three Years, and ſaw *Jeruſalem* before his return to *Rome*. *Nazianzen* at the ſame time was viſited by another Perſon of great Fame, one *Maximus* of *Alexandria*, a Chriſtian made of a Cynick Philoſopher, who boaſted himſelf born of Martyrs, and had got repute for being baniſhed for his Faith, into the Deſert of *Oaſis*; coming loaded with Fame to *Conſtantinople*, he was kindly received by *Gregory*, who honoured him with an Oration, made in his Commendation, of which afterward he changed the Title as written in praiſe of *Hero* his Companion; but in ſhort time his deſign was diſcovered, which was to creep into the See of *Conſtantinople*, for which he had the incouragement of *Peter* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch; although he had formerly pretended to favour the cauſe of *Gregory*, who was very much deſired by the People. Seven Biſhops by him ſet on, when *Gregory* lay ſick in the Suburbs, uſing the help of ſome *Alexandrian* *Vide Baronium ad Ann. D. 378. 379.* *Vide Naz. Contra Maximum & in carm. de vita ſua ut ſuprà Edit. morell.*

andrian Marriners, whom they had hired for their purpoſe, privily in the Night endeavoured to thruſt him into the Epiſcopal See; but the Alarm being given, they were beaten out of the Church by the Multitude; yet nothing hereat diſmayed, afterward they cut of his Hair, which he wore now after the Cynick faſhion, (for neither he, nor *Hero*, though they were Chriſtians abandoned their former Habit, and Deportment, as *Nazianzen* reports of them) and Ordained him Biſhop, in the houſe of a Player; which practice being abhorred by all, as well *Arians*, as others, he was driven out of the City: Betaking himſelf to *Theodoſius*, from whom he received no incouragement, and being rejected alſo by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, he thereupon fell into diſcontent, and the Hæreſie of *Apollinaris*.

Theodoſius made Emperour.

56. This ſame Year which was the Fifteenth of *Gratian*, and the Fourth of *Valentinian* the Second, was very auſpicious to the Church, in the promotion of *Theodoſius* to the Empire, who mended much what had been marred by *Valens*. *Socrates* writes, that falling into a very dangerous Diſeaſe at *Theſſalonica* (in the Second year) he was very deſirous of Baptiſm, for of old he was trained up in Chriſtian Religion, and addicted himſelf wholly to the Faith of *one Subſtance*. Having ſent for *Acholius* the Biſhop of the place, he demanded of him, of what Faith he was, to which *Acholius* anſwered, that the opinion of *Arius* prevailed not throughout *Illyrium*, neither was the new-found invention of his peſtilent Brain planted in the Churches of that Country, but that all Chriſtians throughout thoſe Coaſts retained that ancient Faith, which had been delivered by the Apoſtles, and continued by the Council of *Nice*; which the Emperour hearing, willingly received that Sacrament at his hands: A few days after being ſomewhat recovered, he went towards *Conſtantinople*, the Twenty fourth of *November*, in his firſt Conſulſhip, and the Fifth of *Gratian*, where in the following Month he reſtored to the Catholicks thoſe Churches which for forty years had been unjuſtly detained by the *Arians*, who in vain fretted at ſo great both diſgrace and loſs, eſpecially of the great Church, which by force they were ready to maintain, till overpowered by a Band of Souldiers, ſent by the Emperour. Thus by deeds did he confirm what he had formerly profeſſed to the World, having at *Theſſalonica* publiſhed a Law, wherein Prohibiting and condemning all Hæreſies, he commands all his Subjects to imbrace that Faith which had by St. *Peter* the Apoſtle been commended to the *Romans*, and which at preſent *Damaſus* Biſhop of that See, and *Peter* of *Alexandria* (both whom he knew as, their Prædeceſſors for the moſt part to have been Orthodox in their opinions) owned and imbraced. At the ſame time and place, by another Reſcript, he diſcountenanced all Violators, and breakers of Divine Law. And forbids by another, any Criminal Inquiſitions to be made in Lent. This ſame year alſo thoſe Emperours reinforcing the former Chriſtian Cuſtom, forbid ſuch as were baptized, to be drawn back to the Service of the Stage.

L. 5. c. 6.

Is baptized.

Soz. l. 7. c. 5. Marcel. in Chron.

And is kind to the Church.

C. Th. l. 2. de fide Catholica.

C. Th. l. 25. de Epiſc. & cler.

C. Th. l. 4. de quæſt.

C. Th. l. 15 de ſcenicis. §. 4.

57. The following year was fully as propitious to the Orthodox, wherein the Emperours proſecuting their Patronage already undertaken by another Law, commanded, that in all places their Churches be reſtored to them, prohibiting the *Arians*, *Photinians*, *Eunomians*, with other Hæreticks, to hold any Aſſemblies within the Towns. But *Theodoſius*, who was the prime Author and procurer of thoſe Laws, that he might not ſeem to carry on all things by force, and the terror of Imperial Authority, knowing how the *Arians* were addicted to Councils, and ſufficiently underſtanding the intereſt and univerſality the Catholick Faith at this time obtained throughout the World, and not doubting of the good effects of a Council, which ſhould be indifferent and free, and not clogged with the late force, and partiality of the *Arians*, he reſolved to ſubdue them by their own Weapons. The Hæreſie of the *Macedonians* who denied the Divinity

of the *Holy Ghoſt*, he eſpecially intended to eradicate by this Council, having never had any ſuch effectual proper Remedy as yet applyed, perſwading himſelf that they were not of ſuch obſtinate and refractory principles as the *Arians*. And whereas the promotion of *Gregory Nazianzen* was much ſtomached by ſome ſorts of Perſons, upon the account of *Maximus*, *Demophilus*, and for other private reſpects, he reſolved by this Council, which he ſummoned to *Conſtantinople*, to provide for the filling of that See. Accordingly he ſummoned the Biſhops to Meet, though * *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* was againſt the holding of this Council.

Summons a general Council to *Conſtantinople.*

* *Repugnante Damaſo Baronius ad A.D.553.num.* 2

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Second Oecumenical *Council ſummoned by* Theodoſius *the Firſt to* Conſtantinople, *to the Third called by* Theodoſius *the Second to the City of* Epheſus.

The ſpace of Fifty Years.

1. THE Second *Oecumenical* Council, ſummoned by *Theodoſius* the Emperour to the City of *Conſtantinople*, met together in the Month of *May*, the Fifteenth year of *Gratian*, the Sixth of *Valentinian* the Second, the Third of *Theodoſius*, Emperours, of old *Rome* the 1134. of *New Rome* the One and Fiftieth, the Seven and fiftieth after the Aſſembling of the *Nicene Synod*, the Firſt of the Two hundred and ninetieth *Olympiad*, the Ninth *Indiction*, the Four hundred and nineteenth of the *Æra Hiſpanica*, *A. D.* 381. *Fl. Siagrius* and *Fl. Annius Eucharius* being Conſuls.

2. Of thoſe which imbraced the *Nicene Creed*, here met *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had ſucceeded *Peter* his Brother, after he had poſſeſſed that Chair Eight years, (however *Socrates* ſaith, he continued but a ſhort time,) *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who now after his Recantation addicted himſelf to the Faith of *One Subſtance*; *Meletius* who had been called hither a while before to the Enſtallment of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Acholius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, with others, to the number of One hundred and fifty Biſhops. Of the *Macedonian* Sect alſo aſſembled to the number of Six and thirty, whereof the greater part from the *Helleſpont*, and thoſe of moſt note were *Eleuſius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*, and *Maxianus* of *Lampſacus*. It being a very neceſſary Ingredient to the Legality and Authority of a General Council to have it free, we cannot imagine that *Theodoſius* ſhut the Doors againſt the *Arians*, ſuch as had been fairly poſſeſſed of their Biſhopricks, or that he ſummoned this Council of ſuch Biſhops only as were of his Faith, which *Socrates* ſeemeth to affirm. But a good riddance had been made of the *Arians* out of the Churches, by thoſe Laws enacted for Reſtitution of the Catholicks to their proper Sees, and the Cuſtom of Titular and Supernumerary Biſhops, (who cannot challenge ſuch Intereſt in Church Matters) their thruſting into Synods to give voices not yet being received; their Party was inconſiderable, (if they adventured to be preſent, who were only valiant when backed with Authority,) and therefore no notice is taken of it.

Socr. l. 5. c. 8. lat.

Arians as well as others admitted to this General Council:

3. In this Council, at the beginning whereof *Gregory Nazianzen* præſided, were framed Seven Canons, "The Firſt of which confirms the Faith of the "Three hundred and eighteen Fathers, who aſſembled at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, to "anathematize all Hæreſie, eſpecially of the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Photinians*, and *Apollinarians*. The Second prohibits Biſhops to meddle with Matters which lye out of their Dioceſſes, and thereby confound "Churches, which formerly had been regulated and bounded. Accordingly "they ordain that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* govern only the Churches in "*Ægypt*. The Oriental Biſhops thoſe of the Eaſt alone, reſerving the Honour of Primacy to the Church of *Antioch*, according to the Rules of the "*Nicene Synod*. And the Biſhops of the Dioceſs of *Aſia* they charge to concern themſelves only therein, as alſo thoſe of *Pontus* and *Thrace* in the Dioceſſes thereto belonging. The Third prohibits Biſhops, without Invitation,

Seaven Canons now made

9. q 2. Epiſcopi qui extra dioceſim quem Con. Caranza mutilat.

" to move out of their Dioceſſes either for Ordination, or any other diſ- 9.q.2.c.9. Non
" poſition of Eccleſiaſtical buſineſs, in obſervance of the Rule concerning every invitati Epiſ-
" Dioceſs before recited; for it is manifeſt that in every Province the Provin- cop. ubi ex hor.
" cial Synod ought to order and govern all things according to what was de- videre eſt
" ſigned in that of *Nice*. The Fourth Decrees that the Churches of God which diff inter hunc
" are ſettled in Barbarous Nations be ordered and governed according to the can. Græcum, &
" Cuſtom of the Fathers. The Fifth declares the Biſhop of the City of *Con-* Dionyſianum.
" *ſtantinople* ought to have the Honour of Primacy next after the *Roman* Bi- Dist. 21. c. 3.
" ſhop, and thereof renders this reaſon, becauſe it is *New Rome*, even the Conſtantino-
" ſame which procured to the other the Primacy of Order, *viz.* becauſe he was politanæ
" Biſhop of the Old, or *Mother Rome*. The Sixth determines concerning *Maxi-* civitatis.
" *mus* the *Cynick*, and his inordinate Ordination made at *Conſtantinople*, that
" he neither be taken for a Biſhop, neither ſuch for *Clerks* as had been ordained
" by him in any degree, all things appearing null which had been done by
" him. The Seventh Canon contains a Confeſſion of Faith agreeable to
" that of the *Nicene* Council, which having not ſpoken fully concerning
" the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, the Fathers now add, *And in the Holy*
" *Ghoſt, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, together*
" *with the Father, and the Son, to be worſhipped and glorified, who ſpake by the*
" *Prophets.*

Several Hereſies condemned.

4. Not only were the Hæreſies againſt the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghoſt condemned, but ſuch as had been the Authors of them, wherein the *Semiarians*, though they had been ſummoned by the Emperour, refuſed to joyn, who together with the Biſhops of his opinion, uſed all means poſſible to perſwade *Eleuſius* and the reſt of the *Macedonians* to reconcile themſelves to the Catholick Church. They put them in mind of the Meſſage which *Euſtathius* and others in their names carried to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the reſt of the Weſtern Prælates, that not long before they had communicated without exception in all Churches with ſuch as profeſſed the Faith of *One Subſtance*, and they preſſed them with what they had formerly owned and decreed, proteſting that this their averſion was neither Godly, nor Chriſtian, ſeeing they had formerly ratified the ſelf ſame opinion and Faith with them. But neither admonition nor reprehenſion would prevail, they ſaying flatly, *That rather than they would ſubſcribe to the Faith of* One Subſtance, *they would joyn with the* Arians, and having made this anſwer, they left *Conſtantinople*, and ſent Letters abroad into all Churches, that they ſhould not in any wiſe conſent to the Faith of the *Nicene* Council. Socr. l. 5. c. 8.

Meletius Biſhop of *Antioch* dies.

5. Though the buſineſs of the Council was finiſhed, yet certain accidents happened, which held the Fathers ſtill together. It happened that *Meletius* the Biſhop of *Antioch* died, whom *Gregory Nyſſen* commended in a Funeral Oration. Now according to former agreement, *Paulinus* was to ſtand poſſeſſed of the See as the Survivour; but certain Factious Perſons named *Flavianus* a Prieſt of *Antioch* to ſucceed him, which was received, and inforced by the younger ſort of Biſhops, hot, and accommodating themſelves to the times, and the courſe of Preferment, who urged that it was not to be endured, that a Perſon ordained by a Weſtern Prelate (ſuch *Lucifer* was) ſhould be Biſhop of *Antioch*, and ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the worth of the Eaſtern Church before that of the Weſt, in that *Chriſt* himſelf had honoured the Eaſt with his Nativity. *Gregory Nazianzen* endeavoured to compoſe the Tumults hereupon raiſed, by propounding that *Paulinus* might be ſuffered to enjoy the Chair for that little time he was to live, and then the Orientals might maintain their right in the Election of his Succeſſor. But hereby he incenſed thoſe of the contrary Faction againſt himſelf, as favouring the Occidental Biſhops in the Cauſe of *Paulinus*. Whereupon he began to ſettle in that Reſolution he had e're this taken up, of quitting the See of *Conſtantinople*, and in much diſpleaſure departed from the Synod. He being withdrawn, they choſe *Flavianus* Succeſſor to *Meletius*, by which means the former Diſſentions and Tumults were continued, the Church of *Antioch* being again divided, though one and the ſame People was ſubject to two Biſhops, who both of them ſeemed to hold *in Solidum*. Idem ibid. c. 9. Naz. carm. de vita ſua.

A difference about his Succeſſor.

6. This

6. This diſpleaſed *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria* alſo, who, whilſt thoſe things were in hand, came to *Conſtantinople* with ſome of his Suffragans, and certain Biſhops of *Macedonia*. He declaimed alſo againſt the Confirmation of *Gregory* in the See of *Conſtantinople*, as done by *Meletius* of *Antioch*, whereas he challenged that right, as belonging to the Chair of *Alexandria*, which had precedence next that of *Rome* before the meeting of this Council. Herewith *Gregory* was ſo nettled, that now he perfected his Reſolution, and making ſeveral Orations to the Fathers, abdicated himſelf from that See, and having hereby obtained leave of *Theodoſius* the Emperour, departed into his own Country with ſuch diſdain and ſtomach, that he took up another Reſolution never to come more into ſuch Aſſemblies, and though he was the year following urged with much importunity to return to *Conſtantinople*, where theſe ſame Biſhops were again aſſembled, he flatly refuſed, as having never ſeen, as he ſaid, any good to come by Synods. After the departure of him, and ſuch as were addicted to him, at the procurement of *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, was choſen *Nectarius* a Native of that City, a *Catechumeniſt* as yet, well ſtricken in years, a Courtier, therefore however well skilled in Secular buſineſs, yet little acquainted with the concernments of the Epiſcopal Function, which to teach him, he kept with him one *Cyriacus* a *Cilician* Biſhop, as *Sozomen* writes, who tells us, that the Biſhops having written down the names of thoſe they thought fit for the place, he was from amongſt them all choſen by the Emperour. *Socrates* ſaith, he was of noble Linage, whoſe Anceſtors had been Senators, that he was a Man of unblameable Life, Pious Converſation, and though he was by Office a Prætor, yet the People made choice of him for their Biſhop, and by the approbation of One hundred and fifty Prælates he was enſtalled Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*.

Gregory Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* quits his See.

A Synod at *Conſtantinople*

Ep. ad Procop.

Nectarius choſen in his place.

7. The Council yet depending, *Theodoſius* the Emperour on the Nineteenth day of *July* publiſhed an Edict, "whereby he forbad *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and "ſuch like Hæreticks to build Churches, either in, or without Cities, which, "ſince they were outed of their Poſſeſſions unjuſtly got, they had attempted "to do. By another he alſo inveighs againſt *Manichees*, *Eucratites*, *Apo-* "*tactick*s, and *Hydropaſtes*, other Hæreticks, making them infamous, and "uncapable of making Teſtaments, as he did *Apoſtates* about the beginning "of the Synod. But that we may come to the concluſion of the Council, *Socrates* ſumming up what was done therein, tells us in ſhort, that then it was decreed, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould have præcedence next after the Biſhop of *Rome*, the reaſon being, becauſe that City was called *New Rome*. Again, ſaith he, they ratifie the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, they divide Provinces, and ordain Patriarchs, they decree that no Biſhop ſhall leave his own Dioceſs, and intermeddle with Foreign Churches, for unto that time, by reaſon of the great ſtorm and heat of Perſecution, it was at every ones choice and liberty. *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had that great City, together with all *Thrace*, allotted to his Juriſdiction; the Patriarchſhip of *Pontus* was aſſigned to *Helladius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, after *Baſil*. Unto *Gregory*, Brother of *Baſil*, ſeil *Nyſſa*, a City alſo of *Cappadocia*; unto *Otreius* the Biſhoprick of *Meletina* in *Armenia*. *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* of *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, had the Patriarchſhip of *Aſia*. The Province of *Ægypt* fell to *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Pelagius* Biſhop of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* of *Tarſus*, are appointed over the Eaſtern Dioceſs, reſerving the Prerogative of Honour to the Church of *Antioch*, the which then preſently they granted unto *Meletius*. They decreed moreover, that if neceſſity did ſo require, a Provincial Synod ſhould determine Provincial Affairs. The Emperour gave his Aſſent to all aforeſaid, and ſo the Council was diſſolved. Thus *Socrates*, whoſe words concerning the diviſion of Dioceſſes, are to be underſtood according to thoſe Rules we have formerly laid down.

Several Edicts of the Emperor againſt Hereticks.

C. Th. de hæret. l. 8.

L. 7.

C. Th. de Apoſtatis l. 1.

L. 5. c. 8.

8. This Council which had begun in *May*, thus concluded about the end of *July* following, on the Thirtieth day whereof *Theodoſius* the Emperour publiſhed a ſevere Law againſt the *Macedonians*, as well as others, being then condemned Hæreticks. "Herein he commands that forthwith all Churches ſhould "be

The *Macedonians* condemned Hereticks.

Cod. Theod. l. 3. de fide Catholi.

" be given to thoſe who held *the one and equal Majeſty of Father, Son, and* " *Holy Ghoſt, and were of the ſame Faith with* Neſtorius, Timothy, Gregory, " *and other Biſhops in that Synod*, and whoſoever diſſented in Faith from " them, ſhould all be expelled as manifeſt Hæreticks, never to be readmitted. In which Law, ſeeing the *Macedonians* are called manifeſt Hæreticks, that is, ſuch as are convicted and condemned by a General Council, it is not to be doubted, that at the promulgating of this Law, both the Emperour and Catholick Church hold that *Decree* of the Second Council, as a * Learned Man obſerves againſt the *Macedonians*, to be the Judgment of an *Holy, Lawful,* and *approved Oecumenical Synod*, ſuch as was the moſt ample Conviction of an Hæretick, and manifeſtation of an Hæreſie. Now this Edict was publiſhed before *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* either approved this Council, or ſo much as knew what was done in it, the firſt news what was done herein not coming to him till after the Synod of *Aquileia*, (as both *Sigonius* and *Baronius* himſelf affirms) which was held on the Fifth of *September*, a Month after this at *Conſtantinople* was ended. Seeing then it is certain that this General Council was ended, and the Decrees thereof not only approved, but put in execution by the Church, not only before the Pope of *Rome* confirmed it, but before he knew what was done and Decreed therein, it is a Demonſtration that a General Council, or a Decree thereof, may be, and *de facto* hath been judged by the Church, both of them to be of full and Synodical Authority, and approved by the Church, when the Pope had confirmed and approved neither of both.

* *Dr.* Crackanthorp *of the firſt General Council, c.* 18. §. 19.

This Council held without the approbation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet Oecumenical.

9. Nay, neither *Damaſus*, nor any of his Succeſſors, till *Gregory*'s time, approved this Council, as this Biſhop witneſſeth, who writes in one of his Epiſtles, That *The Canons of the* Conſtantinopolitan *Council condemn the* Eudoxians, *but who that* Eudoxius *was, they do not declare; and the* Roman *Church hitherto neither hath, nor receiveth thoſe Canons, or the Acts of that Synod, but herein it accepteth it, in that which was defined againſt the* Macedonians *by it, and it rejecteth theſe Hereſies, which being therein mentioned, were already condemned by other Fathers.* Hence it appears that the *Romans* did not approve the condemning of the *Macedonians*, becauſe it had been Decreed in this Council, for then they ſhould have approved the Canon againſt the *Eudoxians*, and all the reſt of the Canons, ſeeing there was the ſame Authority in Decreeing them all; but the reaſon why they approved that againſt the *Macedonians* was, becauſe Pope *Damaſus* had in a *Roman* Synod, wherein *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was preſent, diverſe Years before this Council of *Conſtantinople* condemned that Hæreſie, and what Hæreſies were by former Fathers condemned, thoſe, and nothing elſe did the *Roman* Church approve in this Council. Untill the Age wherein *Gregory* lived they did not receive this Council, for the word *Hactenus* which he uſeth, muſt refer to that, not to the time of his Writing this Epiſtle, which was in the Fifteenth Indiction, for in the Ninth Indiction, or Six Years before, he himſelf profeſſeth to imbrace this Second Council, as one of the Four Evangeliſts, which alſo to have been the Judgment of that Church he witneſſeth in the Eleventh Indiction. And as the Council it ſelf was rejected by them of *Rome*, ſo eſpecially that Canon which gives Patriarchal Dignity to the See of *Conſtantinople*, and to the Biſhop thereof præcedence before theſe Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, and Authority over the Churches in *Aſia Minor*, *Thracia*, and *Pontus.*

Ep. 31. *l.* 6. *Et vide Notatam omnino ad Diſt.* 22. *cap.* 3. *Conſtantinopolitanæ Canon his ex iis eſt quos Apoſtolica Romana ſedes à principio & longo poſt tempore non recipit, quod ex Epiſtola* 51. *alias* 53. *Leonis Papæ* 1 *ad Anatolium Conſtantinopolitanum & aliis ejuſdem Epiſtolis facile eſt cuivis cognoſcere.item ex* 2. *Epiſtolis Leonis* ix. *una adverſus præſcriptiones Michaelis & Leonis c.* 28. *altera ad eundem Michaelem, ſed multo clariùs ex* 8. *Gregorii Epiſtola* 31. *l.* 6. *ad Eulogium Alexandrinum & Anaſtaſium Antiochenum atque ex Epiſtola Nicolai* 1. *ad Michaelem Imp. quæ incipit Præpoſueramus. Quanquam Conſtantinopolitani Epiſcopi Imp. potentia freti ſecundum locum Patriarchalium ſedium ſibi uſurparunt idq; tandem pacis & tranquillitatis cauſa fuit ipſis conceſſum. Sicut in c. antiqua. de privi. Inno.* 3. *Papa declaravit.*

Hactenus nec habet nec recipit.

10. How great averſion the Church of *Rome* had to the meaning and deſign of this Canon, and how far it was from approving it, appears from ſeveral Epiſtles of Pope *Leo*, eſpecially that to *Anatolius*, wherein he rejects it, as contrary to the *Nicene* Decrees, which he there defineth (erroniouſly ſure) to be immutable, as if one General Council could not undo, what another had done in things circumſtantial and indifferent. The Legates of this *Leo* in the

Vide Not ſuprà

the Council of *Chalcedon*, according to their Inſtructions, proteſted that the Canons of this Council were not accounted for Synodal, and by command of the Apoſtolick See, as they ſaid, earneſtly oppugned this eſpecially, againſt which alſo *Damaſus*, as *Turrian* the Jeſuite obſerves, had in a *Roman* Synod formerly made a Decree. And others of them ſay it was not allowed of till the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent the Third*, which was ſix hundred years after the death of *Gregory*. Yet all this while was this Canon (which ſome make the Third, others the Fifth, as *Gratian* hath it), approved by the Church, and Authority aſcribed to it, as of a General Council. By warrant hereof *Anatolius* in the Council of *Chalcedon* and *Eutychius* in the Fifth Synod, in the right of their See of *Conſtantinople*, took place of the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, none in thoſe Councils repining thereat, nay God himſelf, as there is ſaid, approving that præcedence. And whereas this order had not been obſerved in the *Epheſine Latrocine*, *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* being placed after thoſe of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, the Fathers in the Council of *Chalcedon* ſtormed hereat, demanding why *Flavianus* did not ſit in his proper Seat? which was next to the *Roman* Biſhop or his Legates.

Act. 16. *p.* 136 & 137.

Lib de Synodis 6, 7, 8. *p.* 65. *Notat ubi ſupra & Sanderus de viſibili Monarchia.*

A. 1215.

Vide Dr. Crackanthorp. *quo ſupra.*

The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* next to *Rome*.

11. By Authority of the ſame Canon, *Chryſoſtome*, when Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, depoſed Fifteen Biſhops in *Aſia*, ordained others in their rooms, celebrated a Council at *Epheſus*, and to it called the *Aſian* Prælates, about Twenty Years after the making of this Canon, which had they not counted authentick, they would not, by obeying him, have broken the other laudable orders of the Church. The Judgment of the whole Council of *Chalcedon*, and conſequently of the whole Catholick Church of that Age was, that this Canon was to be received and approved. They both knew there was ſuch a Canon, and that Cuſtom and Practice did concur with it; whereupon the *glorious Judges, after full diſcuſſing of this cauſe* (when the truth of this Canon had been diligently examined) *teſtified and ſentenced, that the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *had rightful Authority to ordain Metropolitan Biſhops in the Dioceſſes of* Thrace, Aſia, *and* Pontus, *and the whole Synod conſented to them, firſt proclaiming, This is a juſt Sentence, This we all ſay*, and then in the very Synodical Epiſtle to *Leo* teſtifying the ſame, *viz. that they had confirmed that Cuſtom to the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *that he ſhould ordain Metropolitans in* Thrace, Aſia, *and* Pontus, *and thereby had confirmed the Third Canon of the Second Council.* And this they did, though the Legates following their Inſtructions received from *Leo*, were ſo averſe, that they ſaid not without ſome choller, *Let our contradiction cleave to theſe Acts.* *Juſtinian* the Emperour, One hundred and ſixty Years after, confirms this Canon amongſt the reſt, commanding it to be written in the Diſticks or Eccleſiaſtical Books, and publickly to be read in the Churches, in token of publick and univerſal approbation of the ſame. The Emperour doubted not of obedience to be performed, as well by thoſe of *Rome* as others, and they were ſilent, none contradicting or ſpeaking againſt this Canon, till after his time, being loath to exaſperate him. Yet did they not approve it, as appears from what hath been ſaid, although the General Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Catholick Church both approved, and eſtabliſhed it. So little neceſſity was there for a particular Biſhop to approve or confirm what had been Decreed by the Major part in a Council; although ſuch as *conſented* were ſaid *to confirm the Decres*; as a Synod held at the *Helleſpont* ſaith of this Synod of *Conſtantinople*, that *Timothy, with the other Biſhops then preſent, confirmed it*, calling the *Conſent* and *Subſcription* of the Biſhops preſent thereat, a *Confirmation of the Council.* But to return to our buſineſs.

Concil. Chalc. Act. 11. *in fine, Act.* 16. *p.* 136.

Poſt. act. 16. *Rel. ad Leon.*

Ibid. p. 137.

Novel.

A General Synod may make Canons without Confirmation of any particular Biſhop, or of the Pope.

Vide p. 168. *inter Epiſt. poſt Concil. Chalc.*

Gratian calls a Synod at *Aquileia*.

12. This ſame Year, by command of *Gratian* the Emperour, and at the earneſt deſire of *Palladius* and *Secundianus* two *Arian* Biſhops, a Council was held at *Aquileia*, whereat were preſent Two and thirty Biſhops, and amongſt the reſt *Ambroſe* of *Milan*, and *Philaſtrius* of *Brixia*, two Legates from the *African* Church, and Three from the *Gallican*. Herein the ſaid *Palladius* and *Secundianus*, though they appealed to a General Council, and to the Sæcular Powers, were with their Hæreſie condemned, and all the work finiſhed in one Action, from One a Clock till Seven. And in this ſame year (if *Baronius* gueſs it rightly)

Tom. 1. *Conc.*

rightly) fruitful in Synods, was another Synod held at *Cæſar-Auguſta* or *Saragoſſa* in *Spain*, on the Fourth of *October*, againſt *Priſcillianus* the Arch-Hæretick and his Diſciples. This Man, as *Severus* writes, being a *Spaniard* born, wealthy, and of very good parts, but given much to vain Glory, and above meaſure to Magical Arts, had been infected with the Hereſie of the *Gnoſticks*, which one *Mark* an *Ægyptian* of *Memphis* brought firſt into *France*, and afterward into *Spain*; being once poyſoned himſelf, he uſed ſuch Arts and Induſtries as Inſtill the Venom into the minds of many others, of all ſorts of Sexes, ſome Biſhops being alſo drawn in, as *Salvianus* and *Inſtantius*. Hereat the Churches being ſtartled, after ſome private oppoſition made by certain Biſhops, a Council was got together, wherein the Parties not daring to appear, were condemned abſent, yet had they ſo much reſolution and courage as to Ordain *Priſcillianus* Biſhop of *Avila* in *Spain* (the See long after of *Toſtatus* that voluminous Writer) and though the Orthodox procured a Reſcript ſom *Gratian* the Emperour to baniſh them *Spain*, as condemned Perſons, yet uſed they ſuch Induſtry, that having in vain ſought aſſiſtance and incouragement from the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Milan*, at length, they corrupted *Macedonius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and by his means obtained the former order to be reverſed, their Sees reſtored, and their Perſecutors baniſhed in their rooms.

An other at *Cæſar-Auguſtus* wherein *Priſcillianus* the Arch-Heretick is condemned.

13. Theſe *Priſcillianiſts* held an hodge podge of all Hæreſies together, raked out of the filth of the *Gnoſticks*, *Manichees*, and others. They taught Lying to be no ſin, and lawful to Swear and Forſwear, rather than reveal any thing to their diſadvantage; they hold with *Origen*, that Souls ſinned before they came into Bodies. With the *Gnoſticks* and *Manichees*, they made two Gods, one Good and the other Evil. They taught with *Bardeſanes*, that every Man had his fatal Star, and that our Bodies are compounded according to the operation of the Twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*. They confounded the Perſons of the bleſſed *Trinity*, with *Sabellius*; they declaimed againſt Wedlock, ſeperating married Perſons, and with *Tatianus* and the *Eucratitæ* cryed out againſt the eating of Fleſh, as an unclean thing, and made by the Evil God, or malignant Angels. It was their Doctrine and Practice to faſt on the Lords day, and on *Chriſtmas* day, becauſe they held that *Chriſt* did not take true humane Fleſh, againſt their faſting on the *Lords Day*, the Synod Decreed and Anathematized all ſuch as faſted on that day, whether in reference to any time, miſperſwaſion or Superſtition.

The opinions of this Sect.

Jura perjura Secretum prodere noli. Aug. de hæres Hieron. in chron.

Causa temporis aut perſuaſionis aut ſuperſtitionis can 2. Tom. 1. canc.

14. To faſt on the Lords day, it was ever accounted an abominable thing, in *Ignatius* his Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, he is called a killer of *Chriſt*, who faſts on the *Lords day*, and on the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*. *Tertullian* ſaith expreſly, that they counted it wickedneſs to faſt on the Lords day, nay even the *Montaniſts* themſelves, though otherwiſe frequent in their Faſts, and exceſſive in their Scleragogy, yet excepted this day out of their Auſterities. But the *Manichees* toward the end of the Third Age, out of their Singularity, changed the Cuſtom, and faſted on this day. Of whom St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, that they could not do it, becauſe they juſtly condemned them for ſuch a Practice; which *Auguſtine* alſo at this ſame time witneſſeth to have been a great ſcandal. *Euſtathius*, as *Socrates* calleth him, or *Eutactus*, as *Baronius* will have him, renewed the practice of the *Manichees*, which was preſently condemned by a Provincial Synod, held at *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*, which Decreed, that if any upon pretence of abſtinence faſted on the Lords day, he ſhould be *Anathema*. Now whereas the Synod of *Saragoſſa* condemns faſting on the Lords day, in reference unto times; this ſeems to have reference to the time of *Lent* it ſelf, wherein it was accounted unlawful to faſt on this day, as is clear from many Teſtimonies of Fathers and Synods. Therefore whereas from the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, unto *Eaſter* day, intervene juſt Forty two days, the Church of this Number faſteth only Thirty ſix, and to make it up Forty, according to the example of our Saviour; the four days between *Shrove Tueſday*, and the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, are added, as long ago* *Rupertus* (who lived at the beginning of the Twelfth Century) obſerved. But thus much of the Hereſies of *Priſcillianus* and his Followers, who the better

Die dominico jejunium nefas eſſe ducimus. de Coronanul. c. 3.

Idem ad uſus Pſychicos c. 15.

Ep. 86.

L. 2. c. 33. Iat. or c. 42. gr.

Faſting on the Lords day condemned.

Can. 1. 8. Tom. 1. conc.

Vide Ambro de jejunio. c. 10 Hier. ad Lucin. Epiphan. expoſit. num. 22. Chryſoſt. hom. 11. in Gen. 2. Syn. Agath c. 12. Aurel. 4. c. 2

* *De divin. offic. l. 4. c. 9.*

better to maintain their Singular and Hæretical Tenets, beſides the Scriptures received other Apocryphal Writings.

15. This ſame year the Emperours, taking notice how much Paganiſm through the encouragement of *Julian*, and connivance of *Valentinian* had increaſed, forbid their Sacrifices and Meetings. But this Law ſtood but as Probationer till the year following, being then abrogated in part by another, which gives them leave to meet, yet ſo as they wholly ſhould abſtain from Sacrifice. The truth is, they found their Zeal too ſtrong for the Intereſt, Peace and Security of the Empire, wherein Paganiſm had yet ſuch a Party, that moſt of the Senators were of that perſwaſion, and about this time the Conſul and his Wife both *Ethnicks*. Another Law they made againſt the Clandeſtine Conventicles of the *Manichees*. And they publiſhed alſo an Edict for the reſtraining and puniſhing Luſty Sturdy Beggars, which as ſome have obſerved, had been much increaſed ſince the times of Chriſtianity: For the ancient Chriſtians endeavoured nothing more than the manumiſſion of Slaves, upon which account, out of deſire of Liberty, many of that condition became Proſelytes. Out of the Hiſtories of *Africk*, we are told that *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola* ſold all that he had, and at length himſelf to the *Vandals*, therewith to get Money to redeem Chriſtian Captives. Hence came Manumiſſions to be made in Churches by the Biſhops, and that on the Lords day, and after the time of *Conſtantine*, eſpecially the number of poor and Indigent Perſons, having nothing they could call their own but liberty, increaſed to ſuch vaſt Multitudes, that no greater grievance lay upon Cities, than ſuch Confluence of beggerly Perſons, having no Trade nor courſe to live.

The *Pagans* forbidden to Sacrifice.

An Edict againſt Sturdy Beggars.

C.Th.l. 7. de Pagan

C.Th.l. 8. de Pagan.

Hieron. ad Marcellam Zoz

C.Th.l 9. de Hæretic.

Vide Bodinum. de republ. l. 1. c.5.

16. Hereupon at the earneſt deſire of the Biſhops, Hoſpitals and Alms-houſes for the ſuſtenance of Strangers, Infants, Aged, Sick and Lame, unknown to former times, began to be erected by Princes or others. St. *Baſil* complaining in his Sermons, that the ſighs and lamentations of ſuch as languiſhed in the Churches, were confounded and mingled with the Prayers of Prieſts and People. *Julian* the Apoſtate, as we have already ſaid, perceiving this was a very taking and plauſible means to procure reſpect to Religion, reſolved to Erect alſo ſuch Hoſpitals, and to this piece of Policy excited his *Pagan* Prieſts. And for as much as thoſe indigent *Liberty* or *Freemen*, did commonly expoſe their Children, as knowing that upon the Chriſtian Principles and profeſſion of kindneſs and mercy, they would be provided for, *Gratian* made a Law that they ſhould remain in Servitude with thoſe that educated them. Not long after *Valens* his Uncle permitted by an Edict, that Vagrants and Beggars ſhould be reduced to Servitude, forbidding alſo upon pain of death, his Subjects to betake themſelves into deſert places, there to lead an idle life, which he commanded ſhould be inflicted upon many, who contrary to the Laws, had withdrawn, and lived in thoſe times ſolitarily in the Wilderneſs; yet had not thoſe Laws ſuch effect, but that Beggars ſtill increaſing, and luſty Fellows able to work, chuſing rather to live in idleneſs and penury, the Emperours re-inforced the former Edicts, by theirs of this Year, which was that following the Synod of *Conſtanoinople*.

C. de Epiſcopis & clericis. tot. tit.

C.l.1. & ſeq. de Infant. liberis.

17. But although *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* was againſt the ſummoning of that Council, yet this year immediately ſucceeding, he had a deſire to have a General and Oecumenical Synod held at his own City, and for that purpoſe ſollicited the Emperours; they having conſulted the Eaſtern Biſhops, anſwered it was neither neceſſary nor convenient to have ſo many General Councils called in ſo ſhort a time; for this would make them cheap and contemptable, as Synods had been in the *Arian* days, and by the Journeys, and long abſence of Biſhops, the ſeveral Flocks ſhould be expoſed both to want and danger. However *Damaſus* and other Weſtern Biſhops, are ſaid to have held a Synod at *Rome*, the acts whereof are loſt, but amongſt others, one Canon was made, as *Baronius* tells us, quite contrary to what had been determined in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, in favour of that See; giving the firſt place to the Patriarch of *Rome*,

A Synod held at *Rome*.

At A. D. 382. ex collectione Greſconiana

Rome; the Second to him of *Alexandria*, his See having in the name of St. *Peter* been Conſecrated by *Mark* his Diſciple and Evangeliſt; and the Third to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, becauſe St. *Peter* there reſided before he came to *Rome*, and there the Faithful were firſt called Chriſtians; a reaſon indeed ſufficient to have given him Præcedence above the other two, had not the Polity of the Church imitated that of the Empire, and the Biſhop of *Rome* obtained præcedence for the Dignity of that City, to which *Conſtantinople* now being *Second*, or *New Rome*, the Fathers had as much reaſon to alter the Caſe, and advance the See to the ſame place and Dignity.

Gratian withdrew the allowance for *Pagan* Sacrifices and Prieſts.

18. The Year following was very fatal to Paganiſm, wherein *Gratian* the Emperour withdrew the former allowance for Sacrifices and Stipends allotted unto Prieſts, and ſo by taking away all incouragement, and removing the Fuel which hit herto maintained the flame, ſtruck at the Root of that Superſtition. For this cauſe (and not for having rejected the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which neither he nor any of his Chriſtian Prædeceſſors ever uſed) his Heathen Subjects might take part with *Maximus* the Tyrant, by whoſe Treaſon he was this year murdered at *Lyons*; his Piety and worth is very much extolled by St. *Ambroſe*, and *Auſonius* his Schoolmaſter, whom he dignified with the Honour and Imployment of Conſul, and otherwiſe very gratefully rewarded, having as *Baronius* obſerves, ſo much worth in him, as to underſtand and conſider that Maſters equally with Parents, can never be ſufficiently requited. This *Auſonius Gallus* was a great Rhetorician, and an excellent Poet, as appears by what he hath written, and a Chriſtian he ſhows himſelf by his Religious Poems, however his Amorous Verſes have procured him, with ſome Readers, the repute of a *Pagan*; his pains were ſo well beſtowed upon *Gratian*, that *Theodoſius* wanting a Tutor for his young Son *Arcadius*, whom he had named *Auguſtus*, and aſſumed as his Partner in the Empire, deſired of *Gratian* that he would ſend to him out of the Weſt, a fit Perſon for ſo great a Truſt. *Gratian* herewith acquainting *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, he commended to him *Arſenius* a Deacon of that Church, a Perſon very remarkable for Piety and Learning, who was ſent accordingly to *Conſtantinople*, when he undertook his charge, *Theodoſius* giving the Youth into his hands, ſaid, *Hence forth thou art more his Father than I.* Coming upon them at a time into the School, he found *Arcadius* ſitting, and *Arſenius* ſtanding by, as he was teaching him, for which he chode the Maſter, as not maintaining the Authority and *Decorum* of his place, to whom, when *Arſenius* anſwered, that it was not fitting he ſhould ſit, and teach an Emperour, *Theodoſius* out of diſdain, took from his Son the Badge of his Imperial Dignity, cauſed *Arſenius* to ſit down upon the Throne, and *Arcadius* to ſtand bareheaded before him, ſaying, *Then his Son would be worthy of Empire, if with knowledge, he were alſo indued with Piety.* *furius.*

Which cauſed them with *Maximus* the Tyrant to murder him.

19. This year was another Synod ſummoned by *Theodoſius*, to *Conſtantinople*, the Decrees of which, againſt the Hæreticks were followed and re-inforced by his Edict, wherein amongſt others, mention is made of the *Saccophori*, who were the ſame with *Maſſalians*, and ſo called from wearing Sackcloath, againſt which Hæreticks, one or two Synods were alſo holden about this time. But whilſt *Theodoſius* thus advanced the Orthodox Faith in the Eaſt, Chriſtian Religion it ſelf was in a little danger in the Weſt, where at this time a great Famine raged, eſpecially in the City of *Rome*. *Symmachus* the year following being Præfect of the City, a Man exceedingly affected to *Gentiliſm*, but otherwiſe of good repute, and exceedingly eloquent, taking the advantage afforded him by the death of *Gratian*, and Power of *Maximus*, when he thought *Valentinian* the young Emperour, would be very unwilling to diſoblige his People, preſented him a Petition in the Name of the Senate, for reſtitution of the Worſhip of the *Pagan* Gods, put down by the late Laws of *Gratian*. According to the old Cuſtom of *Pagans*, who if any diſaſter happened to the Commonwealth, laid the blame upon Chriſtianity, and the neglect of the Gods; he imputed the late Famine to no other cauſe, than the taking away the maintenance of Prieſts, and Veſtal Virgins; but the device was quickly ſmelt out by *Ambroſe* of *Milan*, who writing to the Emperour and re-felling all *C. Th. l.* 11. & 12. *de hæret.* *Chriſtianos ad Gentes.* *Amb. ep.* 30.

In a Synod at *Conſtantinople* the Hæreſie of the *Saccophori* is condemned.

all the Arguments and Objections of *Symmachus*, prevailed ſo far as that an abſolute denyal was returned.

Damaſus Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

20. This Year, as *Baronius* gathereth from the Date of certain Reſcripts, died *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, though *Marcellinus Comes* placeth his death Two years before, at the Month of *October*. *Damaſus Portuenſis* in his Book of Popes Lives, of Popes falſely aſcribed to this Biſhop, will have his Death to have happened on the Eleventh day of *December*, after he had ſitten in that See Seventeen years and three Months wanting Four days. The See was vacant One and thirty days, and then ſucceeded him *Siricius* a *Roman* by Birth. About this time *Theodoſius* taking into his conſideration, that *Jews* made Slaves of *Chriſtians*, and many of them thereby became Proſelytes to their Impiety, forbids by an Edict that any Chriſtians be in Servitude to them. And by another preſcribes *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Eunomians*, and *Apollinarians*, formerly expelled, who ſtill had the boldneſs to return and boaſt of their Doctrine. In the Weſt *Priſcillianus* ſtill created trouble to the Orthodox Biſhops, to obviate whoſe Hæreſies, at the importunate Suit of *Ithacius* a Biſhop and great oppoſer of that Hæretick, a Synod was held at *Bourdeaux* in *Aquitaine*, by command of *Maximus* the Tyrant. So ſoon as *Maximus* had entred *Triers*, *Ithacius* puts up to him great Complaints againſt *Priſcillian*, wherewith the Emperour (as *Severus* calls him) throughly moved, writes his Letters to the Præfect of *Gall*, and the Vicar of *Spain*, commanding that all Perſons tainted with that Hæreſie, ſhould be conveyed to the Synod at *Bourdeaux*. Of theſe *Inſtantius* being brought to his defence, when he could ſay nothing conſiderable for himſelf, was pronounced unworthy of the Epiſcopal Function. *Priſcillian* from the Biſhops appealed to *Maximus*, and that by their permiſſion (for which the Hiſtorian blames their Fatherhoods) and therefore to him go both the Criminals and their Accuſers, of whom *Idacius* and *Ithacius* Biſhops are much blamed for their too violent Proſecution, and the later as Audacious, Impudent, Talkative, Proſuſe, and given much to his Belly, whoſe cuſtom it was to accuſe them that were either Studious, or uſed Faſting and Scleragogy, as the Aſſociates and Diſciples of *Priſcillian*, and was ſo bold as to object the Crime of Hæreſie to *Martin* a Biſhop of that time, and a Man to be compared with the Apoſtles themſelves.

Siricius ſucceeds.

A Synod held at *Bourdeaux*.

A. D. 384. *Valentin.* II. 9. *Theod.* 6.

*C.Th. l.*3. *tit.*1. §. 1.

*L.*13. *de hæret.*

*Sulp. Severus Hiſt. l.*2. *p.*174. &c. *Edit. Giſſelini.*

21. For *Martin* (Biſhop of *Tours*) being now at *Triers*, continually urged *Ithacius* to deſiſt from this Proſecution, and beſought *Maximus* to abſtain from the Blood of thoſe Wretches, whom it ſufficed to have Excommunicated by Sentence of the Biſhops, being declared Hæreticks, alledging it was a new and unheard of Crime, for a Sæcular Judge to decide Cauſes of the Church. As long as *Martin* continued at *Triers*, the Tryal was deferred, and when he departed, he got from *Maximus* a Promiſe, that he would not take their Lives, but afterward the Tyrant was drawn to the contrary Perſwaſion by *Magnus* and *Rufus*, two Biſhops, and committed the procedure to *Evodius* a Man bitterly ſevere, who after two Hearings of *Priſcillian*, wherein he was Convict, and confeſſed he had made Uncleanneſs his buſineſs, kept Meetings of lewd Women by Night, and accuſtomed to Pray naked, he pronounced him Guilty, and committed him to cuſtody till the pleaſure of the Prince was known. *Maximus* was clearly for condemning him to death, which after *Ithacius* ſaw reſolved, and the matter brought beyond poſſibility of prevention, to decline the Odium he ſaw would fall upon him, withdrew out of the way. But for Form ſake, to conclude the Proceſs, *Maximus* appointed another Accuſer to demand Sentence, which was accordingly pronounced, and executed upon *Priſcillian*, *Felicisſimus*, *Armenius*, *Latronianus*, and *Euchrecia* the Wife of *Dolphidius* the Rhetorician, whoſe Daughter *Procula*, had been got with Child by *Priſcillian*. *Inſtantius* the Biſhop, and *Tiberianus*, were baniſhed into the Iſland *Sylina* beyond *Brittaine*, and others were either put to death, or for a time confined to certain places in *Gall.*

Wherein *Priſcillian* and others are condemned and executed.

22. Thus ſaith *Severus*, were thoſe Men, who were indeed unworthy of Life, by the worſt of Examples, either put to death or baniſhed, this Tyrant *Maximus*, being the firſt that made Hæreſie Capital, contrary to the judgment not only of *Martin*, but *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine* and other Pious Men of this Age. And, as it uſually happeneth in this caſe, the Hæreſie of *Priſcillian* was not only not ſuppreſſed by his death, but more ſtrengthened, and farther propagated. For his Followers, who formerly honoured him as a Saint, now reverenced him as a Martyr. The dead Bodies were conveyed back into *Spain*, and their Funerals celebrated with great Devotion. It became the greateſt Point of Religion to ſwear by *Priſcillian*, and amongſt the Orthodox ſuch Differences continued, and ſuch abominable Diſſentions, as could not be ſtilled for Fifteen years. And then, when by reaſon of the diſagreement of Biſhops eſpecially, all things ſeemed to be diſturbed and confounded, every thing being carried either by hatred or Favour, Fear, Inconſtancy, Envy, Faction, Luſt, Avarice, Arrogance, Drowzineſs, and Sloath; at laſt many contended madly, and pertinaciouſly againſt a few diſcreet and ſober Perſons. And in the mean while the People of God, and every good Man, became a by-word, and a mocking ſtock. With theſe words *Sulpicius Severus* concludes his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, concerning the Excellency whereof, *Joſeph Scaliger* and *Giſſalinus* eſpecially, a Learned Phyſician, who publiſhed it with Annotations, are to be conſulted. Though all good Men out of an averſion they have to Vice, and by reaſon we are only ſenſible of preſent things, are apt to eſteem their own times the moſt vitious, yet his complaints confirm much to us the Character which *Eraſmus* gives of this Age, that *It was a matter of Wit to be a Chriſtian, that Faith was rather in their Papers, than their Souls, and there were almoſt as many Creeds, as Profeſſors.*

Severus Hiſt. quo priùs & Dial. 3. Ambroſ. Ep. 27. Aug. in Creſc. l. 3. c. 50.

Which Severity encreaſes the Hereſie.

Illis temporibus ingenioſa res fuit eſſe Chriſtianum. Illa ætate in chartis erat fides potiùs quam in anima, ac penè tot erant ſymbola quot profeſſores. Præf. in Tom. 2. Hieronymi.

23. *Ithacius*, who had been the great Proſecuter againſt *Priſcillian*, continuing at *Triers*, where ſeveral Biſhops, who approved what he had done, and eſpouſed his cauſe as common, were aſſembled, *Martin* the Biſhop of *Tours* was in behalf of ſeveral who had, according to their Allegiance, taken the part of *Gratian*, conſtrained to go to Court. *Maximus* who protected the Biſhops, by their advice had reſolved to ſend ſome Officers into *Spain*, furniſhed with ſufficient Power, to make Inquiſition after Hæreticks, and ſpoil them of their Lives and Eſtates, by which courſe there is no doubt but a very great number of Holy Men would have been deſtroyed, little diſtinction being made amongſt the ſeveral ſorts, judgment being given from the eye alone, and one eſteemed an Hæretick rather for his pale Face or Garment, than his Faith. The Biſhops knowing how little pleaſed *Martin* would be with theſe things, yet were very much concerned leſt he ſhould refuſe their Communion, as foreſeeing that his Example and Authority would eaſily procure him many Followers. Conſulting therefore with *Maximus*, they think fit that certain Officers ſhould be ſent to meet him, with orders not to come to the City, except his purpoſe was in a peaceable manner to demean himſelf toward the Biſhops there reſident. He craftily overreacheth them, profeſſing that he came in the Peace of Chriſt, and entring the City by night, went to the Church to his Devotions, and the next day to the Court, to ſollicite the Tyrant in behalf of many Perſons, of whom the chief were *Narſes* a Count, and *Leucadius* a Præſident, who both had been of *Gratian*'s Party.

Ad comitatum ire compulſus. Severus. Dial. 3. §. 15.

24. But being as well deſirous to preſerve the Hæreticks, as ſuch Orthodox Chriſtians as would ſuffer with them, he made it his greateſt buſineſs to prevent the diſpatch of the Tribunes into *Spain* with ſo ſevere a Commiſſion. *Maximus* held him in ſuſpence a day or two, either for that he would put weight upon the buſineſs, or by reaſon of his implacable diſpoſition, or which was then generally gueſſed, out of Covetouſneſs, to which Vice, although otherwiſe he was indued with many good qualities, as *Severus* reports, he was much addicted, except in his excuſe it be alledged, that the Treaſury had been exhauſted by former Princes, and the great expence he was put to by

Pia enim erat ſollicitando Martino ut non ſolum Chriſtianos, qui ſub illa erant occaſione teſtandi, ſed ipſos etiam hæreticos liberaret.

by the Civil Wars, and perpetual Marches neceſſitated him to ſuch courſes as were burthenſome to the People. But in the mean time thoſe Biſhops, with whom *Martin* refuſed to communicate, being ſenſible of the danger to which they ſhould be expoſed, in caſe the earneſtneſs of *Theogniſtus*, who alone had publickly condemned them, ſhould be backed by the Authority of *Martin*, come trembling to the Emperour, complaining that Matters thus ſtanding, they were præcondemned and loſt Men, that this Man ought not to have been received within the Walls, who was become not only a Protector of Hæreticks, but their Avenger, and in truth that they had profited nothing by the death of *Priſcillian*, if *Martin* might be ſuffered to revenge his Cauſe. In ſumm, they caſt themſelves at his Feet, and with many Tears, and great Lamentations, implore his Royal Authority and Power to be imployed againſt this one Man, who in Conjunction with *Theogniſtus*, as they had good cauſe to apprehend, might procure the overthrow of their Cauſe and Fortunes.

Martin Biſhop of *Tours* perſecuted by the Heretical Biſhops.

25. Little wanted of *Martin* his being condemned to the ſame Lot with the Hæreticks. But though *Maximus* too much favoured theſe Biſhops, yet he had him in ſo great eſteem and reverence for his Piety, that he reſolved to try another courſe, and therefore talks with him in private very lovingly, and labours to perſwade him that the *Priſcillianiſts* had been condemned, rather by publick Juſtice, than the Proſecution of the Clergy, and that there was no cauſe why he ſhould ſhun the Communion of *Ithacius*, and the reſt of his Party: That *Theogniſtus* had done it more out of Malice, than for any good reaſon, and was ſingular in this Separation; in concluſion, that *Ithacius* had been acquitted by a Synod, which had met a few days before. *Martin* being nothing moved with theſe fair words, *Maximus* was very angry, and ſtarting away from him, gave orders that Executioners ſhould be ſent to diſpatch thoſe for whom he had interceded; which as ſoon as he underſtood, though in the night, he got back into the Court, and promiſed, that in caſe they might be ſpared, and the Journey of the Officers into *Spain* countermanded, he would communicate with *Ithacius*. All this was inſtantly granted by *Maximus*, and the day following *Martin*, who judged it fit for him to comply, that he might divert the Sword which hung over the Necks of thoſe formerly condemned, communicated with theſe Prælates at the Conſecration of *Fælix* a moſt Holy Biſhop, and one that deſerved to have been ordained in better times in the opinion of *Severus*. But the Biſhops having got *Martin* amongſt them, with all earneſtneſs imaginable preſſed him to ſubſcribe to what they had done, but could not wreſt it from him; He departed the next day, and in his Journey as he much bewailed his communicating with thoſe Men, though for ſo little a ſpace, *Severus* tells us, that an Angel appeared to him, comforting and exciting him to re-aſſume his former Virtue and Conſtancy. From this time he never communicated with any of *Ithacius* his Faction, confeſſed afterwards with Tears, that by ſo doing, though but for a moment, yet he had loſt ſome of his former Power over the *Evergumeni*. And although he lived Sixteen years longer, yet he never came at any Synod, but ever ſhunned the Meetings of Biſhops, being of the ſame judgment herein with *Gregory Nazianzen*, and ſenſible of the great Corruptions of the times.

And forced to communicate with them.

Sedecim poſtea vixit annos, nullam Synodum adiit, ab omnibus Epiſcoporum conventibus ſe removit

26. The year following being the 385. of our Lord, the Tenth of *Valentinian* the Second, in the firſt Conſulſhip of *Fl. Arcadius* the Emperour, and *Fl. Bauto*; the Year after the Birth of *Honorius*, *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* departed this Life, and was ſucceeded by *Theophilus*. Concerning *Timotheus* this is memorable, that he ordained *Ammon* a moſt Holy Monk, though to prævent being a Biſhop, he had cut off one of his Ears, alledging, that the Law which was objected to the contrary, had been obſerved by the *Jews*, and profeſſing that if he found a Man that had loſt his Noſe, but retained his Piety, he ſhould not at all ſtick to ordain him Biſhop. This Year *Valentinian* the Emperour publiſhed an Edict for releaſing Priſoners at *Eaſter*, whereat *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* took occaſion to upbraid him with Impriſoning Godly Men

Socr. l. 5. c. 12.

Timotheus Biſhop of *Alexandria* dying, *Theophilus* ſucceeds.

Balſam.

C. Th. l. 8. de indulg. crim.

Men at the ſame time, wherein it was the Cuſtom to ſet Malefactors at Liberty.

Valentinian favours the *Arians* in the Weſt.

For the Year following he ſet forth another Edict, whereby he granted to the *Arians* liberty to meet together, at the Inſtigation and Procurement of *Juſtina* his Mother, a Woman ſo addicted to that Hæreſie, that ſhe uſed all indeavours poſſible to promote it, and for that purpoſe indeavoured to take from the Catholicks the great Church in *Milan*, and deliver it to them, which *Ambroſe* oppoſing, ſhe raiſed a great Perſecution againſt him. *Theodoſius* in the Eaſt, bent his endeavours againſt *Paganiſm*, which ſtill ſeemed to revive, and recover ſtrength; notwithſtanding all the fatal ſtroaks it had received. In the ſame Year wherein *Valentinian* publiſhed his Edict about emptying the Goals, he gave out another Reſcript againſt Idolaters, and ſuch as conſulted the Entrails of Beaſts, for the knowledge of things to come. Yet were the times ſtill ſo bad, and the minds of his Subjects ſtill ſo addicted to that Impiety, that the Temples, and a great part of the *Pagan* Superſtition, for all theſe Laws, he was conſtrained ſtill to permit, and the year following, he with his two Colleagues, *Valentinian* and *Arcadius*, inſtead of diſſolving, decide a Controverſie about the Adminiſtration of the Heatheniſh Rites, in a Conſtitution directed to *Florentius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* to this purpoſe.

C. Th. de fide Cath. l. 4.

Paul. in vita Ambr.

But *Theodoſius* endeavours to ſuppreſs them.

Socr. l. 5. c. 11.

C. Th. de Pagan. l. 9.

27. *In obtaining the* Archyeroſyna, *or Chief Prieſt-hood, let him firſt be conſidered, who has done moſt Service in his Country, provided he have not forſaken the Service of the Temples, by applying himſelf to Chriſtian Religion. For it is unſeemly, yea, to ſpeak more truly, unlawful that Temples, and the Solemnities thereof ſhould appertain to their care, the Conſciences of whom have been wrought upon by a true Senſe of Divine Religion, and whom it became, although they were not prohibited, by all means to ſhun ſuch an employment. Given at* Conſtantinople *on the Sixteenth day of* June, Honorius *the moſt noble Child* (at this time about a Year and three quarters old) *and* Evodius *being Conſuls*, viz. *A. D.* 386. the Eleventh of *Valentinian*, of *Theodoſius* the Eighth, the Fourteenth Indiction, of *Old Rome* the 1139, of the *New* the 56.

In conſequenda Archieroſyna ille ſic petior, qui patriæ plura præſtiterit, nec tamen à Templorum cultu obſervatione Chriſtianitatis abſceſſerit. Quippe indecorum eſt, imo, ut verius dicamus, illicitum, adeorum curam Templa, & Templorum ſolemnia pertinere, quorum conſcientiam vera ratio [vera ratio vel veneratio] divinæ Religionis imbuerit, & quos ipſos decebat tale munus, etiamſi non prohiberentur, effugere emiſſa 16. Calend. Jul. Conſtantinop. Honorio N. O. P. & Evodio Coſſ. i. e. A. D. 386. Cod. Th. de decurion. l. 12.

28. This *Archyeroſyna* or *Chief Prieſthood*, was not the Præſidency in the College of Prieſts, as ſome have imagined. But thoſe that bore this Office, as we may learn from the Epiſtles of *Julian* in this Age, had it incumbent upon them to *overſee and order the Temples, appoint what was convenient to each, take care of their external Ornament, and govern, and moderate the Prieſts therein Miniſtring*. Such Chief Prieſts, in Greek Ἀρχιερεῖς, were of old *Scopilianus* in *Aſia*, whoſe Life is written by *Philoſtratus*, under *Julian* the Apoſtate, *Arſacius* in *Galatia*, *Theodotus* in *Aſia*, (to whom he wrote two Epiſtles yet Extant, the 49. and 63.) and *Chryſanthius* in *Lydia*, as *Eunapius* ſignifieth in the Life of *Maximus*. Thoſe Solemnities of the *Pagan* Temples (as *Tertullian* ſtileth them, beſides others) were the Celebrations of Publick and Religious Mirth, and Vows, Feſtival Aſſemblies, Games and Solemnizations of Antient Sports; to which adhered ſomewhat of *Gentiliſm*, and Superſtition belonging to the Temples. Feaſts and Banquets which were eſpecially univerſally and Religiouſly obſerved on *New-years-day*, as beſides many more ancient, ſeveral Writers of this Age do teſtifie. Vows made on the Third of *January* in the Temples, with Feaſts and well-wiſhes for the Health of the Prince. Such alſo were the *Saturnalia*, the *Brumæ*, or, as the Canon of the Synod in *Trullo* hath it, he *Bromalia*, celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*, Syrnamed *Bromius*, and the Sacrifices of the *Luſtra*. Theſe, and ſuch like, were the *Pagan* Solemnities, to the obſervation and care of which, the *Gentiles* endeavoured at this time to force the Chriſtians, who alſo many of them of their own accord joyned in the Celebration of thoſe Myſteries, whereof the Chriſtian Writers of thoſe times complain, and as *Tertullian* of old exhorted Chriſtians to fly from ſuch Impurities, ſo both Synods and Emperours by Canons and Laws endeavoured to obviate this their Scandalous and (in many reſpects) pernicious Practice.

Archyeroſyna what.

Vide Jacob. Gothofredum ubi ſupra.

Aug. Serm. 6. de urbis Domini

De fidelatria. c. 17.

29. For

29. For this *Archyeroſyna* or Superſtitious employment being conferred on ſuch as were Senators, and bore the greateſt Offices in Cities, or had performed beſt ſervice to their Prince and Country was much ſought after, even by ſome Chriſtians themſelves, who ſtudied more their reputation than the diſcharge of a good Conſcience, eaſily being perſwaded, that Prævarication and unlawful Communication in Heatheniſh Myſteries, would not ſtick to this Action, which only reſpected the Decency and order of Adminiſtration, and was void of Superſtition in it ſelf; however it had regard to the *Pagan* Temples, and the Solemnities thereof. Now by the Inſcription or Direction of this Law, to the Præfect of *Ægypt* (who as we formerly ſhewed, was called *Auguſtalis*) this vicious Cuſtom, as we may learn, was moſt prævalent in that Country, which having of old, been more than any other addicted to Idolatry, was ſtiil more tenacious of it, as appears by a Law made the præceding Year, which notwithſtanding yet the year following, *viz. A. D.* 387. So little Reformation was wrought, and former Conſtitutions ſo little obeyed, that to inforce them was ſent *Cynegius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* into *Ægypt*, who prohibited Sacrifices, as *Zozimus* with great grief witneſſeth, as alſo *Idacius*. And notwithſtanding all thoſe indeavours, yet were not theſe Sacrifices wholly forborne, and laid aſide, till the Year 391. through the indeavours of *Evagrius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and the Count of *Ægypt*, at the earneſt importunity and procurement of *Theophilus* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as appears from *Eurapius*, in the life *Ædeſius*. *Zozimus*, our own Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and a Law Extant in the Code of *Theodoſius*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Theophilus*, by whoſe mediation and indeavours, Sacrifices at length were prohibited and taken way, procured alſo that the Chriſtians, within his Patriarchal care, ſhould be forbidden to diſcharge any more this *Pagan* and ſcandalous Office, whereof we treat.

C. Th. de Paganis l. 9.

L. 4 p. 764.

Chron.

Pp. 73 & 77.

L. 5. p. 799

11. Cod. Th. de Paganis.

This Office of chief Prieſthood forbidden to Chriſtians.

30. For although they themſelves defiled not their Perſons and profeſſion, by the Superſtitious Worſhip uſed in and about the Temples, and neither thoſe Solemnities full of groſs Idolatry and *Pagan* Impieties, yet as the Law expreſſeth it, it was unſeemly, or to ſpeak more truly, unlawful for Chriſtians to have charge of Temples and their Solemnities, who ought to ſhun ſuch an employment, though not thereto obliged by any prohibition. This becoming in thoſe times a caſe of Conſcience; the practice was condemned as unlawful by *Gratian*, as *Zozimus* the Hiſtorian witneſſeth, and *Tertullian* had long before ſo decided it, in ſeveral places of his Book concerning Idolatry, for this charge, though it could not be called Sacrificing, yet as he terms it, might juſtly have the name of *Adſacrificium*, which word being rightly adjudged, and reſtored to him by a learned Man, he might as well uſe as *Admilitia* is uſed by the Lawyer. Had theſe Solemnities been harmleſs mirths, deſtined only to Recreation, no ſuch prohibition had been laid on Chriſtians, but the very end and deſign of them was *ſuperſtitious* and *Pagan*. As the Celebration of Games and votive Sports were in honour of their Gods obſerved, in memory of their Nativities, and Dedication of their Temples, as *Lactantius* writes, who thereupon concludes, that what Chriſtian ſoever was preſent at the *Spectacula*, or ſhews which were made for a Religious end, ſuch an one departed from the worſhip of the true God, and betook himſelf to the *Pagan* Deities, whoſe Nativities and Feſtivals he ſo Celebrated. For the *Pagan* uſed to keep holy the *Eucænia*, or days of the dedication of their Temples, and had their Feaſts and Banquets (*Sympoſia*) in honour of their Gods; whence alſo proceeded their Confraternities.

Ad cap. 16. L. vaic. π. de offic. Præf. præt. Admilitia commilitium ſeu Συσσεα τειά ut ad ſacrificium. Συνδεῖπα.

Συμπόσια Θεωτεῖαι.

All *Pagan* Superſtition forbidden to Chriſtians.

31. As Chriſtians of themſelves were too forward to undertake the charge of *Archyeroſyna*, tempted with the reputation thereof, ſo at theſe Games and Feaſts, they were ſtill conſtrained by the *Pagans* to be preſent, in other Countries beſides *Ægypt*, inſomuch that the *African* Fathers a little after, about the year 399. could not but take notice of it, and ordain that *the Emperours be Petitioned, that ſeeing in many places, theſe Feaſts were kept contrary to Divine Præcepts, and which taking their Original from* Pagan *Error, Chriſtians were compelled by Ethnicks to Celebrate*, whereupon another Perſecution ſeemed ſecretly to be made under Chriſtian Emperours, they would pleaſe to forbid ſuch Cuſtoms, and cauſe them

Cuſtoms of *Pagan* Original or reſemblance forbidden to Chriſtians.

In concil. Cath. ſub. Honorio. cc. 60. & 61. cod. Afr. Ἐκ τῆ ἐθνικῆς πλάνης ωερεῖ νεχθέντα. Ἀρχιωὶ ἐχθρότατα ἐϛὶ τῆ ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης

them to be prohibited in Cities and Countries, under a certain Penalty, alledging, that Chriſtians ought not to be compelled to thoſe things which are contrary to Gods command, and in doing which they ſhould incurr great and apparent danger of their Souls. By ſuch like means as this, it came to paſs, that whereas by permiſſion of ſome Conſtitutions of Chriſtian Princes, thoſe votive Feaſts and Solemnities had been obſerved through the parts of *Africk*, with this caution, that they ſhould be Celebrated without any Sacrifice, or other damnable Superſtition, as *Honorius* limits them (which Law is ſtrangely retained in *Juſtinian*'s Code) yet Nine years after they were utterly removed, taken away, and prohibited by the ſame Emperour in another Conſtitution, together with the other Reliques of *Pagan* Superſtition, who makes it utterly unlawful to hold thoſe Feaſts, or any other Solemnities; giving unto Biſhops Power and Authority to prohibit them, by the ſame Law which *Tribonianus*, though he retained the former, yet hath omitted in *Juſtinian*'s Code.

Cod. th. de Paganis l. 17.

C. th de Paganis l. 19.

32. So jealous were the Fathers of the Church, leaſt Chriſtians ſhould deſile themſelves with *Pagan* Impurities, and thereby give matter of ſcandal both to Infidels and Profeſſors, that by their own Writings, Canons, and Imperial Conſtitutions by them procured, they laboured by all means to cauſe them to ſhun all appearance of evil in this reſpect. And for thoſe reaſons they were alſo ſometimes ſo moved, as to condemn, forbid, and put down ſuch Cuſtoms and Actions, as were taken from *Pagan* Præcedents, though well intended and directed to a good end. So *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* at this time, perceiving how by the heedleſneſs of Church Officers, many *Pagan* Cuſtoms had crept in amongſt the Chriſtian Rites, both ſet himſelf withall his might to eradicate them, and with all expedition; therefore he not only declaims earneſtly againſt ſuch as ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved the Calends, or firſt day of *January*, procured, that on that day wherein the *Pagans* Feaſted, Chriſtians ſhould faſt and afflict themſelves, and cauſed Acclamations and Shoutings which had wont to be made at the eclipſe of the *Moon*, to be wholly left off, but aboliſhed the *Agapæ* or Chriſtian Feaſts wont to be kept in Churches, becauſe they had ſome reſemblance to the *Pagan Parentalia*; by whoſe example *Auguſtine*, when Biſhop of *Hippo*, was ſo moved, that he alſo procured them to be put down in the Church of *Africk*. Yet notwithſtanding was it impoſſible to ſhake off ſuddenly all that might ſeem to have reſemblance to *Pagan* Cuſtoms. For thoſe habits ſtick cloſe to Nature, wherewith ſhe is firſt of all endowed; as an empty and hungry ſtomack, moſt imbraces and ſucks ſuch Juices as are firſt powred into it, and the Veſſel retains that ſavour which being yet freſh and new, it had firſt imbibed with the Liquor, ſo doth the mind of Man moſt delight it ſelf with the memory of thoſe things, places, and times, wherewith in its Infancy it was acquainted, and however education and more ripe judgment may inform the underſtanding, yet the fancy is ſtill tickled, and the affections inſenſibly overpowered, by ſuch apprehenſions as were moſt familiar and coetaneous to their ſimple and naked Originals.

Idem ſerm. 30.

Aug. conf. 6. 2. *Ep.* 64. *conc. Carth.* 3. *c.* 30.

33. Hence it came to paſs, that notwithſtaning all thoſe Laws, Canons, and Præcepts, yet old Cuſtoms were ſtill continued for a long time after, of ſuch a Nature and Deſign, as could not but ſavour of *Pagan* Superſtition, as worſhipping of the *Sun*, with others which we may have occaſion hereafter to mention. And the Fathers of the Church, eſpecially the *Roman* Biſhops were content to take off the Profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion from ſuch practices, by not only permitting them to apply certain Cuſtoms to Chriſtian ends and purpoſes, but to Inſtitute alſo and Ordain ſeveral Rites and Ceremonies which had ſome reſemblances to Ancient though Ethnick patterns, as appears abundantly from what *Polydore*, *Virgil*, and others have written of their Originals. And if in their Natures they were indifferent, if honeſt in their Deſigns, effectual in their Methods, for removal of impious Cuſtoms, if every way innocent, and in the main conducing to make impreſſions in the minds of Men, and introduce ſuch Ideas as would obliterate old præjudices, and eſtabliſh Pious affections, they were ſo many arguments of Chriſtian Prudence, which ought to moderate

Several *Pagan* Rites and Ceremonies nevertheleſs uſed.

rate, and ſway the Councils of thoſe in Authority, according to time and place, the exigencie of affairs, and the good or ill uſage of ſuch Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions. *Julian* made uſe of ſuch Chriſtian Rites as he ſaw were prudent, and conducing in their very Nature and drift to order, ſettlement, and exergetical impreſſions, and why might not Chriſtian Governours, as well as he, aſſume the quality of the Serpent, which is not inconſiſtent with the nature of the Dove? and having to do with ſuch Perſons as had been inured to ſuch Cuſtoms, by a change of the deſign, and propoſal of a new end, render them not only Innocent, but ſignificative, and edifying, all Creatures being the poſſeſſion of God, and the uſe of them as applicable to his Glory, as to vain and impious purpoſes.

34. But as there are no certain and particular Rules for individual actions, theſe things being left to the care and charge of Governours, who are only limited by decency and order, and confined within the borders of Ædification; ſo accordingly were they affected, and ſteered the Helm as variouſly directed by Comportment of things, times, and Perſons, in thoſe primitive and more pure Ages of the Church; yet may we obſerve that the vulgar, as in all other caſes, ſo in this, would be Maſter of Words, Phraſes, and Terms. Therefore though *Pope Silveſter*, as *Polydore Vergil* is of opinion, out of hatred both to the Names and Memory of the *Gentile* Gods, gave order that the days of the week ſhould be called by the name of *Feriæ*, and the diſtinction to be made by *Prima Feria*, *Secunda Feria*, *Tertia Feria*, &c. Yet ſo that the *Sabbath* and the Lords-day ſhould hold their Jewiſh and Chriſtian Names, and Places, as they did before; this became no certain Rule to Chriſtians, Writers, or others. For though that day we ſtill call *Saturday*, had amongſt them the name of *Sabbath*, which was peculiar to it, and applicable to no other day whatſoever, for many Ages; and although that day on which our Saviour aroſe from the Dead, be by St. *John* called by the name of the *Lords-day*, by St. *Paul* the *firſt day* of the Week; yet *Juſtin Martyr* gives it the appellation of *Sunday*, which it ſtill reſerves, as alſo *Tertullian* by whom it is ſtiled ſomtimes *Dies Solis*, and ſometimes *Dominicus*, and in many Edicts of Chriſtian Emperours, in the Synod held at *Dixſoluſinum*, in the *lower Bavaria*, *A.D.* 772. It hath alſo the name of *Sunday*, not to ſpeak of Writers, and the ordinary ſpeech of the Vulgar, with which this ſame name hath prevailed in all Ages downward. In like manner the Months have retained their ancient *Pagan* names, though at firſt given to them, as well as to the days of the Week in memory of their Fictitious Deities, the uſe of which, neither as to the one, nor other ſort, did the Fathers forbid and condemn, although perhaps they could better have liked others; for if we keep the name of *March*, and yet think not on *Mars*, why may we not, *ſaith a Father*, preſerve the name of *Saturday*, without thinking of *Saturn*. So long hath this Cuſtom of Speech continued, that the innocency of the preſent deſign, together with the ignorance of the Vulgar, as to its ancient ſignification, may juſtly remove all ſuſpition of the prophaneneſs, and conſequently the unlawful uſe thereof. The *Holy Ghoſt* it ſelf hath not diſdained to apply unto ſacred purpoſes, words of Art uſed by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradiſus*, *Hades*, *Apoſtolus* and *Clerus*.

De invent. l. 5. c. 6.

The days.

ἡ τῦ ἡλίυ ἡμερα

And Months called as by them.

* *Aug. contra. Fauſt. L. 19. c. 5.*

35. But to return to the ſeries of Church matters, in this ſame year, which was the Eighth of *Theodoſius*, dyed *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who had much experienced the viciſſitude of humane affairs, and the condition which attends thoſe that will live Godly in this preſent World, having been often driven from his See, and reſtored again, from the times of *Conſtantius*. There are extant certain Catechiſmes, which, as it's ſaid, he made in his Youth, but are ſuſpected. He was ſucceeded by *John*, who as *Hierome* writes, (inveighing againſt him, under the name of *Prætextatus*) had formerly joyned with the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, and now of late, had been drawn off to the Orthodox Party, by the hopes of a Biſhoprick. This year was alſo the laſt of *Philaſtrius* Biſhop of *Brixia*, who wrote againſt Hæreſies a good Book, wherein yet go under that name certain Tenents which this Age will eaſily excuſe from error. *Auguſtine* by this time was reclaimed from his erronious and looſe courſe of life, having the præceding year, and the Thirty firſt of his Age, began at *Milan* to be touched with a ſenſe of the Orthodox Faith, and reality of Chriſtian Religion. For there wanting a Profeſſor of

Cyril Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyes.

Hieron. de ſcript. Eccl.

John ſucceeds him.

Idem ep. 61.

Philaſtrius Biſhop of *Brixia* dyes.

Aug. confeſſ. l. 8. c. 9. & 5. 13. & 6. 11.

Auguſtine reformed from his looſe courſe of life.

Rhetorick in that City, and *Symmachus* Præfect of *Rome*, being deſired to ſend a Man fit for ſuch an imployment, by the aſſiſtance of his Friends the *Manichees*, he procured to be ſent, being now Thirty years of Age, where falling into the Company and Familiarity of *Ambroſe* the Biſhop, by degrees he began to apprehend and diſlike the errors of the *Manichees*; yet for the time, this change conduced ſo little to his proficiency in Chriſtian Religion, that he did but make an alteration hereby to Antichriſtianiſm, being much inveighled by the Academick Philoſophers, who at this time were in great eſteem, and thereby hindred the progreſs of the Chriſtian Doctrine. For they openly ſtuck not to affirm, that Chriſtians had taken many Sentences out of *Plato*, and particularly St. *John the Evangeliſt* the Exordium of his Goſpel, fora ſmuch as *Plato* talks much about *the word* or λόγος, but in ſo vaſt a different manner from that *word*, as it is ſacred in Chriſtianity, that ſuch as are but meanly converſant in both, may eaſily diſcover the cheat, that it is in vain to inſtance in particulars; however this prejudice was in this Age whereof we write, none of the leaſt remora's to the progreſs of Chriſtianity, though ſome of later times have ſo canted in Platonick expreſſions, and doated upon his miſapprehended Myſteries, as to conjoyn them with the *Magnalia* of our Faith; and more miſchief had been the effect hereof, had not *Ambroſe* obviated the deſign, by his Books written concerning Philoſophy, againſt *Plato* and thoſe his Followers, wherewith *Auguſtine* when older and wiſer, confeſſed himſelf much edified.

Ep. 84. de doctr. Chriſt. 25. Retract. 2. 4

36. *Monica* his Mother, following him to *Milan*, omitted no means ſhe thought proper for his effectual Converſion, which was better and more eaſily accompliſhed, after the return of his Concubine into *Africk*, by whom he had a Son called *Adeodatus*. At the entrance of *Banto* upon his Conſulſhip, he made a Panygyrical Oration, before *Valentinian* the Emperour, upon occaſion whereof, afterward, he bewailed the ſtate of his Soul, at that time, which with ſome impetuoſity was carried out in the Proſecution of Carnal and Ambitious purpoſes, and wholly taken up in a diſquiſition of *Academick* queſtions, and *Platonick* Speculations. But at length, by the reading of St. *Paul*, and the fruitful converſation of *Simplicianus*, a Pious and Learned Prieſt, it pleaſed God, by degrees, to inſtil into his heart the knowledge and love of the truth, ſo that being as we ſaid converted in the Thirty firſt year of his Age, after he had continued a *Catechumēnus* for two years or more, he was baptized in his Thirty fourth year at *Milan*, by *Ambroſe* the Biſhop of that City, in the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, together with *Adeodatus* his natural Son, a Youth of about Fifteen years of age, of extraordinary parts, who dyed not long after in *Africk*, and *Alipius* of *Hippo* his dear Friend; after which they departed for *Rome*, and there, expected till the year following, a convenient time for returning into their own Countries.

Confeſſ. paſſim.

Is Baptized at *Milan* by *Ambroſe* the Biſhop.

Vide poſſi. in vita Aug.

37. We have often made mention of the *Catechumeni*, concerning whom, though the Reader, by the Circumſtances of the Story, may apprehend ſufficient for the knowledge of their condition in reference to Chriſtianity, yet for his clearer inſight into theſe Eccleſiaſtical affairs, it ſeems requiſite to ſpeak ſomthing more, both concerning thoſe Perſons, and other ſorts, and ranks of Men, as they ſtood in relation to the Church. For there were ſeveral ranks and degrees, through which the ancient Chriſtians thought fit that Converts ſhould paſs, for the information of their minds, and the ſubjecting of their Spirits to the holy Diſcipline, before they would admit them to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the *Euchariſt*, or Holy Orders. The firſt rank was of thoſe, who were to learn the firſt Rudiments of Chriſtianity, who were admitted to their Schools to hear the Chatechiſts (ſuch as *Origen* was in the Church of *Alexandria*, though not in Holy Orders, and but Ten years of Age) concerning whom *Euſebius* writes, that many Gentiles came to hear him Preach, and were converted, as *Plutarch* and *Heracles* his Brother, the firſt of whom ſuffered Martyrdom, and the other became afterward Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Such as were bred up thus in Schools, were called *Educati*, and they and others being admitted to Homilies, Expoſitions, and Inſtructions in the Church, were called *Audientes*, this being the firſt ſtep in the Chriſtian School, and it pleaſed God, by his Preaching and Inſtruction to convince ſuch as came rather

The ſeveral Ranks and Degrees of the primitive Converts.

As Audientes.

Euſeb. l. 6. c. 2.

rather for Novelty many times, than love to the truth, or perhaps to Scoff and Deride; if they began to like of the way, and judge it worth their while to lift at (though not juſt take up) the Croſs of Chriſt, they were admitted to the rank of *Catechumeni*, for a more clear and full underſtanding of the Myſteries of Faith, being permitted to ſtand in a more convenient and honourable place, than the *Audientes*, and as appertaining to the Church, though not yet fully received into her boſome, they were ſigned with the ſign of the Croſs at their Admiſſion. Theſe were the Chriſtian Embrio's, who increaſing in the knowledge and the Holy Diſcipline, received from the Church ſuch wholſome nouriſhment, as thereby to grow to the perfection of Children, vivacious and ready for the birth at what time they were regenerated by Baptiſm.

Catechumeni.

Ambr. de iis qui init. c. 4. Aug in lib. de ſymbolo ad Catechum.

38. For which, when they were thought fit, and ſufficiently inſtructed, they gave up their names to the Biſhop, and humbly deſiring to be partakers of that Holy Sacrament, they had the name of *Competentes*, to whom the Ninth Canon of the Council of *Agatha* ordains, that the Creed be publickly Preached in the Church Eight days before *Eaſter*, or on *Palm-Sunday*, which was performed in that part called *Baptiſterium*, the place where the Font ſtood. This Creed (which was not read at the Service to which the *Catechumeni* were admitted) they were thoroughly to learn and underſtand, and for thoſe days intervening before *Eaſter*, to faſt and abſtain wholly from Corporal Pleaſures, as a means for Humiliation and Præparation to ſo ſolemn an Ordinance. On *Eaſter* Eve in ſome eminent place they recited the Creed, the Articles whereof (of the Apoſtles Creed) were not at this time whereof we write digeſted into that order and method which they now retain, it being obſerved by Learned Men, that St. *Auguſtine* in his Book concerning the Creed to the *Catechumeni*, therein neither maketh mention of *the deſcent into Hell, neither of Life Everlaſting.* The Party being brought to the Font, it was demanded of him, if he believed in God the Father, and upon anſwer, that he believed he was dipped once; then was he asked, whether he believed in *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, and upon the reply, being dipped the ſecond time, the laſt demand was, if he believed in the *Holy Ghoſt*, and upon the like return, the dipping was the third time repeated: This Cuſtom of dipping thrice in the more Primitive times, was introduced in remembrance of the Reſurrection of Chriſt on the Third day, afterward, to ſignifie the Bleſſed *Trinity* in oppoſition of the *Arian* Tenents. In proceſs of time, when Hæreticks abuſed this Threefold dipping, to ſignifie Three Natures of the Three Perſons, *Gregory the Firſt*, being conſulted by *Leander* a *Spaniſh* Biſhop, declared, that whether the Party were dipped Thrice or but once, he received that Sacrament, the Threefold Action ſignifying the Three days Sepulture of Chriſt, and the Three Perſons in the Bleſſed Trinity; ſo alſo one ſingle Act denoting the Unity of Subſtance in the Trinity of Perſons. But leſt by complying with the Cuſtom of Hæreticks who dipped Thrice, they might ſeem to conſent to their deſign, he adviſed, that in *Spain* the Baptized Perſon ſhould be but once dipped. Which Advice was afterward confirmed and inforced by the Fathers of the Fourth Council of *Toledo*.

Competentes.

Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus Eccleſiis una die, id eſt ante octo dies dominicæ Reſurrectionis publice in Eccleſia competentibus prædicari

Perſicus Demonſtr. Problem. p 31.

Ambro. de Sacrum. l. 2. c. 7.

Tertull. adverſus Prox. c. 16. Baſil. de Sp. Sancto l. 2. c. 15. & 27. Concil. Tolet. 4. c. 5. De conſecr. diſt. 4. c Papa eſt tantum. Greg. l. 4. Ep. 41

39. The Subſtantial part of the Sacrament being performed by dipping (whether Once or Thrice) in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, having been enjoyned to renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Pomp and Vanity of the World, they were Signed with the Sign of the Croſs, by which Solemn Ceremony, the Ancient Chriſtians teſtified their Faith in the Croſs, that is, the Death of Chriſt, being not aſhamed to own him for their God and Saviour, even by ſuch a Token as was matter of Scandal to the World, and thereby they would alſo excite themſelves, and admoniſh thoſe newly initiated, to a remembrance of their duty ingaged in this Virtual Stipulation, and to diſcharge their Baptiſmal Vow. That they might better perform this duty, they were aſſiſted by Confirmation, wherein were uſed Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands, which if uſeful then for thoſe that were Perſons of full Age, hath this advantage beſides in ſuch as are Baptized Infants, that now as it were by a repeated Act, they renew their Baptiſmal Vow, and take upon themſelves, what others in their names had promiſed,

a ſtrong inducement and tye upon them to diſcharge that duty which now they have owned, and to which they have publickly profeſſed to adhere. Being thus Baptized and made Chriſtians, they were termed, *Inſtructi*, *Neophyti*, and by alluſion to the Sæcular Warfare, *Tirones*. To expreſs the Effects of Baptiſm, they wore White Garments, till the *Octaves* of *Eaſter*, the Lords-day following, or *Low-Sunday*, which hereupon was called *Dominica in Albis*. Now were they reckoned amongſt the *Fideles or Faithful*, being permitted to ſtay after the Sermons and Reading of the Scriptures, allowed to behold the Holy Myſteries of the Altar, and partake of the Lords Table, all which had been denied to them when *Catechumeni*, to whom after the ſaid Sermons and Readings, *Miſſa eſt* was pronounced, being not permitted to view the Sacraments. Yet were not thoſe *Novices* for all this, permitted ſuddenly to enter into Holy Orders, it being againſt expreſs Canons, for ſuch to be made Prieſts and Biſhops, although in the caſe of St. *Ambroſe* and ſome others, the publick utility procured a Diſpenſation and Exception to this General Rule.

Inſtructi, Neophyti. Tirones.

Fideles.

40. But (to return from this Digreſſion) the Year following, wherein *Timaſius* and *Promotus* were Conſuls, the Fourteenth of *Valentinian* the Second, and the Eleventh of *Theodoſius A. D.* 389. *Auguſtine* having wintered at *Rome*, paſſed down to *Oſtra*, intending there to Sail over into *Africk*, but there he was kept for ſome time by the Sickneſs of his Mother *Monica*, which Pious Matron here ended her days. Having performed the laſt Offices of Duty to her, he ſailed over with a proſperous Gale, together with *Alipius* and *Evodius* his Companions, who accompanied him into the Country, where they ſpent their time in diſcharge of all Godly Exerciſes, and *Auguſtine* wrote ſeveral Books before he entred into the Orders of Prieſthood, which he mentioneth in his Retractations. This ſame Year alſo departed to a better Life, in the Sixty fifth Year of his Age, *Gregory Nazianzen* Syrnamed the Divine, his Death happening Three Years before St. *Hierome* wrote his Book concerning Eccleſiaſtical Writers, which the Author himſelf affirms to have been in the Fourteenth Year of *Theodoſius*. He was of a middle Stature, a ſweet and pleaſant aſpect, ſomething pale, his Hair on his Head very thin, yet his Beard thick, his Noſe ſomewhat flat, eye-brows high, his right Eye being a little contracted by a Skar. Though he ſeemed to be of a robuſt Conſtitution, yet was he ſorely broken by continual pains of the Gout, and other Infirmities, which confining him to his Bed, he therein refreſhed himſelf with ſeveral Elegant and Witty Poems made concerning himſelf upon various Occaſions, of which moſt are yet Extant. He complains not ſo much of his Bodily Infirmities, as the pricks of the Fleſh wherewith he was ſorely afflicted, which having eaſily conquered in his Youth, by all the means and endeavours he could uſe, he could very hardly ſubdue in his old Age. He had made his Teſtament ſome years before, by which he gave all he had to the uſe of the Poor of the Church of *Nazianzen*, except certain Legacies left to his Kindred. Therein mentioning *Alypiana* by the Name of his Daughter, and *Meletius* his Son in Law; *Baronius* is careful to put us in mind, that neither was ſhe indeed his true Daughter, nor he his Son in Law, foraſmuch as he himſelf profeſſeth, that he retained his Virginity inviolable. But ſhe, together with *Eugenia* and *Nonna*, were the Daughters of *Gorgonia* his Siſter, Married to *Vitalianus*, to whom ſhe bare alſo Two Sons *Peter* and *Phocas*. *Alypiana* was Married to *Nicobulus* an eminent Perſon, and was the Mother of *Nicobulus* the Younger, of whom *Gregory* alſo maketh mention. But although *Nazianzen* being a Biſhop, had no Children, yet his Father had, who was a Biſhop too, and begot them in Wedlock after he was initiated in the Holy Orders, which we are content, ſeeing he himſelf hath no mind to it, to obſerve for the Cardinal. Amongſt his Works which paſs under the Name of *Nazianzen*, the Tragedy doth not at all ſavour of his Style, nor obſerves the ſtrict Rule of *Iambicks*, according to his Cuſtom, imitating rather *Euripides* as our *Fulke* hath obſerved.

Aug. Confeſſ. Poſſid. in vita.

Lib. 1.

Gregory Nazianzen dies.

Græcus codex vatican. apud Bar. ad A. D. 389.

41. About

Several Edicts of *Theodoſius*.

41. About this preſent time, *Theodoſius* the Emperour gave out a Reſcript againſt the *Manichees*, aſwell inhabiting in the City as other places, Commanding that " Every where they ſhould be expelled. Another Edict he publiſhed at *Rome* " againſt Enchanters. Another at *Milan*, Forbidding execution of Malefactours " in *Lent*, wherein abſolution of Souls (as he Phraſeth it) is expected: And " at the ſame place by another Reſcript in the month of *November* he Prohi- " bits the Aſſemblies of all Heretical Clerks. But as the Emperour took care for the checking of thoſe new roots of bitterneſs, which elſe would have ſprouted more, and endangered the true and genuine Corn, ſo this year he laboured as much for the eradication of the old ſtock of Paganiſm, which notwithſtanding all the Blows it had received, yet ever and anon ſeemed again to take freſh Root and bloſſome: *Symmachus* the famous Senatour and Oratour having clawed him by a Panegyrick, as he had formerly flattered the Tyrant *Maximus*, thought he had brought him by his pleaſing Language into ſo good an humour, that he dared to requeſt of him, that the Altar of *Victory* formerly in the Senate Houſe might be reſtored. Hereat he conceived ſuch Indignation againſt him, that he Baniſhed him his Preſence; and although afterward he was ſo far reconciled to him either through his Apology of the Mediation of a Novation Biſhop (as *Socrates* would have it) as both to paſs by the Offence, and the following year to honour him with the Title of Conſul, yet he proceeded more vigorouſly againſt that Superſtition, for which he had interceded. For it appears from *Prudentius* the Poet, that after his arrival at *Rome* he made it his chiefeſt care to purge that City from Paganiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, taking order with the Citizens, that Sacrifices and Heatheniſh Feſtivities ſhould be aboliſhed, and the Statues of Idols be broken in pieces, except ſuch as were moſt notable for the exquiſiteneſs of the Workmanſhip and fame of the Artificers.

C. Th. l. 18. *de hæret. l.* 11. *de Malef.* *C. Th. l.* 5. *de paſt. l.* 19. *de hæret.*

Who endeavours to ſuppreſs Paganiſm.

Socr. l. 5. *c.* 14. *Prudent. carm. adverſus Symmachum.*

42. Hence it came to paſs, to the great grief of the Pagans, that the Capitol was deprived of its Gods, the Neſts where they had harboured, being all rent, and broken. And if *Zozimus* ſays true, Avarice cloathed it ſelf with the appearance of Zeal; as it ever happens in Reformations: For *Stilico*, he tells us, took away the Plates of Gold from the Door of the Capitol, and his Wife *Serena*, depriving *Rhea* the Mother of the Gods, of thoſe Jewels which hung about her neck, apply'd them to her own private uſe and ornament. But had the Chriſtian zeal of *Theodoſius* ſtayed here, the Pagans had not ſorrowed to ſo high a degree. Still remained the Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, one of the greateſt Marks and Encouragements of their ſuperſtition yet ſtanding, famous throughout the whole World for the ſtateline ſs of its Structure, the Solemnity of its Worſhip, and the antiquity thereof; but this very Temple this ſame year, by command of the Emperour, was utterly deſtroyed. The Pagans of *Ægypt* (as we noted before) were of all others moſt tenacious of their Heatheniſh Rites, and comported themſelves leſs than any others to the practice and courſe of the preſent times, not forbearing to teſtifie their diſlike by extravagant practices upon occaſion, as they did at this ſeaſon, raiſing great Stirs and Tumults againſt the Chriſtians their Neighbours, who had diſcovered and laid open the wickedneſs of ſome of their Gentile Myſteries. The deſtruction of the Temple had been predicted by *Beſſarion* an Abbat, as alſo by *Antoninus* an Ethnick Philoſopher or Magician, which foretelling of his did very much incourage and confirm the Pagans, and open their Mouths in pleading for their Gods, though otherwiſe the loſs they had ſuſtained by the deſtruction of their Temple, had ſhut them with Shame and Conſternation. This gave occaſion to St. *Auguſtine* to write a Book concerning the Divination of Spirits, as he himſelf teſtifieth at the beginning of that Work.

Lib. 5.

Demoliſhing the Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*.

Ruffin. Marcellinus.

Eunapius in vita Ædeſii.

Which very much inrages the Pagans.

43. What indignation was conceived by the Pagans, for the ruine of this famous Temple, appears from *Eunapius Sardianus* the Compiler of the Lives of Philoſophers, a Man extremely addicted to Heatheniſh Superſtitions and Magical Arts, and who lived at this time whereof we write. He rails exceedingly againſt *Theophilus*, whom he calls a Piacular Man, and the reſt that were employed in that work deriding them for making War againſt the Stones, Statues, with other Materials, and twitting them for their Avarice, Sacrilege and Impiety, in ſpoiling the place of its rich Ornaments and Treaſure. But he hath no patience when he comes to relate how into theſe ſacred places, as he calls them, were Chriſtian Monks introduced, men in appearance (ſaith he) but living as filthily as Swine. He adds, that they did publickly commit infinite and un-

ſpeakable Villanies, yet was it held a piece of Piety in them to Conculcate and defile the eſteem and reverence of the Holy place; for at that time (ſo he goes on) every one that wore Black, and ſhamed not to appear publickly in bad Cloathes, obtained a certain Tyrannical kind of Authority, into ſuch an opinion of Vertue was that ſort of men advanced, of whom alſo is ſpoken in the Commentaries of Univerſal Hiſtory. They placed Monks (ſo he proceeds in his Ethnick fury) at *Canobus*, that for Gods who are ſeen no otherwiſe than by the mind, they might give divine Honours to Slaves and Flagitious perſons, for they ſhewed for Gods the ſeaſoned and ſalted Heads of ſuch, as for the multitude of Villanies, had by the Judges been put to death, to thoſe they bowed the Knee, thoſe they received into the number of Gods appearing all ragged and naſty at their Sepulchres: Amongſt theſe ſome were Martyrs, others Deacons, and were accounted Meſſengers and Arbitratours of Prayers and Petitions with the Gods, whereas they were perfidious Slaves, ignominiouſly ſubjected to Stripes, and bearing Scars in their Bodies, the Marks and Tokens of their Wickedneſs and Villanies. Yet ſuch Gods doth the Earth bring forth. Thus the Impious Wretch out of his blaſphemous mouth belcheth Lies and Slanders againſt the glorious Martyrs; a very fit Authour for the Cardinal Annaliſt to uſe in behalf of his Catholick Religion and Worſhip of Relicks, againſt the Hereticks of this Age (us poor *Proteſtants*) if all be conſidered: Juſt ſuch another as *Apion* or *Tacitus*, or ſome ſuch lying and railing *Rabſhekah*, in the Jewiſh Matters.

44. But *Ruffinus* hath deſcribed, together with this moſt Magnificent Temple, theſe moſt Flagitious Myſteries wont to be celebrated with thoſe privy Frauds therein uſed to deceive the People. *Socrates* writes, how *Theophilus* the Biſhop of *Alexandria* being authorized by the Emperour to deſtroy theſe Cages of unclean Beaſts, ſhewed forth to the open face of the World the vain and ridiculous Practices uſed both in the Temple of *Serapis* and others, cauſing ſuch things among them as reſembled the Yards of men to be carried through the *Forum*, to their utter Shame and Ignominy. That the Pagans inhabiting *Alexandria*, and above the reſt ſuch as profeſſed Philoſophy, ſeeing how things went, could no longer contain themſelves, but added new and far more grievous Offences to their former Acts, both Tragical and exceeding in Cruelty. They all jointly ſet upon the Chriſtians, who ſtanding upon their defence, a great Fray enſued, wherein died a far greater number of the Faithfull, than of the Pagans, who now in their cold bloud conſidering what they had done, and apprehending the Emperour's ſore diſpleaſure, ran away and hid themſelves in ſeveral lurking places, of which number were *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, both Grammarians, of whom *Socrates* ſaith, he was Scholar in his younger years.

L.2.c.22,&c.

L.5. c.16,17.

Cauſing them to fall upon the Chriſtians; of whom a great number are ſlain.

45. But the Fray being over, the Governour of *Alexandria* and the General of the Army came to aſſiſt *Theophilus* in the overthrow of the Temples, which now went down apace, the Idols of the Gods being turned into Kettles and other neceſſary Veſſels, for the Emperour commanded they ſhould be ſold for the benefit of the Poor. Yet did *Theophilus* order that ſome one Idol ſhould be reſerved and ſet up in ſome publick place of the City, therewith to diſgrace the Ethnick Religion in after-time. *Socrates* aſſures us, that to his knowledge *Ammonius* the Grammarian was much troubled thereat; ſaying, that the Pagan Religion thereby was ſubjected to much Infamy and Reproach. This was the greateſt blow that the publick profeſſion of Paganiſm had received, this place of *Alexandria* being, as it were, the Fountain of that Worſhip and Superſtition, which being deſtroyed and removed out of the way, the other Houſes, which were but as Chapels in compariſon of this Temple, were more eaſily demoliſhed. But the Gentiles acted with deſpair and rage, aſſembled all men for defence of their Gods, and killed many Chriſtians, amongſt whom was *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, by whoſe care the famed Temple of *Jupiter* in that City was demoliſhed. *Sulpicius Severus* tells us alſo of ſeveral Temples razed by procurement of St. *Martin* in *Gall*, ſo that the Weſtern Biſhops were not behind their Brethren in contributing their utmoſt diligence for eradicating of this Superſtition which held them yet ſtill ſeveral years e'er it could univerſally be accompliſhed, ſo difficult a matter it was to enter into the ſtrong Man's Houſe to bind him and ſpoil his Goods.

Sozom.l.7 c.15.

Amongſt whom was *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Apamea* in *Syria*.

46. About

46. About this time it ſeemed good unto the Church, (ſo *Socrates* expreſſeth himſelf) to take away the Office of ſuch Prieſts, as were appointed throughout every Church, to receive Penitents after Confeſſion, unto the Company of the Faithfull; and that for this occaſion. Since the time that the *Novatians* ſeparated themſelves, and refuſed to communicate with ſuch as fell in the Perſecution under *Decius*, the Biſhops added to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, that in every Church a Prieſt ſhould be appointed, for the re-admiſſion of Penitents, to the end that ſuch as had fallen after Baptiſm ſhould in his hearing confeſs their Sin and Infirmity; which Canon is as yet in force among other Sects, onely the true Chriſtians imbracing the Faith of *one Subſtance*, together with the *Novatians* have Baniſhed this Penitential Function. Neither did the *Novatians* at the beginning allow of this addition; but the Biſhops now governing the Churches, although they retained this Cuſtome of a long time, yet removed it out of the Church in the time of *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, by reaſon of an heinous offence committed in the Church, in ſuch ſort as followeth. A certain Noblewoman came to ſuch a Prieſt and confeſſed orderly the Sins ſhe had committed after Baptiſm, at length accuſed her ſelf of another Crime, declaring that a Deacon of that Church had abuſed her Body. For this Offence, by this means brought to light, the Deacon was Baniſhed the Church, and the People was much moved, aſwell in regard of the heinous offence committed, as that the Church was thereby much loaded with Reproach and Infamy. But the Prieſts being ſharply rebuked, and the aforeſaid Crime objected to them, *Eudæmon* Miniſter of that Church adviſed *Nectarius* the Biſhop to take away the Function of the *Shriving Prieſt*, and grant free liberty to every one as his Conſcience ſerved him, to partake of the Holy Myſteries, to prevent the like Scandal for the time to come. So much did *Socrates* hear of this matter from *Eudæmon*'s own Mouth.

L. 5. c. 19.

The Function of the Shriving Prieſt laid down upon what account.

47. About the ſame time *Theodoſius* the Emperour committed ſuch a piece of Severity as gave occaſion to ſuch an act of Church Diſcipline, which as for the Dignity of the Subject hath been remarkable to all Poſterity. The thing was this. The Inhabitants of *Theſſalonica* quarrelling with *Botheritus*, the *Præfectus Militum* in *Illyricum*, about their Waggon-driver, whom being impriſoned, he refuſed to releaſe at their deſire for the running of a Solemn Race, roſe againſt him and ſlew him, which thing brought to the Ears of the Emperour did much inceniſe him, yet at the interceſſion of *Ambroſe* and other Biſhops attending him at *Milan*, his Choler ſeemed to be allayed, and he promiſed to paſs by and forgive the Fact. But the Courtiers coming to talk with him perſwaded him not to let goe unpuniſhed a Matter of ſo bad Example, and thereupon the People being invited to the Circenſian Games, were compaſſed about with Souldiers, who without any difference of Age or Sex, Guilty or Innocent, fell upon them, and running through the Streets killed all, aſwell Strangers as Citizens, whom they met; ſo that about 7000 Perſons were thus ſlaughtered in a matter of three Hours ſpace. The News coming to *Milan*, where the Biſhops were aſſembled in a Synod, *Ambroſe* in the Name of all, firſt by Letters ſignified to the Emperour, how horrid a Fact he had committed, and that thereby he had rendered himſelf unworthy of Chriſtian Communion, and when *Theodoſius* came to give ſatisfaction, and remove the Scandal, he publickly and ſtoutly refuſed him entrance into the Church for eight Months, till his Penitence might fully appear, enjoyning him withall to make an Edict, whereby Sentence of Death and Confiſcation of Goods ſhould be ſtopped from Execution for thirty days, that the Merit of the Cauſe might in ſuch a ſpace of time be throughly weighed and examined.

Theodor. l. 5. c. 17. Soxim. l. 7 c. 24 Niceph. l. 12. c. 40, &c. Ambr. Ep. 28. & in fun. Theod. Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 5. c. 26. alii.

Theodoſius commits an act of Cruelty for which he undergoes Eccleſiaſtical cenſure.

48. The Emperour received this Chaſtiſement with wonderfull Humility, Patience and Moderation, ſetting thereby ſuch a Copy and Pattern of ſubmiſſion to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, as St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auguſtine*, with the reſt of the Churchmen and Writers of that Age, and all ever ſince have both applauded and admired. But *Eraſtus* an eminent *German* Phyſician, ſo learned in his Art that *Riolan* eſteems him the greateſt man that hath lived ſince *Fernelius*, whatever his ſucceſs was in Theology, wherein he travelled much alſo, hath paſſed a ſharp Cenſure upon this Diſcipline ſo ſeverely preſſed upon the Imperial Majeſty of *Theodoſius*, terming it an unjuſt Act, and affirming, that it can never be maintained by any true and ſolid Reaſons. However the Humility of *Theodoſius* aſwell herein was eminent as in another point, wherein St. *Ambroſe* alſo largely ſhewed his Eccleſiaſtical Authority. It was the Cuſtome at *Conſtantinople* for the Emperours

In Anthropog.

Vide Hoſpinranum de origine, &c. templorum. l. 2. c. 1.

And is removed from ſitting in the Chancel by St. *Ambroſe* of *Milan*.

perours to ſit within the Chancel amongſt the Clergy, at celebration of Divine Service, which *Theodoſius* thinking with as little difficulty to doe at *Milan*, the Biſhop would not ſuffer him to enjoy that privilege and convenience in his Church, but bade him go out and ſit with the reſt of the Laicks in the body of the Church, to which order he not onely ſubmitted whilſt he there reſided, but at his return to *Conſtantinople* is ſaid there alſo to have obſerved it, though invited by the Biſhops to reaſſume his former Seat: and *Sozomen* tells us, that his Succeſſours herein followed his example, of which this Hiſtorian himſelf was an Eye-witneſs. But here for the underſtanding this and other paſſages more fully, we ſhall ſpeak ſomething concerning the form and faſhion of their Churches in thoſe Primitive times, with the order of their ſitting, and how each Perſon was placed according to his calling and function, being much aſſiſted in the diſquiſition of this matter from what our moſt Learned *Mountague* hath written of this Subject.

The firſt places dedicated to Divine Service.

49. The firſt place we meet with wherein Chriſtians made their Aſſemblies was that Ὑπερῶον, or upper Room, mentioned in Scripture, where the Diſciples aſſembled preſently after our Lord's Paſſion. Yet according to convenience, and as they might doe it with ſafety they met ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another. In proceſs of time, divers devout Chriſtians gave their own Manſion Houſes to be Meeting places for their *Synaxes* or Holy Aſſemblies, which *Theophilus* (he to whom St. *Luke* Dedicateth his Book) is ſaid to have done at *Antioch*, being if not the very firſt, yet one of the firſt of thoſe Benefactours, which example was followed by *Claudius Pudens* a Senatour at *Rome*, who conſecrated his Houſe to Divine Service, with the Title (as they called it) of *Eccleſia Paſtoris*, or the *Shepherd's Church*. By little and little in ſucceeding Ages Houſes were built for this very purpoſe, eſpecially in peaceable times, as under *Titus*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Commodus* and others. Theſe they called *Ædes Sacræ*, *Oratoria*, Εὐχτήρια, *Martyria*, Κοιμητήρια, *Domus Orationis*, *Eccleſiæ* and by ſome other Names, never in thoſe ancient times *Templa* or Ναὸι, *Templum* and *Eccleſiæ* ſtanding ἐκ διαμέτρου, in oppoſition, before the time of *Conſtantine*: yet even in theſe times were ſome called Κυριακὰι, built and adorned more than ordinary, all which were demoliſhed by Edicts of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinus*. After the converſion of *Conſtantine* they began to be built ſumptuouſly, and to be called *Templa*, but not *Monaſteria*, *Semnæa*, *Synagogæ*, or the like. Yet in *Ignatius* his Epiſtle to the *Trallians*, the Chriſtian Aſſembly is termed *Synagoga*, contrary to what is affirmed by *Gregory Martin* a certain Literator, who brauls againſt us for ſometime uſing the word Congregation for the Church (which we did in that notable Collect before the late Reviſing of the Liturgy) as if they two were incompoſſible.

Their appellations.

The order and method of ſeating the Congregation.

50. The moſt ancient Chriſtian Churches were of an Oval Figure, or Ἐπιμήκει, like ſome ſort of Ships (upon which account the Body of the Church by Caniſts is ſtill called *Navis*) long, narrow before and behind, bulked out on both ſides in the middle. In the midſt was the Biſhop's Seat, ſtyled Βῆμα for the Aſcent to it, and Θρόνος for its eminency. At the Eaſt was placed the Altar, though at *Antioch* ſometime in the Weſt. In the middle was alſo the *Ambo* or Desk where the Old and New Teſtament was Read to the People by the *Anagnoſtes* or Reader. Round about the Biſhop's Seat ſate the Presbyters, and behind them ſtood the Deacons, except the *Primicerius Diaconorum*, or the Archdeacon, who conſtantly attending the Biſhop ſtood cloſe by him, being ever the Eldeſt in time, and not preferred out of affection; excepting alſo thoſe Deacons who by courſe attended at the Women's Seats to ſee all things decent and in good order. On one ſide ſate the Lay-men, and on the other the Women, ſeparated from the Seats of the Biſhops and Prieſts by *Cancelli* or Rails, as alſo from each other. At the Mens Seats attended the *Oſtiarii*, as the Deacons at thoſe of the Women. Young Men, if there was room ſate, if not, ſtood; Boys were with their Fathers, Girls with their Mothers. Widows and Elder Women ſate foremoſt, Married Wives and Mothers by themſelves. The Younger ſort of Women, if there was room, ſtood among the Grave Matrons; if not, behind them. The Deacons took care that none talked, whiſpered, laughed, coughed or ſneezed aloud, ſlept or otherwiſe miſdemeaned themſelves in the time of Divine Service, every one being to demean himſelf with diſcretion, as underſtanding the buſineſs in Hand, with ſobriety, watchfulneſs and attention to what was done or ſaid. As for private Oratories or Chapels they had none, for private Houſes or ſeveral Families, which uſe when afterward it crept into the Church, being-

Ἐπισημότως, νηφαλέως, ἐγρηγορότως, ἐντεταμένας τὰς ἀκοάς.

Private Chapels forbidden.

ing forbidden, and the Uſer cenſured by a Council in the *Greek* Church, we find prohibited alſo in *Gratian*'s Decree, by the thirty firſt Canon of the ſame Council in *Trullo*. Such Clergymen were declared Excommunicate, that adminiſtred Baptiſm, or uſed Prayers in Oratories or private Houſes, which in opinion of the *Greek* Canoniſts is forbidden in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, and the Thirty firſt Canon Apoſtolical (as they are called) and held no better than a Schiſmatical Conventicle, erecting Altar againſt Altar. However we ſee both by the *Roman* Canon Law, and our own Provincial Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms, that Liberty was afterward indulged of having private Oratories or Chapels to Noble Men and others, a thing perhaps of leſſer inconvenience than another practice crept very lately into our Churches, both contrary to Primitive Patterns and the practice of all Churches, aſwell Reformed as others. Every Man muſt now (as if like Horſes, each Chriſtian would kick another) have his own Stall ſo elevated, that he can ſcarcely look over it, as fit onely for lolling and ſleeping, ſo that if all kneeled when they Pray to their Maker (which certainly is the humbleſt poſture) a Stranger coming in ſhould not ſee one Man in the Church beſides the Miniſter. A Cuſtome which is both the effect and the cauſe of pride, ſloth, irreverence and contempt of all good order. But enough to our purpoſe.

De Conſec. D. 1. c. clericos qui miniſtrant vel baptizant in Oratoriis quæ intra domos ſunt, cum conſenſu Epiſcopi loci hoc facere præcipimus. Si quis vero hoc non obſervaverit deponatur.

51. The Law made by *Theodoſius* for deferring execution Thirty Days, is yet extant both in the Code of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*, directed to *Flavianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum* and *Italy*, in the Name of *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius* from *Verona*, in the Conſulſhip of *Antonius* and *Syagrius*, which is eight years before the true date thereof, for elſe *Theodoſius* muſt have come into *Italy* before the Expedition of *Maximus*, which is againſt the teſtimony of all Antiquity, or the Law muſt have been made by ſome other than him, which at length was abrogated by *Nicephorus Botoniates*. But to paſs to other matters.

C. Juſt. lib. 9. Tit. 47. c. 20.

Stirs about *Jovinian*.

At this time great ſtir was made by *Jovinian* a Monk of *Milan*, who holding Wedlock equal in Honour with Virginity, was oppoſed and condemned as a great Heretick by *Siricius* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Ambroſe* of *Milan*, and *Hierome*, the later of whom in writing againſt him ſeemed ſo to extoll Virginity, as with the *Manichees* to deſpiſe and caſt duſt upon Marriage, which being very ill reſented by many good Men, he was forced to write an Apology and explain himſelf.

Siric. Ep. 1. Am. Ep. 80, &c. Hier. adverſus Jovin. & Ep. 51, 52.

And *Origen*.

Theſe ſtirs were followed or accompanied by others about the writings of *Origen*, of which *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was the great Defender. To him firſt wrote *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Salamina* the chief City of *Cyprus*, againſt whom he had conceived great Indignation, both for ordaining *Paulinianus* the Brother of *Hierome* in *Paleſtine* out of his own Dioceſe, and eſpecially when he prayed for uſing this expreſſion, *Lord grant to* John *that he may Believe aright*. *Epiphanius* in his Letter ſo excuſeth himſelf, that he alſo reckons up many errours of *Origen* maintained by him; and ſignifieth, that the true offence he had given him was, his reprehending him for ſo doing.

Op. Hieron. tom. 3. Ep. 16. & 64.

52. This Letter paſſing from one to another, *Euſebius* of *Cremona* deſired *Hierome* to Tranſlate it into *Latin*, and keep it private, which he did about eighteen months. But then *John* made means to get it into his Hands, and accuſed *Hierome* both as an unfaithfull Tranſlatour, and a turbulent Perſon, who ſought to encreaſe differences in the Church, by adding Oil to the Flame of that Controverſie, which might elſe have been extinguiſhed. *Hierome* herewith netled, writes againſt him two Letters to *Pammachius* his great Friend, a Man of Noble extract, as deſcended from the ancient Family of the *Camilli*, wherein he vindicates himſelf as to the Tranſlation, having uſed no greater liberty than a faithfull and Learned Man juſtly might. And then he accuſeth *John* as addicted to the Errours of *Origen*, which he ſheweth to have been many, and more bitterly inveigheth againſt them than *Epiphanius* had done two years before, though he himſelf had tranſlated many of *Origen*'s Books, on which he had not been wanting to beſtow very large Encomiums. But upon this account he alſo began to ſpeak and write very ill of *Raſinus* and others whom formerly he had extolled to the Skies. Toward the latter end of one of his Epiſtles he makes mention of a Solar Eclipſe, which had happened a few months before, to the great conſternation of thouſands of people, about *Whitſontide*. This fell out on the ſixth of *June* one and twenty days after *Whitſontide*. And in the ſame year the Sun was again obſcured on the ſecond of *December*, which *Cabricius* erroneouſly, if *Capellus* be Judge, caſteth back to the twentieth of *November*; and becauſe this Eclipſe preceded the Coronation of *Honorius* forty days, *Proſper* and *Marcellinus* write as if it had faln out the very day of that Solemnity.

Eod. tom. Ep. 17. & 64. & Tom. 1. Ep. 5. & 25.

Ep. 17.

53. A-

Valentinian the ſecond murthered by *Arbogaſtes* a *Frank.*

53. About this time in the ſeventeenth year of his Reign was *Valentinian* the ſecond murthered by procurement of *Arbogaſtes*, the *Frank*. *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* made his Funeral Oration, wherein he hath this expreſſion, *He died without Baptiſm, and yet enjoyeth Eternal Life*, for he was but a *Catechumenus* though ſo long a Chriſtian, and born of Chriſtian Parents, ſo prevalent was as yet that bad cuſtome of deferring Baptiſm. *Theodoſius* was now got back to *Conſtantinople*, where having Built a Church in Honour of St. *John Baptiſt*, *Baronius* tells us, that the year preceding the Birth of *Valentinian*, he cauſed the Head of that Saint which had been found in the time of *Valens* to be therein depoſited. Concerning this Ceremony, ſuch Writers as mention it agree not amongſt themſelves neither as to the time nor manner. Other Tranſlations alſo of this Head are ſaid to have been made into *Alexandria* and *Gall* by other Perſons. The *Rhemiſts* tell us in their Teſtament, that St. *John Baptiſt*'s Head is at *Amiens* in *France*: others ſay his Head is in St. *Silveſter*'s Abbey in *Rome*, beſides the ſcattered pieces of it in other places. There were alſo kept two Anniverſaries for two ſeveral Findings of his Head, whereof one was in the Ruines, you muſt know, of *Herod*'s old Palace, and another in the Field of *Emeſa*. It's more worth the while to take notice that this year *Auguſtine* was ordained Prieſt by *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippo*, to the great content and ſatisfaction of the People, though to his own regret and trouble. Being now Prieſt, the Biſhop cauſed him to Preach in his preſence quite contrary to the Cuſtome of *Africk*, which permitted not Presbyters to Speak in the Church when the Biſhops were there; but after this example given, it began to be broken and antiquated in other places.

Obiit ſine baptiſmo & tamen vita fruitur æterna.

Auguſtine ordained Prieſt.

Poſſid. in vita c. 5.

54. *Eugenius* whom the Murtherers of *Valentinian* had put in his Place, being cheated by the Promiſes of the Pagan Prophets, who made him confident of his ſucceſs, gave them ſome liberty and encouragement in their Superſtition, which cauſed *Ambroſe* to write to him, and blame him for ſo doing; as alſo *Theodoſius* to make a new Edict for obviating the progreſs of their Religion, forbidding them abſolutely in any place to Sacrifice. He made alſo ſeveral Laws againſt Hereticks, and ordained that ſuch Debtours as fled to Churches ſhould either preſently be taken thence, or that ſuch Biſhops as protected them ſhould pay their Money, which once fell to the ſhare of St. *Auguſtine* when Biſhop. He being but Prieſt as yet, had a great and publick Diſpute at *Hippo* with *Fortunatus* a *Manichee*, concerning the Original of Evil, wherein he gave him ſo eminent a foil, that he durſt not any more appear in that City. At this time *Parmenianus* the Biſhop of the *Donatiſts* dying at *Carthage*, *Primianus* was firſt choſen in his room, and then afterward *Maximianus* by others, whereupon aroſe a great Schiſm amongſt the *Donatiſts* themſelves, of which *Auguſtine* often taketh notice. The matter being brought before three Councils, *Maximianus* in them all had the better of his Adverſary, but in a Fourth conſiſting of three hundred and ten Biſhops, held on the Eighth before the Calends of *May*, two years after the beginning of the Diſpute, *Primianus* had the upper Hand, which great variety of paſſions and inclinations very much confounded the *Donatiſts*. The year after theſe things happened the Death of *Theodoſius*, to the great detriment of Chriſtian Religion, had not his Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius* at their firſt entry by ſeveral new Edicts eſtabliſhed and ſecured the Profeſſion thereof, receiving as a reward of their Zeal protection from the treacherous attempts of *Ruffinus* and his Companions.

A new Edict againſt the *Pagans.*

C. Th. de Pag. l. 12.

C. Th. de his qui confug. ad Eccleſ. l. 1.

Theodoſius the Emperour dies.

C. Th. paſſim.

55. The ſame year that *Theodoſius* died, was *Auguſtine* in the forty firſt year of his age made Biſhop of *Hippo*, though *Valerius* the Incumbent was yet living. He was for his Piety and Abilities grown by this time into ſo great eſteem, and ſo much taken notice of in all Countries, that *Valerius* fearing he might be called to ſome other place, and the Chruch deprived of ſo good a Paſtour, dealt with the Primate of *Africk* that he might be Conſecrated in his life-time, it being a thing highly convenient, and not altogether without precedent. When he had prepared the matter thus, and made the deſign known to the People, they received it with great applauſe, and in a manner conſtrained *Auguſtine* to accept thereof, though it was flatly againſt the Canons of the *Nicene* Council for a ſecond Biſhop to be ordained to a Church of which he confeſſeth that both he himſelf and *Valerius* was at that time ignorant. About this time *Fritigildis* a Queen of the *Maxomanns* hearing of the fame of *Ambroſe*, imbraced (as *Paulinus* writes in his Life) the Chriſtian Faith, and procured from him a certain Catechetical Treatiſe for her fuller information therein. At the requeſt of the Biſhop, ſhe perſwaded her Husband to ſubmit to the *Romans*, and came to

Poſſid. in vita. Proſper. in Chron. Aug. Ep. 33. 110.

Auguſtine made Biſhop of *Hippo.*

Milan

Milan to ſee that good Prelate, but he had left this life e'er her arrival there, dying not full three years after the departure of *Theodoſius*, the day preceding the Nones of *April* and *Eaſter*-day, after he had ſitten in the See of *Milan* 23 years and about 4 months, and ſcarcely completed his grand Climacterical. As St. *Ambroſe* wrote ſome Books which are not extant, ſo many now extant under his name he never wrote as is confeſſed on all ſides. Amongſt the ſpurious things aſcribed to him it's obſervable that the *Miſſale* going under his name makes mention of the Feaſt of the Aſſumption which was not received till After-ages. Nevertheleſs his ſervice Book or *Officium Ambroſianum* ſuppoſed made by him was long in reſpect and uſe, till *Pope Hadrian* calling a Council with Aſſiſtence of *Charles* the Emperour aboliſhed and burnt it commanding that of *Gregory* univerſally to be uſed. But not long continued this in ſuch eſteem but that the *Roman* Service came to be of two faſhions, the new and old, as may be ſeen in *Pamelius* his Preface before *Micrologus*, who reporteth alſo out of *Radulphus de Rivo* that about the year 1277 Pope *Nicholas the third* removed out of the Churches of *Rome* the more Ancient Service Books and brought into uſe the *Miſſals* of the Friars *Minorites*, inſomuch that about 100 years after the ſaid *Radulphus* happening to be at *Rome* found all the Books to be of the new ſtamp. But of later chopping and changing hereafter.

Durand. l. 5. c. 2.

Nectarius of *Conſtantinople* dies.

56. St. *Ambroſe* was followed into a better World by *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who died on the 27 of *September* of the ſame year, and *Martin* of *Tours* who departed this Life the night intervening betwixt th 10*th.* and the 11*th.* of *November*. To St. *Ambroſe* ſucceeded *Simplicianus* and in the Room of *Nectarius* was conſecrated, *Feb.* 26. *John* a Prieſt of *Antioch*, for his Eloquence ſirnamed *Chryſoſtome* notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* who pretending a right in the Election of Biſhops to that See endeavoured to bring in *Iſidore* a Presbyter of his own Church. To St. *Martin* that wonderfull Biſhop of *Tours* (whoſe miraculous Life is Written by *Sulpicius Severus* a *Roman* Citizen, a Man Noble, as *Gennadius* calls him, both in Birth and Learning) ſucceeded *Briccius* on the 29*th.* of *November*, though *Baronius* contendeth that this happened not till the fifth year after, rejecting the Teſtimony of *Gregory* one of *Martin*'s Succeſſours and alledging that of *Severus*. And all theſe were followed to another Life by *Siricius* the *Roman* Biſhop who died *February* 21. of the following year having ſate in that See 13 years and about two months. He firſt received Monks into the Clergy whereas formerly they were reckoned but amongſt the Laicks. In the Weſt alſo as ſome obſerve he diſallowed the Marriage of Prieſts, admitting ſuch to Orders as were Married, but forbidding after Orders received the uſe of Wedlock. The See was void 20 days and then was Elected *Anaſtaſius* and conſecrated on the 14 of *March* the firſt *Feria*, being by Birth a *Roman* and however his Predeceſſour had inveighed againſt Marriage of Eccleſiaſticks, a Prieſt's Son, as *Baronius* himſelf gathereth from his Epitaph.

Sozom. l. 8. c. 2.

Martin of *Tours* departed this Life.

To *Ambroſe* ſucceeded *Simplicianus*.

To *Nectarius* *John*.

To *Martin* *Briccius*.

Siricius Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Hoſpinian. lib. 3. de orig. Monach. c. 12.

Anaſtaſius ſucceeds.

57. The year wherein St. *Ambroſe* died was the third Synod of *Carthage* held counting from the time of *Conſtantine* as the Compiler did who yet ought rather to have called this the ſecond, and that which he calls the ſecond he ought to have reckoned for the ſixth, as *Baronius* gathereth from certain circumſtances. In this Synod are ſaid to have been enacted 50 Canons, amongſt which none is more remarkable than the 26 which ordains that the Biſhop of the firſt See be not called *Princeps Sacerdotum* Prince of Prieſts, or *Summus Sacerdos* the Chief Prieſt, or any ſuch thing, but onely *Biſhop of the firſt See*. This Canon *Gratian* hath put into his Decree *a* to which is added *b* neither may the *Roman* Biſhop be called *Univerſal*, for Confirmation of which he brings in firſt *c Pelagius the ſecond* prohibiting any Patriarch to be called Univerſal, and then part of an *d* Epiſtle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, wherein he expoſtulates with him for giving him the Title of *Univerſal*, deſiring him that he would doe ſo no more for this reaſon, *Quia vobis ſubtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur, Becauſe ſo much was taken from him as without cauſe was given to another*; and then having told him that he deſired rather to be eminent in goodneſs than glorious Titles, he backs or rather illuſtrates his former reaſon by a ſecond, adding, *Si enim univerſalem me papam veſtra ſanctitas dicit, negat ſe hoc eſſe, quod me fatetur univerſum; ſed abſit hoc, recedant verba quæ vanitatem inflant & charitatem vulnerant. For if your holineſs call me Univerſal Pope, you deny your ſelf to be that which you confeſs me to be, Univerſal, which God forbid. Forbear thoſe ſpeeches which puff up vanity and Wound Charity.* No more of the Epiſtle hath *Gratian* tranſcribed, this making ſufficiently for his purpoſe, but the Gloſſars think themſelves concerned to tell you

A Synod held at *Carthage*.

One of whoſe Canons prohibits any Biſhop of the firſt See to receive the Title of Univerſal.

a Diſt. 99. c. 3.

b Univerſalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur.

c Can. 4. Nullus Patriarch.

d Can. 5. Ecce in præfatione. lib. 7. Ep. 30 Indict. 1. 5.

you farther that *Gregory* in that part which follows lets him know that this Title had been offered to his Predeceſſours in the Council of *Chalcedon* and from other Fathers, but they refuſed it; and they inſtance in ſeveral Popes, who have had glorious Titles given them by other Biſhops. *Baronius* is fearfull you ſhould think thoſe words *Neither may the* Roman *Biſhop be called Univerſal* ſhould be part of the Canon, aſſuring you they are *Gratian*'s own, neither appoſite for explication of this Canon but onely as a hint or contents of what follows. He diſclaims any right the *African* Church had to give Laws to that of *Rome* Superiour to it; tells you the Biſhops of *Rome* might have ſome reaſon to refuſe the Title of *Univerſal*, which yet was their due, and concludes it was out of modeſty that even the *African* Fathers refuſed thoſe Titles which both as *Metropolitans* and Biſhops belonged to them.

58. But, what if this Title had been given to ſeveral of *Gregory* his Predeceſſours, ſo was it to others alſo as we have * formerly ſhewed eſpecially to the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*. Neither is it material whether the words formerly mentioned were part of the Canon or *Gratian*'s own words, for if they were his, and contents of what follows, yet being true contents and being ſufficiently made out by what *Pelagius* and *Gregory* ſay in the following Canons, we hope the Cardinal will allow the effect and purport of them to be Authentical, though theſe words be not, the Authour of which they will commend and diſpraiſe, allow and reject at their pleaſure, as he ſpeaks for or againſt them. To let paſs what the Cardinal takes for granted, and which we ſhall never yield, that the *African* Church was ſubject to the *Roman*; though the *African* Fathers had nothing to doe to give Laws to that of *Rome*, yet they might doe it (perhaps) to their own People, for the Canon is not againſt ſuch as ſhould take, but rather thoſe that ſhould give this Title which thoſe of *Africk* might doe to him as well as others. Whatever reaſons *Baronius* alledgeth for the *Roman* Biſhops their refuſal of this Title is not very material, ſeeing both *Pelagius* and *Gregory* aſſign a true and urgent cauſe, *viz.* the wrong and prejudice that ſhould thereby be done to other Biſhops, which, however out of complement and aſſentation ſuch Titles may have been given both to him of *Rome* and others, yet is a ſufficient Bar to all ſuch real and ſerious pretenſions. And if the deſign of the Canon was to remove or to prevent arrogance in Biſhops, it cannot well be imagined againſt whom this Engine ſhould be levelled, whoſe Pride it ſhould be deſigned to batter ſooner than that of *Rome*, the eminency of which City together with other conſiderable accidents Elevated the Biſhop's Reputation, and drawing the Eyes as well of the *Africans* as others upon him, drew out alſo expreſſions which *puffed up vanity* and *wounded charity* as *Gregory* expreſſeth it.

* *Suprà*, c. 8. *Paragr.* 24.

59. To ſpeak of one or two more of thoſe Canons which are moſt worthy of conſideration, the third ordains that Decrees of Councils be read to ſuch Biſhops and Clerks as are to be conſecrated for their better information how to demean themſelves, which as *Poſſidius* tells us in his Life St. *Auguſtine* procured out of a ſenſe that he himſelf and ignorantly at his conſecration offended againſt the *Nicene Council*. The 30 Canon which forbids feaſting in Churches ſeemeth alſo to have been made through his mediation, for being very ſenſible of the diſorders which were committed by occaſion of this junketing in memory of Martyrs, and at the Graves of deceaſed Perſons, he had formerly written to *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage* to put them down. But there's another Canon we muſt not paſs over with ſilence becauſe they of *Rome* make noiſe enough about it, and that is the 47 which reckoning up the Canonical Books of Scripture amongſt them count thoſe which we call Apocryphal. But that this Canon is ſuppoſititious, at leaſt Dubious, our Divines contend for theſe reaſons. Firſt becauſe it is commonly called the 47 of this third Council of *Carthage*, yet in ſome Books reckoned the 24*th*. of another Synod held under *Boniface*, as *Surius* Witneſſeth. Then in this Catalogue are received five Books of *Solomon*, which number doubtleſs is faulty. Again the Synod in *Trullo* approves both this Synod of *Carthage* and that of *Laodicea*, which it could not doe if this Council held for Canonical what the other judgeth no better than Apocryphal. And laſtly, this Synod could not juſtly receive any Books, as Canonical but as the Fathers had received before it, who rejected thoſe Books as it were eaſie to ſhew, particularly from * *Athanaſius*, † *Cyril*, || *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, * † *Gregory* || *Nazianzen*, *Hierome* and others. Farther we ought to take notice that Canonical amongſt the Fathers is ſometimes taken abſolutely and ſimply ſometimes more largely and generally, as it is oppoſed to profane and ſecular writings. In the firſt ſenſe the Holy Scriptures, as we count them, are Canonical onely,

Another ordains that decrees of Councils be read at Conſecration of Clerks and Biſhops.

Cap. 8.

Feaſting in Churches forbidden by another.

Eph. 46.

Another pretended one counting thoſe Books of Scripture Canonical which really are Apocryphal.

* *In Synopſ.*
† *Catechef.* 4.
|| *In expoſitione.*
* *Symbol. de menſur. & ponderibus*
† *In carm. de genuinis ſ. Scripturæ locis.*
‖ *Præf in. Eſdram & Nehe. Quæ non habentur apud Hebræos nec de 24 ſenibus ſunt, procul abjicienda.*

onely, in the ſecond not onely they but ſuch Books as were compoſed out of them. and contained Hiſtories relating to this Church and in this ſenſe the Canon might ſay we take all thoſe for Canonical which we have received from the Fathers to be read in the Church.

Two other Synods held at *Carthage.*

60. The year following on the twenty ſeventh of *May*, was another Synod of 73. Biſhops held at *Carthage*, in Books called the *Fifth*, but which ought rather to be counted the *Third*, wherein a Canon was enacted concerning baptizing of Infants, and a Petition ordered to be put up to the Emperours, for the rooting out of Idolatry. And this ſame year in the 8*th.* of *November*, was the Fourth *Carthaginian* Synod celebrated by 214 Biſhops, who enacted 104 Canons, amongſt which the 64 ordains, that he ſhould not be accounted a Catholick, that deſignedly faſteth on the Lord's Day, the 100 forbids Women to baptize, the 44 commands that Clerks neither wear long Hair, nor long Beards, and the 84 Orders the Biſhop do forbid none to come into the Church, and hear God's word, whether *Gentile*, *Heretick* or *Jew*, till the *Miſſa* of the *Catechumeni*, or that Service was finiſhed, whereat ſuch were ſuffered to be preſent. Thus did Chriſtian Religion not onely ſubſiſt, but thrive, and get ground, notwithſtanding all the Arts and Devices which *Pagans* could uſe. For this you muſt know, was the terrible year wherein the Ethnicks had foretold the Worſhip of *Chriſt*, ſhould receive its Period. Perceiving as St. *Auguſtine* tells us, that it was ſo far from being rooted out by perſecutions, that on the contrary it wonderfully increaſed, they deviſed certain *Greek* Verſes, as given in anſwer to ſome *Pagan*, who conſulted an Oracle. Theſe acquitted *Chriſt* of this Sacrilege (as they impiouſly ſtyled it) and laid all the blame upon St. *Peter*, who they foretold ſhould by the Name of Chriſt be worſhipped 365 years, and then the Religion ſhould ſpeedily and infallibly ceaſe. Theſe years added to the 33 years, Our Saviour is ſuppoſed to have lived upon Earth fix the end of this term, according to the vulgar Computation, in the 398 year of our Lord, the 6*th.* of *Honorius* the Emperour, of *Rome* the 1151, the 11 Indiction *Fl. Honorius Auguſtus* the fourth time, and *Fl. Eutychianus* being Conſuls.

De Civitate Dei, lib. 18. *cap. ult.* ---- *Chriſtum quidem ab hujus tanquam Sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem malefacia feciſſe ſubjungunt ut coleretur Chriſti nomine* 365. *Annos, deinde completo memorato numero Annorum ſine mora ſumeret finem.*

The *Pagan* Superſtition and Temples put down and demoliſhed, both in the Weſt and Eaſt.

61. How vain were the Hopes founded upon this lying Oracle appeared the following year, wherein Paganiſm it ſelf received another ſtroak, by putting down the obſcene and filthy ſhew of the *Mamma*, which having been formerly forbidden by an Edict, had been again reſtored three years agoe, but now either at the Interceſſion of *John Chryſoſtome* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who ceaſed not to declaim againſt theſe *Spectacula*, or it being found by experience, hard to ſeparate the Sport from its obſcenity which had been pretended, was now by another Edict quite aboliſhed. But this was but a Rite or Appendix of Pagan Superſtition, which now it ſelf this very year as St. *Auguſtine* obſerveth, went to wreck in all Places, the Temples of the Gentile Gods with their Idols, being every where demoliſhed, eſpecially in *Africk* by *Gaudentius* and *Jovius*, two Counts of *Honorius* the Emperour. Now as it ordinarily happeneth upon ſuch occaſions, the Multitude ſhewed more Zeal than Prudence, for being licenced by the Edicts of the Emperours, to demoliſh thoſe Temples of Idols they fell upon many excellent and ſtately Buildings, and thereby very much defaced the Cities. This drew forth a Reſcript from *Honorius*, commanding the People to abſtain from publick Buildings, and permitting lawfull Sports, and ſuch Recreations as were harmleſs and free from Pagan Impurities: *Arcadius* in the Eaſt gave them liberty to demoliſh ſuch Temples as were in Countrey-Towns, and though in Cities they were permitted to ſtand for an Ornament of the Places, yet did Chriſtians remove their Idols, and convert them to the uſe of their own Religion, which was generally done in all Places, though ſome were granted to private Perſons, as appears by a Reſcript, dated 16 years after this, and directed to the People of *Carthage*. Here the moſt magnificent and ſtately Temple of their *Dea Cœleſtis*, was turned into a Chriſtian Church, and received the Chair of *Aurelius*, the Biſhop of that City. This *Dea Cœleſtis* of the *Carthaginians*, was the ſame with *Aſtarthe* the Queen of Heaven, and Goddeſs of the *Sidonians*. The Idol which gave Oracles, as *Capitolinus* tells us, was placed upon a Lion, and contained moſt of the Names of all the Pagan Deities, being worſhipped by ſeveral ſorts

C. Juſtin. lib. 11. *c.* 45. *C. Th. de pœnis leg.* 17. *C. Th. l.* 15. *c.* 16. §. 2.

C. Juſtin. c. 1. *c.* 11. §. 3. *Sicut ſacrificia Templorum prohibemus ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta ſervari.*

Ibid. §. 4. *Ut profanos ritus tam ſalubri lege ſubmovimus, ita feſtos conventus civium & communem omnium lætitiam non patimur ſubmoveri inde abſq; ullo ſacrificio atque ulla ſuperſtit. damnabil. &c.*

Ibid. §. 5. *C. Th. l.* 16. *Herodian lib.* 5. *cap.* 15.

Λίβυες μὲν ἐν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοινίκες δ' Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι Σελήνην εἶ δὲ λέγουσι.

of People, by reaſon of the Diverſities of Names, rather than diſtinction or variety of things, as St. *Ambroſe* informeth. For though this Goddeſs was married by *Heliogabalus* the Emperour to his God, we do not hear ſhe was fruitfull. *Contra Symmachum.*

62. Chriſtians having the liberty either to demoliſh or rifle thoſe Pagan Temples, had opportunity to pry into, and diſcover the inwards and moſt ſecret Myſteries of their Superſtition. Hereby was the impoſture of the wooden Snake diſcovered at *Rome*, where a quick one, or that of *Æſculapius* (who had many hundred years before, becauſe of the Plague been pretended to be brought from *Epidamnus*) was ſaid to live in a Cave. And the Privacies of *Apollo Palatinus*, being now unlocked and ſearched, the Books of *Sibylla*, wherein the remarkable Accidents and Fatalities of the City were ſaid to be predicted, were found and burnt by *Stilico*, which *Rutilius* a Pagan Poet of that time ſadly laments. Neither did the Gentiles take this patiently, ſit ſtill and look on, but in ſeveral Places made Inſurrections, attempted the Reſcue of their Idols and Temples, and ſuffered not the Chriſtians to overcome without a bloudy Triumph. At the ſame time the Church was vexed by Inteſtine differences and diſputes. For in *Africk* the *Donatiſts* plaid ſuch Pranks, that the Emperours Command by an Edict, that the *Royſters* which roved up and down ſhould be puniſhed and reſtrained by the Sword. Whereupon *Petilianus* complaining, and crying out againſt Perſecution, *Auguſtine* replies that Thieves and Robbers were not to be heard if they quarrelled with Migiſtrates for reſtraining their Villanies. The *Manichees* were alſo ſo inſolent, that this ſame Biſhop who had more reaſon to underſtand them than moſt others, found himſelf concerned at this time to write 33 Books againſt *Fauſtus*, a Ringleader amongſt thoſe Hereticks. The contentions about the Writings of *Origen*, rather increaſed than otherwiſe, againſt which *Hierome* was the main Combatant falling foul, eſpecially on *John* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, with whom to ſome Perſons he ſeemed rather to be offended than with *Origen* himſelf, yet did the Epiſcopal Dignity of *John* ſomewhat repreſs his Choler which flew all out upon *Ruffinus*, whoſe Perſon was not guarded by any ſuch Circumſtance. But he bitterly inveighs not onely againſt him but all *Origeniſts*, who ſome years before had in appearance made up the far greater part of the Chriſtian World. When *Theophilus* Biſhop *Alexandria*, conceived they were to be wone and reduced by fair means, *Hierome* tells him by Letter, that ſuch Levity diſpleaſed many good Men, and ſo far wrought with him, that he not onely expelled them out of *Egypt*, but that they might be ſo uſed in other places, wrote his paſchal Letters againſt them, by which for the following year he appoints *Eaſter* to be kept on the 19*th.* of *Pharmuth*, or the 14*th.* of *April*, requiring *Epiphanius* to procure his Letters to be publiſhed throughout *Iſauria*, *Pamphilia* and *Thrace*. Hereupon the *Origeniſts* are alſo condemned by the Reſcripts of the Emperours.

Proſper.

Aug. ep. 202, *&c.*

Which cauſed Inſurrections in divers Places.

The *Royſters* puniſhed by the Edict of the Emperours.

C. Th. de Epiſcop. lib. 31. *Aug. adverſus literas Petil. l.* 2. *c.* 43, *&c. De correctione Donatiſt. c.* 11.

Hieram. Tom. Ep. 30, 31, *&c.*

The *Origeniſts* condemned.

63. In the 400*th.* year of the ordinary *Æra* of *Chriſt*, the Conſulſhip of *Fl. Stilico* and *Fl. Aurelianus* in the Month of *September*, was the firſt Provincial Council held at *Toledo*, a City of *Tarraconia* in *Spain*, conſiſting of 19 Biſhops, for ſetling matters about the *Priſcillianiſts*, wherein were compoſed twenty Canons for eſtabliſhing Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. Hereof the ſecond is obſervable, which *Gratian* hath inſerted into his Decree, forbidding Penitents to be admitted into the Clergy except upon Neceſſity, and then amongſt Door-keepers and Readers, yet ſo as not to reade the Epiſtle or Goſpel. And if any had been formerly ordained Deacons, they were to be reduced amongſt the Subdeacons, ſitting with them as the *Gloſs* expounds it in the Quire, and at meat, but without performing any thing of the Office. Now they explain whom they mean by a Penitent, *viz.* ſuch as ſolemnly did Penance, for having after Baptiſm committed Murther, or other grievous Sins, and had been reconciled to the Church in Hair-cloath. The 8*th.* Canon forbids any one who had ſerved in the Wars againſt Chriſtians to be received ſo high as the Degree of a Deacon. Several of the reſt concern the Wives and Children of Biſhops, Prieſts and other Clerks, which whilſt the Fathers were enacting, and endeavouring for Peace and Unity in *Spain*, the Difference ſtill continued in the Eaſt, concerning the Opinions and Books of *Origen*. From the Eaſt the Contention flew into *Africk* and *Italy*, and in *Rome Origen* found many Favourers, amongſt which *Melania* was very eminent, who much favoured the Cauſe and Perſon of *Ruffinus*. But *Marcella* a notable ſtickler for the other Party, with *Principia* were ſo addicted to *Hierome*, that they ceaſed not to inſtigate, by all means poſſible, *Anaſtaſius* the *Roman* Biſhop againſt *Ruffinus*, whom they procured him to cite to render a reaſon why he had tranſlated the Books of

A Provincial Council held at *Toledo.*

Or for convenience *Gratian* hath it. *Diſt.* 50. *c. penult. Placuit.*

of *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν at *Rome*, and after he had mightily extolled them to the World, had preſently thence withdrawn himſelf. He anſwered without making appearance by Letter, that he had not fled from *Rome*, but returned into his own Countrey, which he had not ſeen for full thirty years; that he was now weary and broken with Travel and Old Age, and therefore reſolved there to fix, and that he had not been the firſt Tranſlatour, nor had firſt extolled and commended to the World the Works of *Origen*. This refuſal provoked *Anaſtaſius*, not onely to condemn *Origen* but *Ruffinus* too, and the following year he renewed his Cenſure. Afterward he ſeemed ſomewhat to relent and incline a little to the *Origeniſts*, but as *Hierome* writes, was then tranſlated, leſt by intreaty he ſhould be brought to alter his Sentence formerly given. For he died on the twenty ſeventh of *April* of this preſent year, as ſome gather from certain Writings of St. *Hierome*, after he had governed but three years, though *Baronius* contends that he died not till *April* following, and ſo ſate in the See of *Rome* four Years, a Month and thirteen Days. Of his Actions recorded this is moſt remarkable, that he compelled Prieſts to ſtand whilſt the Goſpel was reading. For at this aſwell as at other times, there being great emulation betwixt Prieſts and Deacons in the *Romiſh* Church, the Deacons puffed up by the continual Addreſſes made to them from the People, becauſe they diſpenſed the Goods of the Church, preſſed upon the Prieſts, preſuming to ſit amongſt, and give them their Bleſſing in the ordinary Feaſts, and the Prieſts on the other hand acted by too much Indignation, diſdained to ſtand upon their feet, when the Goſpel was read by the Deacons.

Anaſtaſius Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

64. We have formerly told the Reader, that *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* being by *Hierome* incenſed againſt the *Origeniſts*, baniſhed ſuch Monks as were of that Perſwaſion out of *Ægypt*. Theſe men betake themſelves to *Conſtantinople*, the Biſhop whereof they acquaint with their grief, and indeavour to ſet him againſt *Theophilus*. Having the advantage of ſpeaking face to face, they brought him into a good Opinion of their Cauſe, and made him patronize their perſons by writing to the Biſhop, whereby a very ill underſtanding was begot betwixt the two Prelates. But the Monks perceiving that they had profited little by ſeeking the Patronage of *John Chryſoſtome*, and that *Theophilus* was rather the more incenſed both againſt themſelves and him, made their Addreſs to the Emperour, to whom they accuſed their Biſhop of ſo heinous Crimes, as very much indangered his Head. *Chryſoſtome* being ſuſpected to have an hand in the deſign, was very ill ſpoken of by the Party of *Theophilus*, and now *Epiphanius* ingages himſelf openly in the Quarrel, who having ſent the Decrees of the Synods held at *Alexandria* and *Cyprus* againſt the *Origeniſts* to *Conſtantinople*, when he perceived he profited nothing, but thoſe men were rather kindly entertained, reſolved to go thither and oppoſe them in Perſon. In performing his Reſolutions great Conteſt happened betwixt him and *Chryſoſtome*, concerning which, various, uncertain and ſeveral incredible Reports are made, but *Epiphanius* in one reſpect had a great advantage of the other, for *Chryſoſtome* by the ſeverity of his Carriage and Reproofs had incurred the diſpleaſure of many perſons, but eſpecially the hatred of the Great Ones at Court. His rigorous Exaction of Diſcipline made his Clergy hate him. His refuſal to eat with other men, and to be preſent at Feaſts and lawfull Divertiſements increaſed the rumours, and gained credit to the Reports which they had raiſed, when he fell upon the Magiſtrates and Courtiers, they by their Countenance and Intereſt gave reputation to his Accuſers, but when he came to fall out with *Eudoxia* the Empreſs, that utterly loſt him. The inſulting Invective he made againſt *Eutropius* the Eunuch, who took Sanctuary in the Church after he had procured the Emperour to take away the Privilege of thoſe places, being againſt a man in miſery, though a guilty and obnoxious perſon, got him the Repute of Ill-natur'd and Cruel. The thing that preſerved his Reputation and life was his excellent Preaching, which yet was the leſs eſteemed of by reaſon of an Æmulatour he had in the City.

Socrates l. 6. c. 4, &c.

65. This was *Severianus* a *Syrian* Biſhop of *Gabale*, who underſtanding that *Antiochus* his Countreyman the Biſhop of *Ptolemais* had got good ſtore of money by preaching at *Conſtantinople*, made him a ſtock of Sermons, wherewith he came and ſet up in that City. At firſt by his Flatteries he prevailed much upon *Chryſoſtome*, and got his good eſteem, but being popular for his Sermons, when the Biſhop had withdrawn himſelf to *Epheſus* for filling that See, then vacant by the death of the Dioceſan; he began to make a Party for himſelf, and draw the affections of the People from their proper Paſtour to himſelf. The Jealouſie which hereupon aroſe was increaſed into Enmity it ſelf by means of *Serapion*, an inſo-

lent and turbulent Deacon of that Church, who on a time refuſing to riſe up and ſhew reſpect to *Severianus*, though a Perſon ſo far above him as dignified by the Character of a Biſhop, *Severianus* thereupon could not forbear from reviling him, and brake into this Expreſſion, *If* Serapion *die a Chriſtian, then Chriſt was not made Man.* The latter part of theſe words *Serapion* relates to *Chryſoſtome* as ſpoken by themſelves, who thereupon having this advantage as he thought againſt him, flew out into great Paſſion and Invectives, neither would be reconciled to him till *Eudoxia* the Empreſs in the Apoſtles Church caſt her young Son *Theodoſius*, if *Socrates* was well informed, at his feet. Whatever ſhe did in this caſe, if ſhe was not already, long it was not e'er ſhe fell out with him, and conceived an implacable hatred againſt him. The Emperour *Leo* in his Oration in praiſe of *Chryſoſtome* aſſigneth the original cauſe to his rebuking of her for ſpoiling the Widow of one *Theognoſtus* of part of her Husband's Eſtate, who had been unjuſtly condemned, and defrauding another Widow of *Alexandria* of a Sum of Money due to her. It's reported of her, that ſhe fell out with *Epiphanius* at his coming to *Conſtantinople*, becauſe he would not condemn *John* of Hereſie, threatning to open the Idol Temples and permit the Pagans the exerciſe of their Superſtition. However it's reported from ſeveral hands that *Chryſoſtome* and he parted in diſpleaſure, and at his departure they mutually propheſied, he that *John* ſhould die in Exile, and *John* that he ſhould not live to return to his own See, both which it's ſaid came to paſs, though there be no great certainty concerning the time of *Epiphanius* his death. Amongſt the Writings which go under his Name, the Oration in praiſe of the *Virgin Mary* is none of his, though cited by *Baronius*, *Caniſius*, and *à Caſtro*, but a Declamation of another *Epiphanius* of later time, ſmaller Learning, poorer Credit and Authority in the Church, one of the Conveners at the ſecond *Nicene* Council. *Mountague.*

Two Councils held at *Milenis* in *Numidia.*

66. This ſame year, *viz.* the CCCCII. of the ordinary *Æra* of *Chriſt*, was a General Council of the *African* Biſhops held at *Milenis* in *Numidia* under the preſidentſhip of *Aurelius* Primate of *Carthage.* There was another held at this place ſome fourteen years after, and the Canons of both are confounded by the compilers, as alſo with thoſe of other Synods, for the firſt eight in order which reſpect Pelagianiſm can hardly be thought to have been made by the Fathers at this time wherein that Hereſie was ſcarcely born, at leaſt known unto the World. In the date the Collectours give the title of *Clariſſimi* to the Emperours, which how ridiculous it is, appears by what we have formerly diſcourſed of ſuch titles of honour, they had found *V. C.* in the Copies, which ſtanding for their fifth Conſulſhip they thus ignorantly interpret. In the mean while the enemies of *John Chryſoſtome* proceeded in their plots and deſigns againſt him. *Socrates* and others tell us, that being diſpleaſed with the Empreſs for taking the part of *Epiphanius*, he flew out into invectives againſt all Women, and ſpake ſo deſpitefully of them in his Sermons, particularly from that Text, *Gather to me thoſe that eat of the table of* Jezebel, that ſhe being made to believe he meant no other than her ſelf, and *Antiochus* and *Severianus*, whom ſhe maintained in the City, complained of him to the Emperour. It happened opportunely for them that *Theophylus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, being then ſummoned to Court as a criminal, was on his way thither. He is received not as ſuch, but in triumphant manner lodged in the Palace, ſay ſome, and now private Cabals are held for the methods and ways of deſtroying *John.* They ſent ſome Spies to inquire out the faults of his youth, thence to get ſome reflecting matter, but the deſign not taking, ſeven and thirty of them met together at *Chalcedon*, whither they cite him four times to appear before them, and when he refuſed them as unequal Judges, and was defended by forty other Biſhops which aſſembled to him at *Conſtantinople*, they condemned him as contumacious and depoſed him from his Biſhoprick. When word hereof was brought to *Conſtantinople* all the City was in an uproar, watching day and night leſt their Biſhop ſhould be taken from them, but the importunity of the Empreſs was ſo preſſing upon her Husband, that by his command a guard of Souldiers took him by force, and putting him by night into a Boat, carried him to *Pretenum* a Mart Town of *Bithynia* over againſt *Nicomedia*, the People following and oppoſing the Souldiers to no purpoſe. *Tom. Conc.* 1.

John Chryſoſtome of *Conſtantinople* depoſed.

67. This violent hurrying him away ſo inraged the Multitude that a great Sedition followed. As thoſe in adverſity are generally pitied, many that formerly had ſpoken againſt him, began now to take his part, and the Sermons of *Severianus* did but add Oil to the Flame, who ceaſed not to declaim againſt him, not as a Man that had been condemned for any Crime, but onely as a proud and inſolent perſon. Things came to ſuch a paſs, that the Emperour with thoſe about him thought it requiſite to recall

But recalled. recall him, and accordingly *Briſo* an Eunuch belonging to the Empreſs was ſent and brought him back to the City. *Theodoret* lays the cauſe upon a great Earthquake which happened at this time, by which *Eudoxia* was terrified and driven into this reſolution. At his return he would gladly have remained without the City till he could be acquitted by another Aſſembly, and ſolicited the Emperour in that affair, but the People compelled him to go to his Church, and to preach to them as at other times, whence his Adverſaries gathered matter again wherewith they charged him upon the next opportunity. He continued in his Chair for about the ſpace of a year, preaching to the People thoſe excellent Diſcourſes, which being taken from his Mouth in Short-hand by ſome on purpoſe appointed, were afterwards publiſhed, to the great edification of the Church in all ſucceeding Ages: At length he ſplit himſelf upon the ſame Rock, incurring afreſh the diſpleaſure of the Empreſs upon this occaſion. The People erected her a Statue of Silver upon a pedeſtal of Porphyre very near to the Church of *Wiſedom*, and at the Dedication celebrated Shews and Plays after the accuſtomed manner. Now either for that there was ſomething in this Solemnity which ſavoured of Impiety and Superſtition, the bonds of Chriſtian liberty, and Imperial Laws made concerning ſuch matters being violated, or becauſe the place being too near the Church the noiſe and tumults made a diſturbance in Divine Service, and in a manner prophaned the Ground; or out of his innate prejudice againſt all manner of *Spectacula*, and the ſevere auſterity wherewith his beſt friends cannot deny but he was much tranſported, he declaimed earneſtly againſt the thing. The Empreſs herewith being ſore netled, and with the many ſcoffs and taunts he uſed againſt ſuch as were Authours of the Solemnity, threatned him depoſition and death alſo, and eaſily perſwading *Arcadius* her Husband to lend her his Imperial Authority, wrote to the Biſhops his Enemies requiring them to meet with all ſpeed at *Conſtantinople*. *Chryſoſtome* upon notice hereof ſo far accommodated himſelf to the humour and condition of the times as to make another Sermon againſt her with this *Exordium*, Herodias *rageth afreſh, ſtomacheth again, danceth as formerly; ſtill ſeeketh the Head of* John *to be preſented her in a Platter.*

Lib. 5. *c.* 34.

Is in diſpleaſure of the Empreſs *Eudoxia.*

Socr. l. 6. *c.* 18. *Lat. vel* 18. *Gr.*

68. His Enemies the Biſhops being re-aſſembled conſulted all manner of ways how to accompliſh the buſineſs for which they were called. In concluſion, when they had examined many Witneſſes but found no teſtimonies ſtrong enough to convict him of any crime, they fell upon that point upon intruding into his See, and produced againſt him the Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which ordains, *That whoſoever being depoſed juſtly or unjuſtly ſhould repoſſeſs himſelf of his See, without a Synod conſiſting of a greater number than thoſe who depoſed him ſhould be again expelled and made irregular.* Againſt this Canon he juſtly excepted that it was made by the *Arians* on purpoſe to intrap *Athanaſius* and therefore ought not in conſcience to be urged againſt him, but they eaſily overruled his Plea by intereſt in the Emperour, whom having wearied with their importunities they procured to remove him. At firſt he was commanded to keep his Houſe, but when he refuſed to neglect his duty in the Church, except compelled ſo to doe, and his Enemies ſtill urged his expulſion to *Arcadius*, he was at length carried bound like a Malefactour into exile, thoſe Biſhops that were of his Party being impriſoned, and the People in vain bemoaning as well their own loſs as the ſufferings of their Paſtour. Preſently after happened a dreadfull Fire, which beginning in the Church flew thence into the Palace where the Senate ſate and did very much miſchief. The followers of *John* the exiled Biſhop accuſed the Partizans of *Theophilus* as Authours thereof, and they again charged them with it, whom they branded with the Name of *Johanites*. *Socrates* indeed lays it upon them as done out of indignation at what the Biſhop ſuffered, however ſuch inquiſition was made, and ſuch tortures inflicted upon them by *Optatus* a Pagan, the Prefect of the City, that ſeveral of them upon this account have had the Honour to be reckoned amongſt Martyrs. *Chryſoſtome* ſeeing no relief could be obtained in the Eaſt, where *Theophilus* his bitter Enemy was ſo potent, betook himſelf to the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom by Letters he acquainted with his caſe. This was *Innocent* who ſucceeded *Anaſtaſius*, after the Church had been vacant one and twenty days. He would gladly have promoted and ſhewed the Power and Intereſt of his See, in giving him aſſiſtence, but his endeavours aſwell as aims were to no purpoſe.

And in a Council held at *Conſtantinople* is baniſhed.

Lege Palladii Dial. de Vitâ Chryſoſtomi. Aug. de laudibus.

To *Anaſtaſius* ſucceeds *Innocent* in the See of *Rome.*

69. For the Enemies of *Chryſoſtome* to fill his Chair, and cut off all hope of his Reſtitution, elected Biſhop of *Conſtantinople Arſacius* an old decrepit Man, of fourſcore years of Age, Brother to *Nectarius* who had formerly governed that See, a Man leſs Eloquent than Fiſhes, and a worſe Singer than the Frogs, if

Arſacius choſen in the Chair of *Chryſoſtome* at *Conſtantinople.*

Palla-

Palladius be Judge, but of ſingular modeſty and of meek behaviour, in the opinion of *Socrates*, who thereupon obſerveth, that the Church in his time enjoyed great eaſe and quietneſs. But many contemning him for the vaſt difference they found betwixt his parts and thoſe of his Predeceſſour, and eſpecially induced by a ſenſe of that wrong which they conceived to be done to *John*, refuſed utterly to communicate with him, and ſeparated themſelves from his Church, which ſo provoked thoſe of his Party, that great Perſecutions were raiſed againſt them, ſome Imperial Edicts being procured for correction and reſtrainment of thoſe who refuſed to communicate with him and his Fellow Biſhops. In the mean time, whilſt Chriſtians by perſecuting one another, and rending the ſeamleſs Coat of Chriſt, gave matter of ſcandal to the Enemies of their Religion, a greater matter of ſcandal was offered to ſuch in the Weſt, by renewing a great and ſolemn act of the old Pagan Superſtition. This was the Celebration of the old Secular Games, which had been omitted ever ſince the Converſion of *Conſtantine* the Great, but now by permiſſion of *Honorius*, who was made to believe that the omiſſion of them would be fatal to the City, were for this one time more reſtored. Concerning theſe Solemnities, we have heretofore ſufficiently ſpoken. This was the two hundredth year from that wherein *Severus* the Emperour celebrated his Games of an hundred and ten years, whereby it came to paſs that they were confounded with the Centenaries, but the *Romans*, out of a fond reſpect to their old Superſtition, deſired to have them this way celebrated rather than not at all; and *Claudian* in the name of other Pagans, overcome with joy in Poetick Raptures, celebrates the praiſe of the Emperour for this ſo great an expreſſion of kindneſs to his Subjects of the old ſtamp. But the Pagans having this Inch of liberty given them, improved it (as the Proverb hath it) to an Ell broad, procuring the old *Spectacula* of the *Gladiators* alſo to be reſtored, to the view of which the Veſtal Virgins went out in a ſolemn Proceſſion. For theſe and other things, as Divines obſerve, the Land groaned, and both Emperour and People ſuffered the dreadfull effects of God's Anger and Indignation, which within a year or two abundantly ſhewed themſelves in the Invaſion of *Italy* and other Parts of the Weſt by the Barbarous Nations.

The Secular Games Celebrated.

Vide Part 1. *p.* 661. *ſect.* 19.

And the *Spectacula* of the *Gladiators*.

Prudentius adverſus Symmach. c. 2.

70. The ſame year that *Chryſoſtome* was driven into exile, St. *Auguſtine* the Biſhop of *Hippo* diſputed publickly in his Church two days together with *Fœlix* the *Manichee*, who overcome with his Arguments, confeſſed the truth, and renounced his errours. The year following, being the four hundred and fifth year of our Lord, in the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Stilico*, and the firſt of *Anthemius* on the eleventh of *November*, *Arſacius* the pretended Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* died, having held the See a year and two months. About the Succeſſion great heats and contention aroſe, and the Diſputes continued for four months, after which in the next year, in the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Arcadius* and the firſt of *Probus* was *Atticus* Elected, a Man born at *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, brought up in the Monaſtical courſe of life by thoſe of the *Macedonian* Hereſie, from which afterward turning to the Catholick Faith he was made Prieſt of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, and became a ſtickler againſt *Chryſoſtome*; of mean learning, but of very good natural parts, and fit for buſineſs. By this means was *Chryſoſtome* kept out of his See, and ſtill impriſoned, very hardly uſed, and removed at length from *Arabiſſus* toward *Pityventis* on porpoſe to haraſs him to death, in which Journey he died, and paſſed to an heavenly Countrey, whom in this World neither his eminent Piety, ſingular Learning, nor incomparable Eloquence could protect from the calumnies of Sycophants and unjuſt oppreſſion. He was born at *Antioch* in *Cœloſyria* upon the River *Orontes*, of a Noble Family, his Father's Name *Secundus*, and his Mother's *Anchuſa*. He ſtudied at *Athens*, where applying himſelf to *Libinaus* for Rhetorick, and *Androgathius* for Philoſophy, he profited in Learning to the admiration of the whole Univerſity, being yet a Pagan. Afterwards he and his Parents were converted, though he was very well learned in the Laws, yet reſolving to betake himſelf to the Monaſtery, he ſtudied Divinity under conduct of *Diodenis*, *Carterius*, *Euſebius*, *Emiſenus*, and *Baſil* the Great. Then was he made Reader of the Church of *Antioch* by *Zeno* Biſhop of *Gara*, a Deacon by *Meletius*, after three years by *Euagrius* a Prieſt, and at length Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and Patriarch of the Churches throughout *Thrace*, *Aſia* and the Maritime Coaſts. A moſt excellent both Man and Chriſtian, but as ſuch want not their failings, ſo is he obſerved to have been too rigid and auſtere, by which defect he ſeems partly to have brought much trouble upon himſelf. He wrote ſome Books whilſt yet a Reader, ſome when Deacon, others when

Arſacius of *Conſtantinople* dies.

Atticus elected in his ſtead.

John Chryſoſtome dies in exile.

Socr. l. 5. *c.* 17.

Soz. l. 8. *c.* 27.

Palladius ubi ſupra.

Socrates.

Soz. l. 8. *c.* 2.

Niceph. l. 10. *c.* 2.

Theodoret. l. 5. *c.* 28.

Palladius Metaphraſis.

when Prieſt, but moſt after he came to be Biſhop. His Works yet extant were by *Eraſmus* digeſted into five Tomes, ſince that publiſhed in an Excellent Edition by our Sir *Henry Savil*. Many Spurious pieces bear his name, which *Sixtus Senenſis* and others have detected. The *Liturgie* ſaid to be his is of the ſame ſtamp, for it hath a Prayer for *Alexius* the Emperour who was Born long after his death, and for *Nicholas* the Pope or elſe the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. The Copies much differ one from another. Amongſt the Saints there remembred mention is made of *Chryſoſtome* himſelf. Worſhipping the Image of *Chriſt* is ſpoken of, whereas he in his genuine writings as his 50*th* Homily upon *Matthew* accounts the Art of Painting Superſtitious; and the ſecond *Nicene* Synod though it ſcrape up all the Teſtimonies it can in behalf of Images, yet never citeth the *Liturgie* of *Chryſoſtome*.

Several Judgments upon his Perſecutours.

71. Eccleſiaſtical Writers obſerve that many and remarkable Judgments fell upon his perſecutours not long after they had accompliſhed the effects of their Malice. Obſervable is that ſtory told of *Cyrinus* Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, on whoſe foot *Maruthas* Biſhop of *Meſopotamia* treading againſt his will, when they were aſſembled in a Synod againſt *John*, it ſo corrupted of the bruiſe that he was forced to cut it off, but the putrefaction running over his whole Body, and falling at length into his other Foot he was conſtrained to loſe both and miſerably died. *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* whoſe carriage in this buſineſs makes us ſuſpect he too much deſerved the Character given him by *Socrates*, notwithſtanding that *Baronius* would fain make him a good and holy Man, not long after was taken with a Pain in his ſide and died. *Antiochus* and *Severianus* ſcarcely overlived him. Hail of an unuſual bigneſs fell at *Conſtantinople*, four days after which was taken away *Eudoxia* the Empreſs by a miſerable manner. Neither were other Calamities wanting, as Plague, Famine, Inundations, Earthquakes, Droughts, Wars and ſuch like miſeries as ſhortly after befell *Greece*. However *Chryſoſtome* was looked upon in the Eaſt whilſt he lived, when dead his memory preſently began to be very pretious throughout the whole Church, which *Innocent* the Biſhop of *Rome* perceiving excommunicated *Arſacius* his Succeſſour, though already departed this World, together with the Emperour *Arcadius* and *Theophilus* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, if credit may be given to the later *Greek* Hiſtorians, and a Book in the Vatican Library cited by *Baronius*, whereas the more Ancient Writers and thoſe of better Note relate no ſuch matter, and *Theophilus* whom they will have depoſed fate faſt in his See till his death, not to ſpeak that the Synod which Condemned *Chryſoſtome* how unjuſtly ſoever, could not with more Juſtice be condemned by *Innocent* without an hearing.

Vide Socr. l. 6. Cap. 14. 17. Lat. Sozom. Niceph. Theod.

Several Edicts againſt the Pagans, *Cælicolæ* and *Jews*.

72. The year following, being the 408 of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt, *Honorius* the Emperour publiſhed ſome Reſcripts againſt the *Donatiſts* and *Pagans*, which upon the death of *Stilico* were become high and domineering in *Africk* to ſuch an height that pretending ſuch Laws as had been made formerly againſt them to have been his mere device without any Imperial Authority, they roſe up againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians and murthered certain Biſhops. In one of thoſe Reſcripts of the Emperour together with the *Donatiſts* are the *Cælicolæ* condemned, who are alſo in another Edict of the following year joyned and ſentenced with *Jews*. What theſe *Cælicolæ* ſhould be is very obſcure, the name being new and unheard of as the Edict it ſelf bears mention, though they are joyned alſo in an Edict of *Conſtantine*. Some have thought them Pagans and Worſhippers of the *Dea Cæleſtis* formerly mentioned, ſome a ſort of *Eſſeni* amongſt the *Jews*, who Worſhipped the *Hoſt of Heaven*; but that they were Chriſtians herein appears becauſe they were Baptized. Yet are they not reckoned amongſt Hereticks by thoſe that have made Catalogues of ſuch, ſo that they ſeem to have been a ſort of Judaiſing Chriſtians or Chriſtianized *Jews*, and to ſhun the *Odium* of Judaiſm might take upon them this name of *Cælicolæ* living under their *Majores*, as the *Jews* did under their Patriarchs. But this ſame year alſo *Theodoſius* the Emperour gave out another Edict againſt the *Jews* who upon pretence of celebrating the Memory of the hanging of *Aman* dragged Croſſes up and down the Streets and burnt them in deriſion and deſpight of Chriſtian Religion. He requires the Governours of Provinces to prevent this Scandal and upon Commiſſion of the like Offence threatens the *Jews* with forfeiture of their remaining Privileges. About this time died *Porphyrius* Biſhop of *Antioch* a great Adverſary of *Chryſoſtome*'s, who after the death of *Flavianus* had invaded that See by fraud and Tyranny. For whilſt the whole City in the grove of *Daphne* was intent upon the *Spectacula*, he was ordained Biſhop by *Severianus*, *Acacius* and *Antiochus* thoſe of his faction with ſuch ſpeed that

C. Th. de hæret. c. 19. & de Paganis.

Porphirius Biſhop of *Antioch* dies.

Ut ſuprà, l. 43. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 9. Cælicolarum nomen inauditum quodam modo nonum crimen ſuperſtitionis vindicavit. Vide gloſſam in leg. 12. tit. dict. Aug. Ep. 163.

Vide cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 9. leg. 3.

Tit. eod. l. 11.

Sozom. l. 2. c. 24. Niceph. l. 13. c. 30. Theodor. l. 5. c. 35.

that many accuſtomed Rites were thereby omitted, for which fact the People was ſo inraged that they had ſet fire to his Houſe and burnt him, but that by ſtrong hand they were overpowered by the Governour of the Town, whom he had corrupted with Money. In his place was choſen *Alexander* a Man brought up in the Monaſtical courſe of Life, and of great repute for Piety and Learning, who by joyning in one the parties of *Paulinus* and *Meletius* reſtored Peace to that Church, and made an end of that Schiſm which had laſted ſixty years, from the Ejection of *Euſtathius*.

Alexander ſucceeds him.

Alaricus lays Siege to *Rome*.

73. The next year was the City of *Rome* beſieged by *Alaricus*, upon which occaſion when as the *Pagans* betook themſelves to their falſe Deities, *Zozimus* their Hiſtorian relates that *Innocent* the Biſhop of that City did ſecretly conſent to certain ſolemnities of that ſuperſtition induced by the great proffers made by the *Tuſcan Aruſpices*, for which report as a mere Scandal *Baronius* is exceedingly concerned. Conſidering the temper of the relater we cannot but joyn with the Cardinal in his charitable opinion, (though this be not ſo much a reaſon to him as ſomething elſe, and he refuſe on Authority how vile ſoever of which he may make uſe againſt us Hereticks) yet cannot but wiſh that he who ſhewed ſo much zeal in behalf of a particular Biſhop would have employed a little in oppoſing ſome Reliques of thoſe Heatheniſh impieties which yet cleaved to the Profeſſours of Chriſtianity. For not to ſpeak of that Deluge of Wickedneſs of which *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome* and other Fathers of this time complain, which ſpread both over the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire, the Emperours though Chriſtians as well as their *Pagan* Predeceſſours ſuffered their Images to be adored, and this very year according to the old Cuſtome ſpeak of themſelves as Gods, and Attribute Divinity to their Perſons, none opening his Mouth in reprehenſion of ſo unwarrantable a pratice. Notwithſtanding the Fathers of the Church, to give them their due in this particular, ceaſed not to declaim againſt the *Spectacula* and the Licentious practices of the Stage, of which the Pagans, as *Auguſtine* obſerveth, were the firſt Founders, yet Chriſtians ſtill too much loved and retained theſe obſcene Sports, frequenting Bawdy Houſes, *Salvian* alſo complains, and the Emperour *Honorius* is noted as guilty of inceſt for having Married two of *Stilico*'s Daughters Succeſſively. Yet amidſt thoſe great difficulties wherewith at this time he was incumbred, he forgot not to publiſh ſeveral wholeſome Laws againſt *Magicians*, *Pagans*, *Jews* and the lately mentioned *Cœlicolæ*, which are yet extant in the Code of *Theodoſius*; in behalf of Priſoners alſo, commanding that every Lord's day they ſhould be let out of Priſon to receive the Almes of good People, and to the publick Bathes for the Improvement of Religion; the conſideration of which made St. *Hierome* deny it was for his Sins that ſo great Calamity now befell his People, and lay the Siege and Captivity of the City of *Rome* at the Doors of the obſtinate and perfidious Gentiles.

Nulli habetur ambiguum etiam ab hæredibus & pro hæredibus poſſe reſcripta noſtri numinis allegari. *c. Th. l. 1. t. 2. l. 10.* *Tit. de mulct. Pagan. de cuſtod. reorum.*

Honorius ſends forth his Edicts againſt *Magicians*, *Pagans*, *Jews* and *Cœlicolæ*.

74. The year following wherein *Rome* was taken by *Alaricus* being the 410 of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt, *Ruffinus* the Prieſt of *Aquileia* and great Patron of the Perſon and Works of *Origen* died in *Sicily*, having retired himſelf thither upon aproach of *Alaricus*. Againſt him St. *Hierome* unhandſomely inſults being now dead, and not able to anſwer for himſelf; but he had given him ſuch Nicknames whilſt alive, that no wonder he ſhould maintain what he had formerly ſaid and done: For in his Writings he ordinarily gives him the name of *Scorpius*, ſometimes he calls him *Grunnius*, the forerunner of *Pelagius*, and other good Epithetes he gives him, by the conſent and Approbation of *Baronius*, who over and above accuſeth him for foiſting into the Books he Tranſlated things quite different from the Deſign of the Author. Indeed his Tranſlations of *Greek* Authours as now extant ſeem to have been the products of a moſt negligent, ignorant and diſſolute Interpreter, but the Annaliſt hath no great reaſon to condemn him in this Point having made ſo much uſe of him in reading thoſe which he could not underſtand in their own Language. This makes him accuſe *Joſephus* moſt falſely for contradicting himſelf about *Salome*, as if he ſometimes called her *Herod*'s Siſter, and ſometime his Wife, whereas the very place he quotes is Siſter, but herein he follows *Ruffinus* his Tranſlation, and having no skill in the Language (which certain it is he had not, ſaith one who was able to judge) or otherwiſe relying upon Interpreters he is often plunged upon Abſurdities as in due time and place may be made apparent. In the mean time we ſhall take notice that *Theodoſius* the Emperour this year publiſhed ſeveral Reſcripts againſt *Priſcillianiſts*, *Eunomians* and *Montaniſts* to be ſeen in the Title of Hereticks in the Code of *Theodoſius*. As alſo that about this ſame time *Syneſius* whoſe Epiſtles are yet extant was made Biſhop of

Ruffinus dies.

Tom. 1. Ep. 16. 59. Præf. in Hieron.

Bp. Mountague, Appar. c. 4.

Theodoſius publiſheth ſeveral Reſcripts againſt the *Priſcillianiſts*, &c.

Syneſius made Biſhop of *Ptolemais.*

of *Ptolemais*, concerning whom ſome admire he ſhould be reckoned amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Writers, much more intruſted with ſo great a charge. He was Born a *Greek* and *Pagan*, of a Noble Family, in his Youth given to Hunting and the ſtudy of the Liberal Sciences, wherein he excelled being of the Platonick Sect. *Euagrius* who calls him Biſhop of *Cyrene* deſiring not to forget him, that the excellency of his vertues, as he ſaith, might ſet forth the ſimplicity of his Style, writes, that he was ſo eloquent and ſo profound a Philoſopher that being had in great admiration by impartial Chriſtians they perſwaded him to be Baptized, and take upon him the Prieſtly function, though he neither admitted nor would be brought to believe the Article of the Reſurrection; and this they did, hoping very charitably of him, that thoſe things would follow after his other vertues, and that the grace of God would ſuffer nothing to want in him that belonged unto his Souls health, which hope of theirs, ſaith our Authour, was not in vain. For how Excellent he proved, both the learned Epiſtles he wrote, after he was Prieſt, and the Book he dedicated to *Theodoſius*, with other notable Monuments of his induſtry, do declare. *Vide Euagrium, l.* 1. *c.* 15. *Syneſii Epp.*

75. This that *Euagrius* writes of him is but agreeable to what he ſaith himſelf in his Epiſtles; yet *Baronius* concludes that aſſuredly there was no ſuch matter as his being ordained by *Theophilus*, the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, holding ſuch an opinion concerning the Reſurrection, pronounces thoſe highly miſtaken that believe it, and as knowing fully his mind affirms he did but jeſt and not write what he thought, his deſign herein being to prevent the impoſition of the Epiſcopal function upon him, which he as much as death abhorred. Certainly *Euagrius* and *Nicephorus* might by living nearer to his Age have as good opportunity, to know the meaning of *Syneſius* as the Cardinal, whoſe good opinion of *Theophilus* (for Men muſt be good or bad as maketh for his great deſign) hath no good foundation in Antiquity. *Syneſius* not onely refuſed to be Biſhop upon the account of the Reſurrection (for Hereticks ſeldom refuſe ſuch conditions as may enable them better to propagate and countenance their errours) but out of a Lazy humour which very hardly would admit of buſineſs, and eſpecially becauſe he flatly refuſed to live without his Wife in the Miniſtery (which ſince the promotion of *Siricius* had become too commendable) neither converſe privately with her as a Concubine, whom both God, the Law and the ſacred hand of *Theophilus*, as he ſaith himſelf, had given to him. Notwithſtanding this his Proteſtation yet the People was ſo importunate that *Theophilus* ordained him Biſhop, not hoping that he would change his mind as to keeping his Wife, but in his belief as to the Reſurrection; for the Cardinal is not ignorant (however he conceals all he may) that notwithſtanding the Cuſtome which at this time obtained in *Theſſaly* (introduced by *Theodorus* a Prieſt of *Triva* and Authour of certain wanton and amorous Books intitled *Æthiopica*) *that a Prieſt uſing the Company of his Wife which he Married when a Lay-man ſhould be depoſed*, yet ſuch Biſhops and Prieſts in the Eaſt as refrained their Company did it at their own choice without any Law or Compulſion, and many of them notwithſtanding their Government and Adminiſtration of their Epiſcopal function, in the time of *Socrates* begat Children on their lawfull Wives, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew that in the Eaſt they ever did, and in the Weſt for many Centuries yet downward, till the Decrees of the *Roman* See at length with much adoe obtained. As for *Syneſius* after his Conſecration he contended againſt Hereſies indeed, and exhorted his Presbyters ſo to doe. Of his Writings few are extant, except a Volume of his Epiſtles, from which it appears that he thought ſoberly and orthodoxly concerning the Holy Trinity, concerning other Doctrines he ſpeaks not much, but of this little whatever he thought of the Reſurrection, ſome things cannot be commended, as that the Mind of Man is the Seed of God, that Angels by their converſation with Men have contracted ill affections, that thereupon the Son of God came down, that ſins are purged by puniſhment. When Biſhop he wrote ſome Books concerning hunting, much buſied himſelf about the works of *Homer* and ſuch frivolous things. In adverſity he was ſo overcome with paſſion and dejection that he was near killing himſelf for the death of his Son. It repented him that he had ſuffered the Epiſcopal function to be impoſed on him. He lived ſtill with his Wife, and begat Children after his Conſecration, and was of a candid, free and open ſpirit. But enough of *Syneſius*. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 22.

His Works and Character.

76. The year following, which had *Theodoſius* the Emperour alone for Conſul, by reaſon of the Diſorders in the Weſt, a Conference was held at *Carthage*, betwixt the *Catholicks* and *Donatiſts*, which though it had the uſual effect upon the Diſputants themſelves, yet of the ordinary People, and thoſe called *Circumcelliones* *Aug. Brev. Coll.*

Theodoſius publiſheth an Edict againſt the *Donatiſts.*

liones, very many are ſaid to have been reduced into the Right way; and the Emperour following on the ſtroke lately given by the Orthodox Biſhops to this Hereſie, in the next year publiſheth a ſevere Edict, which inflicts exile and moſt grievous Fines, upon ſuch as ſhould ſtill pertinaciouſly continue in that Schiſm. *C. Th. de Hæret. l.* 52.

Theophilus Biſhop of *Alexandria* dies.

This ſame year on the fifteenth of *October*, died *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, of a Lethargy, after which followed a great Conteſt about the Election of his Succeſſour, ſome ſtickling hard for *Timothy* the Archdeacon, and others for *Cyril* the Nephew of *Theophilus*. Though *Abundantius* Governour of the Town uſed his utmoſt endeavour for promotion of the former, yet *Cyril* carried it three Days after the deceaſe of his Uncle, and if *Socrates* deal fairly with us, aſſumed to himſelf more Power than he ever had enjoyed. From this time forth, he tells us, the Biſhop of that See beſides the Government of his Clergy and Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſtical matters, took alſo upon him the management of temporal Affairs, as a token whereof *Cyril* preſently ſhut up the *Novatian* Churches in *Alexandria*, and not onely rifled them of all their Treaſure, but robbed alſo *Theopemptus*, their Biſhop of all his Eſtate. But from theſe differences at *Alexandria* a Diſſention of greater Conſequence diverts us, a notable Hereſie ſpringing up in the Church at this time, the Sower of which Cockle had his Birth and Original in this our Iſland of *Britain*. His *Britiſh* Name was *Morgan*, in *Greek* and *Latin Pelagius*, ſignifying in *Engliſh*, near the Sea. He was a Monk of the Monaſtery of *Bonium* or *Bangor* in *Flintſhire*, wherein lived two thouſand Perſons famous for their diligent labour, aſwell as their ſolitary Courſe of Life; but quitting that Place travelled up and down the World, and contrary to the obſervation paſſing the Seas changed his mind, aſwell as the Air, and either received from others, (for *Baronius* would lay the load upon *Ruffinus*) or himſelf conceived many and grievous Errours, which now diſturbed the Peace of the Church, after her Triumphs over the *Arian* Hereſie. *Lib. 7. cap. 7.*

Cyril ſucceeds.

Morgan or *Pelagius* an Heretick.

Peſtifero vomuit coluber Sermone Britannus. Proſper Aquit. Camden. in Ceſtria. Uſſerius de primord. Eccleſ. Britan. Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

First taken notice of by St. *Chryſoſtome.*

77. The firſt that took notice of his heterodox Opinions, St. *Chryſoſtome* ſeemeth to have been in his fourth Epiſtle to *Olympias*, wherein he lamenteth his fall, whom formerly he had looked upon as an Holy Man. This was two years before the death of that good Biſhop, the ordinary year of our Lord, 405. about ſeven Years before the time that *Proſper* aſſigneth for the Worlds taking notice of this Hereſie, though St. *Auguſtine* alſo much about that time, as we may eaſily perceive had ſmelt it out. But all this while for fear of a diſcovery, and the brand he ſhould infallibly receive from the Hands of the Pious and Learned Fathers of the Church, he publiſhed his Tenents in the Names of other Men, by the means and procurement, eſpecially of *Cœleſtius* his chief Diſciple. Not onely St. *Auguſtine* (whom as * ſome obſerve how truely I know not, by Divine diſpenſation, *Africk* brought forth the ſame day, that he was born in *Britain*, as an Antidote againſt the Poiſon) both by Words and Writing oppoſed this Doctrine. But St. *Hierome* alſo, though concealing both the Names of *Pelagius* and *Cœleſtius*, yet hinting at his Original by twitting the Iſland of *Britain* as fertile in Tyrants, and the *Scotiſh* Nation. He deduceth the Pedigree of theſe Errours, from the School of the *Stoicks*, all along through the Succeſſions of *Origen* (who yet certainly was rather a Retainer to the Academy than the Porch) *Euagrius*, *Ponticus*, *Ruffinus*, and others of that perſwaſion, taking in the Alliance of the *Manichees* and *Priſcillianiſts*, and deſcending to *Jovinianus*. At length *Cœleſtius* publiſhed his Hereſies at *Carthage*, yet craftily under the notion of queſtions onely, where aſſoon as publiſhed, they were refelled and condemned by an Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſticks, there gathered together. After this *Pelagius* not able to hold any longer pulled off the Vizard of an Orthodox Prieſt, and openly maintained his opinions, upon ſpreading whereof and advice from *Carthage*, a Synod of Biſhops was held at *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis* a City of *Paleſtine*, under *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and Metropolitan of that Province where *Pelagius* recanted, and out of fear hypocritically anathematized his former aſſertions. *In Chron. de peccat. meriti. l.* 3. *cap.* 1. *De peccator. meritis & Ep.* * *Demſter. Hiſt. Scot. l.* 15. *Ep. ad Cteſiphontem.*

Being ſummoned to *Dioſpolis*, he hypocritically recants his aſſertions.

78. Thoſe were twelve in number as *Baronius* findeth them in the *Creſconian* Edition, inſerted after the Epiſtle of *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, to thoſe of the *Provincia Bizacena*. 1. "That *Adam* was created mortal, ſo that whether he had "ſinned or no he ſhould have died. 2. That his Sin hurt onely himſelf, and not his "Poſterity. 3. That Infants newly born are in the ſame State, that he was before "his Fall. 4. That neither through his Death and Prevarication do all Men "die, neither through Chriſt's Reſurrection ſhall riſe again. 5. That Infants "though they ſhould never be baptized, yet may obtain Eternal Life. 6. That

Which are theſe.

Rich

"Rich men though baptized, yet except they renounce all they have cannot ob-
"tain the Kingdom of Heaven. 7. That the Grace and Aſſiſtence of God is not
"afforded to the ſeveral Acts, but they depend upon free Will, belong to the
"Law and Doctrine. 8. That the Grace of God is given according to our Me-
"rits. 9. That none could be called the Sons of God, except they were made
"utterly void of all Sin. 10. That the Will is not free if it ſtand in need of
"God's Aſſiſtence, it being in the Power of every one to doe or not doe any thing.
"11. That our Victory is not from the Help and Aſſiſtence of God, but pro-
"ceeds from our own free Will. And 12. that forgiveneſs of Sin is not given to
"thoſe that ask it, for the Grace and Mercy of God, but according to the Merits
"and Endeavours of ſuch as by their Repentance do deſerve it. Thoſe Aſſertions
are of the very ſame Nature, with ſuch as are found in the Books of St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Hierome*, *Proſper* and others, who have had occaſion to mention them in their Writings, and ſpeak of ſome other Tenents, moſt of which are rather Conſequences of thoſe, as ſome of thoſe are of others, than really divers and diſtinct from them; the Summ of all being this, that as we are born without Goodneſs and Vertue, ſo abſolutely without vice or flaw in our Wills and Inclinations. For if all depend merely upon our own Will, the Law might ſend them to Heaven who lived under it, aſwell as the Goſpel can do us, and if they really were not, yet they might have been without Sin; and to what purpoſe ſhould the Church put up her Prayers and Petitions for Infidels, and ſuch as reſiſt the Truth, or that thoſe who are already converted, ſhould grow in Grace and Vertue, and perſevere in them till the end, if we receive not theſe things from God, but are endowed ſufficiently with Power within our own ſelves, and the Grace of God be onely conferred on us according to our own Merits and ſelf Sufficiency? what need Saints pray to have their Sins forgiven if they live without them, or not to be led into Temptation, if they ſtand not in need of God's Aſſiſtence, but have Power enough in themſelves, and their Wills be ſufficient to weather it out againſt all hardſhips and oppoſition? As for the Grace of God, it appears from the fourth Canon of the Council of *Milevis* (which as we ſaid before muſt have been holden not till the diſcovery made of this Hereſie) that *Pelagius* and his moſt thorough paced Diſciples, underſtood no more by it than the Revelation of the Divine Will, whereby a Man might know what was agreeable or diſſonant to it; but as for the Power of fulfilling God's Command, that a Man hath for his own natural ſtrength, ſtanding in no need therein of his Grace and Aſſiſtence. Though *Pelagius* by his great diſſimulation impoſed upon the Fathers aſſembled at *Dioppolis*, yet their jealouſie thereof ſeems not utterly wanting, in that they gave him no Letters teſtimonial of his Repentance and Sincerity, which happened well both for themſelves and other Orthodox Chriſtians, he in a ſhort ſpace recanting what he had before them renounced, and licking up his Vomit, which he had in appearance ſpued out in their preſence.

A Tumult at *Alexandria*, but ſuppreſſed.

79. Whilſt *Pelagius* a falſe Brother raiſed ſuch ſtirs and Contentions amongſt Chriſtians themſelves a notable Tumult happened at *Alexandria*, betwixt ſuch as bore that Name there, and the *Jews* and *Pagans* of that City upon this occaſion. A certain Dancer ſhewed his feats of activity upon a *Saturday*, which being the Sabbath of the *Jews*, they thereat took great offence, and burning ever with hatred againſt Chriſtians raiſed a Tumult, which for this time was appeaſed by the Care and Endeavours of *Oreſtes* the Prefect of the City. But it happening that *Oreſtes* fixing upon the Theatre, ſome Decree or Law to be for the future obſerved by the People, ſome of *Cyril* the Biſhop's Friends were curious to peruſe it, and amongſt the reſt one *Hierax* a Grammarian in great grace with him, whom as ſoon as the *Jews* beheld they cried out upon him, that he came thither for no other end than to move Contention betwixt Chriſtians, and thoſe of their perſwaſion, and laying hands on him, haled him to *Oreſtes*. He being a Pagan and a great Enemy of *Cyril*, whom he hated as well upon account of his Faith as Profeſſion, becauſe that the Power of the Biſhops in *Alexandria* had much abridged the Authority of the Governours, cauſed him to be ſeverely beaten. *Cyril* upon notice hereof, ſends for the moſt eminent amongſt the *Jews*, and threatens them with condign Puniſhment, in caſe they gave not over theſe mutinous Courſes, wherewith they were grievouſly offended, and ſet themſelves more carefully than ever, to work ſome notable feat, and ſhew their utmoſt rage and ſpleen againſt the Profeſſours of Chriſtianity. One certain Night having prepared themſelves for this purpoſe, they ſet ſome to crie Fire in the Streets, and to give out it was in the Church of *Alexander*, which aſſoon as the Chriſtians heard, they

Socrat. l. 7. cap. 13. &c. Niceph. l. 14. cap. 14.

Another upon which the *Jews* are diſdriven and driven thence.

they iſſue out of their Houſes, and from all Coaſts making toward that place, fall amongſt the *Jews*, lying in Ambuſh for them, by whom they are miſerably ſlain without reſpect to any Condition. Hereupon *Cyril* the Biſhop gets him to the Synagogue of the *Jews*, of whom ſome he cauſeth to be put to death, the Eſtates of others to be ſeized, and baniſheth the reſt, whereby they who had inhabited the City from *Alexander*'s time, were now diſperſed into all Countries.

Upon which a Quarrel 'twixt the Governour and the Biſhop ariſeth.

80. *Oreſtes* the Governour taking the thing it ſelf in ill part, as depriving the City of thoſe People, which by their egregious cunning in trade and practice in brokage, make their Company deſirable to ſeveral Places, and worſe as done by him, makes a great complaint hereof to the Emperour. *Cyril* was not wanting to himſelf on the other hand, in laying open the Inſolence and Cruelty of the *Jews*, yet deſired to be friends with *Oreſtes*, which offer the other would not cloſe with, either merely by reaſon of his Ethnick, and inveterate prejudice, or for that he intended to act the ſecond part of what the *Jews* had formerly performed. But their Enmity daily increaſing, the Monks that inhabited the Mount *Nitria* took notice thereof, and being at leiſure, alſo as hotly diſpoſed, as lately when *Theophilus* armed them againſt the Party of *Dioſcorus*, reſolved to maintain the Quarrel of *Cyril* his Succeſſour, and fifty of them coming to *Alexandria* aſſaulted the Governour as he rode in his Chariot, calling him *Sacrificer*, a *Heathen*, and giving him much other opprobious Language. He to appeaſe them, told them he was a Chriſtian, having been baptized by *Aticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, but they would give no credit to his words, and proſecuting what they had begun, one amongſt them, *Ammonius* by Name, gave him ſo ſore a blow on his Head with a ſtone, that the bloud guſhed out about his Ears, and the Officers and Sergeants attending him out of fear ſhifted for themſelves, the Governour continuing in this danger, till the Citizens came in to his reſcue, and ſeized on *Ammonius*, whoſe Fellows had made a ſhift to get away. Him the Governour cauſed to be tortured to death, and both he and *Cyril* again by writing, make their caſe as good as they can poſſibly to the Emperour. But the Biſhop buries the Corpſe of the Monk in a peculiar Church, changeth his Name from *Ammonius* to *Thamnaſius*, and in a kind of Funeral Sermon extolls the noble Courage of the Man, the great Combat he endured for Godlineſs, and gives Command he ſhould be called a Martyr, which gave offence to the more moderate and ſober ſort of Chriſtians, that knew how to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Cauſe, and the Puniſhment, and were ſatisfied that the Monk died not for Chriſt, but ſuffered what was due to his ſeditious and unwarrantable Enterprize.

Which is ſcandalouſly carried on.

81. Theſe juſt and ſober Sentiments of the judicious ſort of Chriſtians, cauſed *Cyril* to ſuffer the thing to dye, and be forgotten with the Monk, but ſtill the grudge continued betwixt him and *Oreſtes*, which produced another piece of imprudence, and ſcandal on the Chriſtian Part, after this manner. There was a Woman at *Alexandria*, by Name *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon* the Philoſoper, who trained up in her Father's way excelled all the Philoſophers of that time, continued in *Plato*'s School the exerciſe formerly practiſed by *Plotinus*, publickly read the Doctrine of all Philoſopers to ſuch as from all Countries flocked to hear her, and was had in extraordinary Honour and Eſteem, not onely for her Learning, but exceeding Modeſty, Gravity and Courage, which ſhe had ſucked in from her Philoſophical Principles. Many Letters of *Syneſius* to her are yet extant, who calls her Lady and Miſtreſs, and *Suidas* takes notice of her, as a moſt chaſt Virgin. This Perſon it ſeems being in great favour with the Governour, the People grew jealous, that ſhe did ill Offices betwixt him and the Biſhop, and in concluſion certain frantick and raſh Fellows headed by one *Peter* a Reader of the Church, watching her as ſhe came home to her Houſe, pulled her out of her Chariot, and dragging her into the Church called *Cæſarium*, ſtripped her ſtark naked, with ſharp ſhells rent the Skin from her Body till ſhe died, then quartering her brought the Quarters to a place called *Cinaron*, where they burnt them to Aſhes. This diveliſh Act brought great ſcandal to Chriſtianity in general, aſwell as the Church of *Alexandria*, and the Perſon of *Cyril*. *Socrates* is ſo preciſe in the Account thereof, that he notes it was committed in the fourth year after *Cyril*'s Conſecration, the tenth Conſulſhip of *Honorius*, and the ſeventh of *Theodoſius* (which was the 416 of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt) in the Month of *March* and the Ember-days. Yet *Baronius* admoniſheth his Reader not to give credit to the Relater of thoſe Stories, whom being a *Novatian* he concludeth prejudiced againſt the Biſhop, for what at his firſt coming to his Office he had

done

done againſt thoſe of that perſwaſion. However we commend the Cardinal for his Charity to a Perſon of ſo eminent Dignity in the Church, or rather, if one might dare to judge, to his Champions the Monks, of whoſe bald Skulls (if they ſhaved themſelves at this time) he is as tender as of the Biſhop's Mitre, yet out of a principle of indifference we muſt alſo tell the Reader, that others converſant in Antiquity do obſerve, that as this Age was generally very corrupt, ſo no greater Plague happened to the Church and Common-wealth, than that of the Monaſtical Life, which for about an Hundred years had filled the World with ſo many drones, that ſcarcely did any hope he could be ſaved except quitting his ſtation, in which God's Providence had placed him, he expoſed the Church and State to the Luſt and Tyranny of Robbers and Thieves, who at this time broke into all Places. And becauſe Faithfulneſs is the moſt requiſite Quality in an Hiſtorian, we cannot but farther alledge in *Socrates* his behalf, that thoſe times whereof he now wrote, were as the Morning to his own Day, and therefore however, he or any other might Counterfeit what there was no clear Light to diſcern, and tell Stories which none could contradict, being beyond the Memory of any alive, yet at ſuch time as the Knowledge of matters muſt needs be freſh, it were extreme Folly to aſſert ſuch Fables as both their freſh Date, and Eminence of Perſons by whom, and of Places where, they ſhould be acted muſt neceſſarily lay open to the Contradiction and Deriſion of Eye-witneſſes and By-ſtanders.

82. But as for the *Jews*, their ſufferings were ſo far from humbling them, that inſtead of making amends for what they formerly committed, they perpetrate other outrageous acts, which draw down more ſevere puniſhments upon them. For ſhortly after in a place betwixt *Chalcis* and *Antioch* in *Syria*, called *Immeſtar* at the time of their Plays and Interludes, in deriſion of Chriſt and Profeſſours of Chriſtianity they nail a Child of that Profeſſion to a Croſs, lift him up into the Air, and having derided and other ways abuſed him, ſcourge him to death; which being known procured great diſorders betwixt the Chriſtians and them. And the Emperours acquainted with the horrible Fact, gave orders to the Magiſtrates of the Countrey to make diligent inquiſition, and ſeverely puniſh it; whereby it came to paſs (as the Hiſtorian phraſeth it) that the *Jews* inhabiting thoſe Parts, for what they had ſhamefully committed in jeſt were puniſhed in earneſt. The Reſcript it ſelf is not extant in either of the Codes, but this year *Theodoſius* by an Edict ſtill remaining in his own Book, commands the Honorary Prefectſhip to be taken from *Gamaliel* (whom *Baronius* rationally conjectureth to have been their Patriarch mentioned by St. *Hierome*) and other puniſhments to be inflicted on that vagabond People, which example *Honorius* following in the Weſt, a little after publiſheth ſuch another Law againſt *Jews* having any Civil or Military employment.

Socr. l.7. c.16.

C. Th. de Jud. l. 22, & 24.

The *Jews* grown more inſolent, are puniſhed by Edicts from the Emperours.

John Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dies, *Praylus* ſucceeds.

83. In the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Honorius*, the four hundred and ſixteenth of Chriſt, died *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, after he had governed that See thirty years, into whoſe room *Praylus* was elected. And the year following was the laſt of *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*, who died on the twentieth of *July*, after he had ſate in that See fifteen years, one month and ten days. *Platina* telleth us in his Life, that buſying himſelf much with things appertaining to Chriſtian Religion, amongſt other things he ordained that the Sabbath or Saturday ſhould be a Faſt, both becauſe our Lord lay that day in the Grave, and for that his Diſciples thereon faſted. This we find in a Decretal Epiſtle to *Decennius* Biſhop of *Eugubium* going under his Name, wherein the reaſon for Faſting on Saturday is given, becauſe that day and the day before were ſpent in ſorrow and heavineſs by the Apoſtles, who alſo hid themſelves for fear of the *Jews*. As for theſe Decretal Epiſtles of his, Learned Men do very much ſuſpect them forged, becauſe they contain many Traditions utterly unknown to the Divines and Writers of that Age; and intire Paragraphs are found in them, which are alſo to be ſeen in the Writings both of the preceding and following Popes. The third Epiſtle to *Exuperius* makes mention of five Books of *Solomon*; the twenty ſecond talks of the Epiſcopal *Infulæ*, which then were not in uſe amongſt Chriſtians. The Epiſtle to the Council of *Carthage* is ſilly and ridiculous; the ninety firſt and the ninety third amongſt thoſe of St. *Auguſtine* are eſteemed no better than ſpurious by *Eraſmus*. However we muſt own this Faſting on Saturday to have been a Cuſtome in the *Roman* Church before this Decretal of *Innocent*, if ſuch there were. Indeed in the Eaſtern Church the Sabbath or Saturday was kept as a Feſtival, as appears by one of the Canons going under the Name of the Apoſtles, and it

Innocent Biſhop of *Rome* departs this life.

Ordained the Sabbath or Saturday for a Faſt.

Tom. 1. Conc.

Can. 65.

was

was unlawfull to Faſt on it, if we give credit to it and the Epiſtle which bears the Name of *Ignatius*, to the *Philippians*, inſomuch that this practice in after times was charged as a fault upon thoſe of *Rome* by the Sixth Council of *Conſtantinople*, and *Photius* Patriarch of that See; yet in the Weſtern Parts where there were fewer converted Jews (whoſe ordinary meeting on that day might give occaſion to the Cuſtome, as alſo a deſign to draw in thoſe of their Nation) and where thoſe Hereticks mentioned by *Irenæus*, who held themſelves bound to Faſt on the *Saturday*, becauſe they fanſied the Evil God who created the World had finiſhed his work, and that day was the beginning of all evil; where theſe, I ſay, gave no occaſion to croſs their Folly and Superſtition by a contrary Cuſtome, it was deſtinate and appointed to a Publick Faſt.

Εἰ τὴς κυριακὴ, ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, ἢ τοῦ χείσου χθόνος δύο.

L. 1. c. 20, &c.

84. Some have conceived the Cuſtome thence taken, that St. *Peter* being on the Lord's Day to conteſt with *Simon Magus*, the Church of *Rome* ſet the preceding day a part for faſting and humiliation, to implore the Bleſſing of God upon a buſineſs of ſo great importance, which yet moſt of the *Romans* themſelves did not believe. Others thought the difference of Cuſtoms proceeded from the different Apprehenſion and Senſe which Chriſtians had of Chriſt reſting in the Sepulchre, whereupon the Eaſtern People in memory of his Reſt would not make it a faſting day, whereas thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, in ſign and token of his humiliation choſe to faſt upon it. But the reaſon given by the Decretal of *Innocent*, ſeems more full and proper than any. Now when we ſpeak of the Weſt, we do not mean that all Weſtern Churches followed herein the Church of *Rome*, for as they were inclined ſome obſerved one, ſome the other Cuſtome. In many things it's clear, that the *Britiſh* Churches conformed themſelves to the manners of the Eaſt, which it's evident alſo that *Milan* did in this particular. For *Paulinus* aſſures us in the Life of St. *Ambroſe*, that he never uſed to dine but on the Day of the Sabbath, the Lord's day, and the Anniverſaries of Saints and Martyrs, yet ſo as when he was at *Rome* he would not be ſingular, but conform himſelf to their Faſhions and Cuſtoms. In *Africk* alſo we are informed by St. *Auguſtine*, that ſome Churches in the ſame Province dined, and ſome faſted on this day, and ſo continued the difference, thoſe of the Eaſt fretting in vain againſt the Church of *Rome*, till after various ſtrugling in ſeveral reſpects this Church got ground, and in this as other matters impoſed her Cuſtoms as Laws upon the reſt of the Weſtern World. But, enough of this. *Platina* tells us farther, that he ordained certain Rules concerning *Jews*, Pagans and Monks, that by conſent and approbation of *Theodoſius*, he either baniſhed the City or drove into Monaſteries the *Cataphrygæ* Hereticks, of whom *Montanus*, *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla* were Founders. And he dedicated a ſtately Church to *Gervaſe* and *Protheſius*, for which a certain Matron called *Veſtina*, had left a great Summ of Money. Concerning the Furniture and Endowments of this Church, the Reader if he pleaſe may conſult that Authour. *Innocent* after he had at four ſeveral times conferred Orders, and therein ordained 30 Presbyters, 12 Deacons, and 54 Biſhops, died, and was buried in the burying place at the *Bear with the Cap* in *Rome*.

Which hath been otherwiſe obſerved in ſome parts of the Weſt and all the Eaſtern Churches.

Theodoſio annuente.

In Cœmeterio ad Urſum pileatum.

Zoſimus choſen Biſhop of *Rome*.

85. On the 29*th*. of *Auguſt* following, was *Zoſimus* choſen to ſucceed him, the Son of *Abraham*, and a *Greek* by Birth. Upon this alteration in the See of *Rome*, *Pelagius*, and *Cœleſtius* his Scholar beſtir themſelves, and make application to the new Biſhop, whoſe aid and aſſiſtence they implore, as unreaſonably condemned by the *African* Fathers, and thoſe of *Dioſpolis*. *Pelagius* tells him their opinion onely was, that as Man always ſinneth, ſo may not ſin thereby, acknowledging him but to have Freedom of Will; and cunningly ſubmits all to the opinion and cenſure of the Biſhop, who hereupon admits his aſſertion, imbraces his Perſon as innocent, and receiving *Cœleſtius* upon the ſame ſubmiſſive appeal, writes to the Biſhops of *Africk*, commending theſe Hereticks to them as Catholick Men, and accuſing their Accuſers as Calumniatours, and infamous Perſons. The *African* Fathers having received his Letters, therein find fault with two things, firſt, that he had commended and approved an erroneous Sentence; ſecondly, that he had uſurped Power of abſolving them who had been condemned in *Africk*, and they had now the more cauſe to complain, by reaſon of another appeal made about this ſame time to him. One *Apiarius* a Prieſt of the Church of *Sicca*, very infamous upon ſeveral accounts, not onely by his own Biſhop, but by other Prelates met together, upon this occaſion was excommunicated. He betakes himſelf alſo to *Zoſimus*, complaining he was much injured, who without hearing his Accuſers, admits him to Communion, and underſtanding that the

He admits *Pelagius* and *Cœleſtius* upon their appeal to him.

And alſo *Apiarius* ſending his Legates with a pretended Canon to ſet forth his Title to ſuch Appeals.

African

African Fathers were about to aſſemble in the ſixth *Carthaginian* Synod (as it is called) he diſpatcheth toward them *Fauſtinus* a Biſhop, with *Philip* and *Aſellus* two *Roman* Prieſts, to whom he giveth in Commiſſion (the *Latin* word for it is *Commonitorium*) to plead the Cauſe of *Apiarius*, to procure *Urbanus* the Biſhop of *Sicca* to be excommunicated, or to cite him to *Rome*, there to anſwer, except he would ſubmit, and by all means to plead his own Right as Biſhop of *Rome*, to receive Appeals from Biſhops and Prieſts, cenſured either by their Biſhops, Metropolitans or Synods, and to ſend his Legates into *Africk*, to take Cognizance of the Cauſes of ſuch Appellants. As an Argument he commands them to urge a Canon of the *Nicene Council*, whereby this Privilege was granted to the *Roman* See.

86. The Legates pleading by Word of Mouth, the Cauſe for which they were ſent; urged alſo the *Nicene Canon*, a Copy of which they pretended to produce. The Fathers perceiving whither the Matter drove, upon ſearch proteſted there was no ſuch Canon in their Archives to be found: What had been propounded concerning *Apiarius* and his Biſhop, they were troubled to admit, declared plainly, they could not ſubmit to any ſuch Juriſdiction of the *Roman* See, till they ſaw better proof; and to ſearch out the truth, were reſolved to ſend to *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Conſtatinople* to inſpect the moſt Authentick Records of that Council, deſiring the Legates alſo, that they would either take the pains to go or ſend to thoſe Places. In the mean time they were content, that Biſhops might appeal to the *Roman* See, and the Cauſes of Clerks be determined by the Biſhops of their Provinces, but no longer than till a ſearch could be made into the *Nicene* Decrees. This they would doe for quietneſs ſake, and write Letters to *Zozimus* himſelf, who dying e'er the return of the Legates, or ſhortly after (that we may join together for the better underſtanding, what was done under ſeveral Popes about this Affair) *Boniface* his Succeſſour reſolved to maintain the ſame cauſe, and ſent the ſame Perſons back to the *Carthaginian Council*. There followed much Diſpute betwixt the Fathers and them; but to the ſame purpoſe, the Synod adhering to its former reſolution, to give liberty of appeals, onely till they could receive a certain Information concerning the *Nicene Canons*; for procurement of which, they deſire of *Boniface* by Letter, that he alſo would improve his Intereſt. But it ſeems both the Legates, and he that ſent them, were Deaf on that Ear, and Conſcious to themſelves of the goodneſs of their Cauſe, they are ſuſpected to have been ſo far from ſending, that by their Procraſtinations they hindred others from going into the Eaſt for ſome time, ſo that a Return of the Meſſage was not made till the fourth year, wherein the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſent to the *African* Biſhops, the ſo much deſired Copy of the Canons, together with notice, that the *Eaſter* following was to be kept on the 15 of *April*. Theſe Canons are recited in the firſt Tome of the Councils, wherein is not to be found one Syllable concerning Appeals to the *Roman* See, or the Primacy of the *Roman* Biſhop, over foreign Churches. The Fathers having peruſed them, procure them to be ſent to *Boniface* for his ſatisfaction.

Which is admitted till ſuch time as the truth did more fully appear.

Zozimus dies.

Boniface his ſucceſſour puts in the ſame Clame.

But is rejected there being not any ſuch Canon ever made in the *Nicene* Council.

87. *Boniface* dying not long after, the Controverſie was not buried with him, being revived by *Cœleſtinus*, the following Biſhop, upon the ſame occaſion as it had begun. For *Apiarius* having betaken himſelf to the *Tabraceni*, was there again for his good deeds excommunicated, which not enduring, he betakes himſelf to his old Refuge, and appeals to *Cœleſtinus*, who receiving him into Communion, ſends once more the former Legates to expoſtulate with thoſe of *Africk*, and require that what had been demanded by his Predeceſſours, as to the Privilege of the *Roman* See might be made good. They according to their Inſtructions, complaining that the Privileges of the *Roman* See were infringed, and the Decrees of *Nice* broken, had ſtill the ſame anſwer as formerly, and after three days contention, the Biſhops adhered to their former reſolution agreeable to that of their Forefathers againſt the See of *Rome*, in the year 255, and what the Biſhops of *Spain*, in the year 255 had reſolved. At length *Apiarius* diſtruſting his Patronage, and conſcious of his Guilt falls down on his Knees, confeſſes the Crimes laid againſt him, and begs Pardon of the Synod, which afterward decrees, that none hereafter in *Africk*, having Metropolitans of their own, appeal to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the firſt Cognizance of the Cauſe remaining with the Biſhops and Metropolitan, the ſecond with a Provincial Council, and the final Reſort to be to an univerſal one; and that for the time to come, no Right or Juriſdiction of the *Roman* See, over the *African* Churches be owned. Moreover they write to *Cœleſtinus* himſelf Letters, wherein having given him an account

He dying *Cœleſtinus* revives it.

And receives the ſame Anſwer from the *African* Biſhops.

of

of *Apiarius* and what he had confeſſed, they earneſtly deſire him, that for the time to come he would not eaſily admit any flying from them, nor receive any Perſon to Communion whom they had excommunicated. Foraſmuch as he might eaſily perceive, that this was ſo defined by the *Nicene* Synod. They intreat he would reject all Prieſts and other Clerks which ſhould flie from them, ſeeing that by Decree of no Council, there was any thing derogated from the Church of *Africk*, and the Decrees of *Nice* moſt manifeſtly leave as well inferiour Clerks as Biſhops to their Metropolitans, moſt prudently and juſtly providing, that all buſineſs whatſoever ſhould be determined in the Places where they riſe, the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt not being wanting to any Province, which thing as equitable ought to be obſerved by the Prieſts of Chriſt with all Conſtancy imaginable, eſpecially conſidering that any one may freely if he find himſelf agrieved, appeal either to the Synods of his own Province, or to a General Council.

Prudentiſſimè enim juſtiſſiméq; providerunt quæcunq; negotia, in ſuis locis ubi orta ſunt, finienda: nec unicuiq; Provinciæ gratiam ſancti Spiritus defuturam quæ æquitas à Chriſto ſacerdotibus & prudenter videatur & conſtantiſſimè teneatur: maximè quin unicuique conceſſum eſt, ſi judicio offenſus fuerit cognitorum, ad Concilia ſuæ Provinciæ, vel etiam univerſale provocare.

88. They * think this they write to be Reaſon, except there be ſome who believe, that God can inſpire every particular Man with a Spirit of diſcerning, and deny the ſame to an innumerable Company of Prieſts gathered together in Council. They demand how a tranſmarine Judgment can be good, whether ſufficient Witneſſes, either by reaſon of their Sex, their Age or Infirmity, or many other intervenient Accidents cannot come? And ‖ as for him that ſhould ſend any Legates, they did not find it was ſo ordained by any Synod. They tell him plainly, that the Canon he had ſent them by *Fauſtinus* the Biſhop, they could not find in the Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Synod received from *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *Atticus* of *Conſtantinople*, which they had heretofore tranſmitted to *Boniface* his Predeceſſour. They bid him ſend no more his Clerks called *Executores*, leſt the ſmoaky pride of this World ſhould be brought into the Church of Chriſt, which ſhews all that deſire to ſee God, the light of Simplicity and Humility. And expecting that he would not ſend *Fauſtinus* any more into *Africk*, they take their leave of him with a Prayer for his long Life, and the kind appellation of *Domine Frater*. Thus do the *African* Fathers, reaſon and plead with *Cœleſtinus*, with ſuch fairneſs and Chriſtian Lenity, that *Baronius* makes this, and that mild Courſe which St. *Auguſtine* takes to diſſwade the Biſhop of *Rome*, an Argument of their obnoxiouſneſs to their Juriſdiction. By this Letter it ſelf, let the indifferent Reader judge whether the Cardinal have any Reaſon to affirm, that they do not deny his Authority to receive Appeals, and that their words manifeſtly declare they onely are grieved with the manner of proſecution. Doth the Teſtimony they cite from the Council of *Nice*, I pray, reſpect the manner of the proſecution, or the buſineſs of Appeals themſelves, and the concluding of Controverſies? Doth their exception concerning the Holy Ghoſt's inſpiration, concern the Method of Appeals, or the referring of Cauſes to Synods? We may without offence ſuppoſe that the Decrees of *Nice*, which they quote were not made concerning the manner of Appeals, but the very being of them; but it's in vain to contend with a Perſon reſolved to ſay any thing.

* *Nisi forte quiſquam eſt qui credat, unicuilibet, poſſe Deum noſtrum examinis inſpirare juſtitiam & innumerabilibus congregatis in concilium ſacerdotibus denegare.*

‖ *Nam ut aliqui tanquam à tuæ ſanctitatis latere mittantur, nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo conſtitutum.*
Vide Can. 101. *Concilii Africani.*

89. If the *African* Biſhops intended not to derogate from the *Roman* Right to Appeals, as he would have them, why did they make ſuch a Canon as we find to be the twenty ſecond of the Synod of *Milenis*, and the ninety ſecond of the Council of *Africk*, which *Gratian* alſo has taken into his Decree, ordaining that *Prieſts, Deacons, or others of the inferiour Clerks if they find themſelves agrieved by the Judgements of their own Biſhops in their Cauſes, might be heard by the neighbouring Biſhops, who by conſent of their own Prelates, being allotted them as Judges, might decide their Controverſies. But if they thought fit to appeal, they ſhould appeal to none except the African Councils, or the Primates of their Provinces. And if any thought fit to appeal to any beyond the Seas, he ſhould be received to Communion by none in Africk.* The Gloſs preſently puts you in mind of *Gratian* his Reſtriction of this Canon, who indeed comes in afterward with his *Niſi forte*, Except they appeal to the *Roman* See, for proof of which he then produces the

Cauſ. 2 *quæſt.* 6. *c.* 35. *Placuit.*

ſeventh

ſeventh Canon of the *Sardican* Council, which giving leave to the Biſhop of *Rome* to interpoſe his Authority, we have formerly mentioned. But let any Perſon reade the Letter of the Fathers to *Cæleſtine*, and withall conſider, that about this very time this Council of *Milenis* was held, as *Baronius* himſelf proves, and if he judge whether all circumſtances conſidered, *Gratian's Niſi forte* be of any value, and whether the Biſhops intended that the See of *Rome*, againſt whoſe Juriſdiction they had ſo ſtrugled, ſhould be excepted. As for the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*, the Cardinal to vindicate his Popes from forgery (of which ſome Innovatours, as he calls the Centuriatours, do accuſe them) thinks it miſtaken by them for ſome other of *Nice*, or ſome one of *Nice* put amongſt thoſe of *Sardica*, or becauſe the Synod of *Sardica* was held to confirm the Council of *Nice*, it was accounted, as it were, the ſame with it, nay in ſome reſpects preſers it before that of *Nice*; for as it was equal with it in being Oecumenical, ſo there was in it thirty five Biſhops, together with *Gratus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, whereas in the *Nice* Council no more *African* Fathers are found than onely one *Cæciliamus*, whereupon he concludes that the *African* Biſhops could not without breach of the Catholick Peace reject the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*.

90. But if this be not plain ſhuffling, let any indifferent Perſon tell what is. Perhaps and perhaps the Cardinal may ſay now; but ſurely he could not think that in all theſe Debates and Pleadings *pro* and *con*, if they had meant this or that, found the thing here or there, upon denyal that there was any ſuch matter as the *Nicene* Canon, it would not have been mentioned, inſtanced, and thereupon Iſſue have been joyned. But, to ſee how *Baronius* takes and refuſeth, accepts and rejects, imbraces and ſcorns every thing, any thing, the ſame thing, as they make for or againſt his great Deſign, let but the Reader conſider what he writes of that Council of *Sardica*, how he confeſſeth that by reaſon of the contrary manner of proceeding in that Council, the Reſolutions and Acts thereof have been variouſly reported and accepted of in later times, that many things are cited as decreed by the *Sardican* Council contrary to the teſtimonies of *Athanaſius*; and that St. *Auguſtine* and others granting ſeveral Decrees to have been made by this Synod, yet excepting againſt it as Heretical and Arian: in concluſion, ſo great was the uncertainty and confuſion, in thoſe times themſelves, amongſt ſuch as had beſt reaſon to know, in relation to this Synod, that the Cardinal writing of it is thereupon ſeized with admiration. Now it's not onely an Oecumenical Synod, but ſuch an one as though all Orthodox Chriſtians in the beſt times were ſhie of receiving its Decrees, yet the *Africans* muſt under pein of Schiſm ſubmit themſelves to its Canons and Decrees. But what if there were no ſuch Canons made by this Synod; what if neither that of *Sardica* nor any other Council ever ordained any ſuch matter about the *Roman* Juriſdiction, and Appeals to that See, from the time of Chriſt, to that of this Controverſie? By the deciſion of that Queſtion before an impartial unprejudiced Judge we are content to abide, and our Witneſſes are thoſe *African* Fathers, who if any ſuch thing had been, they had certainly better reaſon to know than any of theſe laſt Ages, hear therefore their Teſtimony. The ſeventh pretended Canon of the Council of *Sardica* ordains, that in caſe of Appeal the Biſhop of *Rome* may ſend *à Latere* his Legate or Legates to hear, and by his authority to determine with other Biſhops the matter in Controverſie; but the Biſhops of *Africk* in their Letter to *Cæleſtine* ſay in ſo many words, *Ut aliqui tanquam à tuæ ſanctitatis Latere mittantur nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo conſtitutum*: *viz.* that any may be ſent as *à Latere* from your Holineſs we do not find ordained in any Synod of the Fathers. They were in the words immediately preceding ſpeaking of the inconvenience of Tranſmarine Judgments. But one might object though it be ſo inconvenient for Perſons to go over Sea, yet the Biſhop of *Rome* may ſend his Legates to them, to Anſwer which Queſtion or rather prevent it, they come in with a *Nam ut aliqui, &c.* as in the foregoing words, and then proteſt in particular againſt that pretended *Nicene* Canon. This is ſufficient to diſcover aſwell the truth it ſelf as the Cardinal's ſhuffling, without this reſerve, that had there been any ſuch Decree of *Nice* or of *Sardica*, it ſpeaks not as owning any ſuch Authority in the *Roman* See as formerly inveſted in it upon any account whatſoever, but for convenience of Tryals *de novo* this forged Canon erects a Tribunal for the *Roman* Prelate.

Who declare that the Pope hath no power given by any Synod of the Fathers to receive Appeals from or ſend his Legates into any part of *Africk*.

91. But *Zozimus*, that we may return and take the reſt along with us, died after he had ſate in the *Roman* See a year, four months and ſeven days, and was buried in the *via Tiburtina*, by the Body of St. *Laurence*. Of this Biſhop two Decretal

cretal Epiſtles are extant, one to *Iſychius* Biſhop of *Salonæ*, and another to the Clergy of *Ravenna*. He forbad ſlaves to be made Clerks, and amongſt ſome other trifles made this Decree. *Againſt the Ordinances of the Fathers, the Authority of this very See cannot make or change any thing. For with us Antiquity flouriſheth firmly rooted, to which the Decrees of the Fathers have procured reverence.* If this be true, and the ordinances of the Council of *Nice* quite ſpoil the Pope of his ſo large pretended Juriſdiction. Two or three days after his Death two were choſen in his room, *Eulalius* the Archdeacon, and *Boniface* a Prieſt. *Symmachus* being at this time Prefect of the City, gave notice of the Schiſm to *Honorius* the Emperour, to whom he alſo ſignified that *Eulalius* was moſt legally choſen, and was the true and rightfull Biſhop of *Rome*. But *Boniface* his Friends pleaded for him on the other ſide, and Letters were ſo multiplied, that *Honorius* thought fit to ſummon them both to *Ravenna* on the fifteenth of *January*, whereas *Zozimus* died on the twenty ſixth of *December*. The Emperour cauſed alſo many Biſhops to meet together for deciſion of the Controverſie, but ſuch factions, heats and conteſts appeared, that it was impoſſible to reconcile the difference, whereupon *Honorius* commanded them both to forbear the City. Yet notwithſtanding *Eulalius* attempted to celebrate the Feaſt of *Eaſter* (which this year fell upon the thirtieth of *March*) and raiſed ſuch a Sedition that ſcarcely could be expelled by *Symmachus* the Prefect, whoſe Perſon had been brought into extreme danger. *Symmachus* ſending a Relation of theſe things to the Emperour, he writes back to him to bring *Boniface* into the City, and there eſtabliſh him in the Chair as the true and undoubted *Roman* Biſhop, *Eulalius* being ſentenced uncapable of the Office by the Emperour and a Synod on the ſeventh of *April*.

Contra Statuta Patrum condere aliquid, nec hujus quidem ſedis Romanæ poteſt authoritas, apud nos enim reconvulſis radicibus vivit antiquitas, cui Decreta Patrum ſanxere reverentiam. Tom. 1. Conc. cauſa 25. q. 1. c. 7.

Upon the death of *Zozimus* a diſpute aroſe 'twixt *Eulalius* and *Boniface* for the See.

Which is decided on behalf of *Boniface* by the Emperour's order.

92. This ſame year being the four hundred and nineteenth of our Saviour, many Cities and Towns of *Paleſtine* are ſaid to have been overthrown by Earthquakes, and he himſelf to have appeared over Mount *Olivet* near to *Jeruſalem* in a Cloud, upon ſight and hearing whereof, many Pagan Nations were converted to the Truth. This year alſo *Cryſantius* the Novatian Biſhop died at *Conſtantinople*, after he had governed ſuch Congregations as were ſubject to his diſcipline ſeven years, to whom *Paul* ſucceeded, of whom *Socrates* relates ſuch an Act as he thinks worthy to be Ingraved in Marble, and to remain to all Poſterity; the thing was this: A certain *Jew* feigning a deſire to become a Chriſtian, was often Baptized, and by that means got much Money. After he had couzened ſeveral Sects as the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, he comes to *Paul*, from whoſe Hands he beſeeches him he may receive the Holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, who granteth his requeſt on theſe conditions, that he learned the Articles of Faith, and gave himſelf to Faſting for many days. The *Jew* being conſtrained to Faſt, called every day for Baptiſm, and *Paul* moved by his importunity, made all things ready for it, providing him a white Veſtment, and cauſing the Font to be filled with Water. But when the *Jew* approached, all the Water by a ſecret operation was ſuddenly dried up; at which amazed, they yet thought it might poſſibly run through the hole at the bottom of the Font through which they were wont to let it goe, and therefore ſtopped all the holes and chinks, and poured in freſh Water: yet when the *Jew* was brought the ſecond time, and hanged his Head over the Font, the Water again vaniſhed every drop, which *Paul* the Biſhop beholding, told the Man that he horribly diſſembled, or had been unwittingly Baptized; but when upon the noiſe of the Miracle many flocked unto the place, one among the reſt happened to know the *Jew*, and ſo the truth came to light.

Marcellinus in Chron.

Lib. 7. c. 17.

A Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in *Perſia*.

93. At this time a great Perſecution raged in *Perſia* againſt the Chriſtians of that Countrey: the occaſion this. *Arcadius* the Emperour before his Death made *Iſdegerdes* the *Perſian* King, Tutour or Guardian to his Son *Theodoſius*, which buſineſs cauſed many Embaſſies to be made to and fro, wherein on the *Roman* part amongſt others was *Maruthas* a Biſhop of *Meſopotamia* employed, by whoſe Piety and Induſtry the Villanies and Impoſtures of the *Magi* being diſcovered, Chriſtian Religion was much propagated, and the King almoſt perſwaded to become a Chriſtian. But after his death the Friendſhip betwixt the *Romans* and that Crown was broken, and a great Perſecution enſued under his Son, as *Socrates* writes, others ſay it began under *Isdegerdes* himſelf, and *Vararanes*, *Bararanes* or *Goraranes* his Son continued it; under whomſoever it began, the imprudent Zeal of *Audas* a Biſhop in *Perſia* firſt kindled the flame which devoured ſo many Martyrs. He cauſed to be demoliſhed the *Pyræum* or Temple dedicated to Fire, which as their God was held in great reverence by that Nation, and refuſed to repair it though commanded by the King, who putting him to Death, gave order that

Socr. l. 7. cc. 8. & 18. & 20. Theod. l. 5. c. 38. Diaconus Niceph. l. 14. c. 48.

that the Churches of Chriſtians ſhould be demoliſhed, and then moſt cruelly raged for ſeveral years againſt the Profeſſours of the true Religion. Many are the kinds of Torments which the Faithfull underwent in this fiery tryal. Of ſome they flay'd the Hands, others the Backs; from others they pulled the skin over their Ears down to their Shoulders. Some thus deveſted of their natural Covering they tormented by ſharp Reeds ſtuck into their fleſh. Many they ſhut up in pits, and put therein Rats and Mice to devour them alive, having bound them ſo as they could neither with their Hands or Feet defend themſelves. Notwithſtanding all that Devils and the *Magi* their Inſtruments could invent, yet were the Faithfull ſo far from being terrified, that as in the moſt Primitive times, they rather offered themſelves and ran to meet the Crown of Martyrdom. Of theſe *Hormisda* and *Saene* were eminent Courtiers, together with *James*, who by the King's perſwaſion firſt renounced his Religion, but was again reduced by his Wife and Mother, and ſtoutly confeſſing his Faith in his Saviour, had by the angry King's order all his Limbs cut from his Body, of which the Trunk and Head onely remaining; when by theſe Torments he could not be forced to renounce his Religion, this was at laſt ſmitten off with a Sword.

94. *Marcellinus* in his Chronicon fixeth the beginning of this Perſecution in the ninth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius Auguſtus*, and the third of *Conſtantius Cæſar*, which *Socrates* will have continued for two years till the thirteenth of *Honorius* and the tenth of *Theodoſius*, but *Theodoret* prolongeth to no leſs than thirty. At length certain Chriſtians eſcaping out of *Perſia*, related to the *Romans* the miſerable and afflicted eſtate of the Churches, and imploring their aid and aſſiſtence; *Theodoſius* very readily cloſed with their Requeſt, and when the *Perſian* demanded his Fugitives, anſwer was made, that he was reſolved to try the utmoſt rather than ſuffer his Chriſtian Brethren to be ſo cruelly intreated. The *Perſians* taking this in evil part ſeize as many *Romans* as they can, whom they condemn to the Mines, and on the Goods of Merchants contrary to all former Treaties. *Theodoſius* therefore ſends his Forces to invade them, who hired a vaſt number of *Saracens* to aſſiſt them; but the *Saracens* ſeized with a Pannick fear ſlew one another and fled, and the *Perſians* being overthrown in ſeveral Engagements, thoſe Select Troops, called *Immortal*, miſerably periſhed. *Theodoſius* though he had good advantage, and might have proſecuted the Victory, yet for the ſake of the Churches made Peace, and the Perſecution ceaſed. To the Story of this War belongs a Preſident of Chriſtian Charity related by *Socrates*, which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. The *Romans* having taken Priſoners above ſeven thouſand *Perſians*, refuſed to releaſe them, and had ſo little care of their ſubſiſtence, that they were ready to ſtarve with Hunger; which *Acacius* Biſhop of *Amida* conſidering, called together his Clergy and told them, that God ſtood not in need of either Cups or Diſhes, that therefore foraſmuch as their Church had many Uteniſils of Gold and Silver beſtowed on her by Religious and Pious Benefactours, he thought it requiſite the Captive Souldiers ſhould therewith be redeemed, and reſcued from the miſery of Captivity and Hunger. Having ſaid thus much, he cauſed the Plate to be ſtamped into Money, whereof one part he ſent as a Ranſome, a ſecond to relieve the Neceſſities of the Priſoners, and a third to bear their Charges into their own Countrey. The *Perſian* King was exceedingly ſtruck with admiration at ſo Noble an act, perceiving that the Chriſtians knew how to overcome him with Engines of mercy and goodneſs, aſwell as thoſe of Hoſtility, and deſired to ſee ſo excellent a Perſon, which by the Interpoſition of *Theodoſius* he obtained. And it is not to be doubted but by this Chriſtian Office many *Perſians* were perſwaded to imbrace the Chriſtian Religion, as alſo by the Journey of *Acacius*, who having fed them with the Bread which periſheth, no doubt would uſe all means to make them Partakers of that which endureth to Eternal Life; and as a Reward of his Piety and the Gift of true Wiſedom, obtained long Life, (for he ſurvived to a great Age) and alſo (true) Riches and Honour.

Which is ſtopt by the interpoſition of *Theodoſius*.

Socr. lib. 7. c. 21. Niceph. l. 14. c. 22.

And the Charity of *Acacius* Biſhop of *Amida*.

95. At the ſame time that this Perſecution began to rage in *Perſia*, *viz.* the CCCCXX year of our Lord, that great and famous Light of the Church St. *Hierome* departed this Life at *Bethlehem* on the laſt day of *September*, and was there buried. Concerning his Age, which certainly was great, there is no ſmall difference amongſt Writers; ſome will have him to live ninety eight years, *Proſper* ninety one, but *Baronius* more probably no more than ſeventy eight. For Learning he rather excelled than equalled any one Father. The Books he wrote were very numerous yet not all extant as appears in ſeveral mentioned

St. *Hierome* dies.

Marcell.

by (*a*) *Caſſiodorus*, (*b*) St. *Auguſtine* and (*c*) himſelf. To thoſe that are extant many Suppoſititious have been added, which have been detected by *Marianus Victorius*, *Eraſmus*, *Sixtus Senenſis* and others. And as many have been ſeigned as written by him, ſo others as to him, amongſt which are notorious thoſe from him to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, and from them to him. His Epiſtle to theſe two Biſhops concerning the Nativity of our Saviour, hath been often branded in the *Roman* Schools, as by *Melchior Canus*, *Molanus* and *Sixtus Senenſis*, who affirmeth it a Fiction of the *Valentinian* and *Gnoſtick* Hereticks; yet *Chriſtophorus à Caſtro* a *Spaniſh* Jeſuite in his *Deiparæ Hiſtoria*, undertakes the protection and defence of that impious Impoſture. And both from this and the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (which as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, was never received and acknowledged in the Church, and is rejected and condemned by *à Caſtro* himſelf) both Lying Fabulous Legends, wherein is much ſtuff to be found concerning the Bleſſed Virgin and her Parents, *Damaſcene*, *Germanus*, *Nicephorus*, *Sergius* of *Heliopolis*, *Andreas Hieroſolymitanus*, *Hippolytus* with other *Homilians* and *Rhapſodiſts*, have borrowed Materials with very poor judgment and diſcretion, and therewith imbelliſhed their Legends, Hiſtories, Homilies and Panegyrical Harangues. And after them (ſaith our Biſhop *Mountague*) *Baronius* comes in the Rere, who more than once lays his Judgment at Stake upon the Relation of ſuch forged Fopperies, which he takes up by Retail upon their Word and Credit, without examining what authority they had to relate them.

(*a*) *Juſt. diu lect. cc.* 2. 3, *&c.*
(*b*) *De hæreſ. ad Quodvultdeum.*
(*c*) *Contr. Jovin. l.* 2.

His Works.

96. But, amongſt all the Works of St. *Hierome*, he deſerved more of the Church by none than his Tranſlations of the Holy Scriptures. For though they were tranſlated into the Languages of (*a*) many Nations, yet the Fountains of theſe Tranſlations had not been too pure, and ſo various, aſwell as corrupt, were thoſe in the Latine Tongue eſpecially, that they could hardly be (*b*) numbred, all being taken from the Greek Interpreters, not the Hebrew Text. The firſt Tranſlation of this Text, as is known almoſt to every Man, was that of the LXXII through procurement of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, called in the round Number the *Septuagint*, being in ſuch eſteem in the Chriſtian Church, that (*c*) *Epiphanius* holds them for no leſs than Prophets, and (*d*) *Juſtinian* the Emperour enjoyning the *Jews* his Subjects to uſe eſpecially the Tranſlation of the Seventy, gives this reaſon, that this number of Interpreters was as it were enlightened with Divine Grace. Yet as men they ſometimes ſtumbled, in ſome places adding, and in others taking away, which made the Apoſtles leave them often when they left the Hebrew, and to deliver the ſenſe thereof according to the truth as the Spirit directed them. In concluſion, this Tranſlation not contenting, no not thoſe of the *Jews*, *Aquila* a Proſelyte fell in hand with a new Tranſlation in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour. After him *Symmachus* a *Samaritan* an *Ebionite* made a third attempt. *Theodotion* an *Epheſian* and a *Marcionite* a fourth under *Commodus*. A fifth Edition was made by an uncertain Tranſlatour found in the ſeventh year of *Antoninus Caracalla* in *Jericho*, hidden in a Tub together with other Hebrew and Greek Books. A ſixth was alſo made by an uncertain hand, and found as the former in Barrels at *Nicopolis* in the Eaſt, or the *Actiacan* Shoar in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. Theſe Tranſlations coming into the hands of *Origen*, he took care that the Bible ſhould be written out in this manner. To the Hebrew Text placed in one Column he adjoined another Column of Hebrew but written in Greek Letters and Characters, that it might be read by *Grecians*; to theſe two Columns he added four other, *viz.* thoſe of *Aquila*, the *Septuagint*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, placing that of the *Septuagint* in the middle, as *Epiphanius* thinks for its excellency, and called this Edition the *Hexapla*; to which afterwards adding the fifth and ſixth anonymous Tranſlations formerly mentioned, he called the ſecond Edition the *Octapla*. Now from all theſe bad Greek, many Tranſlations had alſo been made in Latine, as we ſaid before, and ſo bad that it provoked *Hierome* to make a new one. For as the *Septuagint* it ſelf was imperfect, the reſt could not be exceedingly good, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* being Judaizing Hereticks, as he * termeth them, in particular *Aquila*, whoſe Tranſlation was the beſt, and is onely allowed by *Juſtinian* to the *Jews* next after the *Septuagint*, of a *Greek* firſt became a Chriſtian, then giving himſelf more than was meet to curious Queſtions of Aſtronomy, being

In particular his Tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures.

(*a*) *Multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante tranſlata docet falſa eſſe quæ addita ſunt, &c. Hieronym. præf. in* 4 *Evang.*

(*b*) *Latini Interpretes nullo modo numerari poſſunt. Aug.*

(*c*) *Vide eund. de ponderibus & menſuris.*

(*d*) *Sacrorum librorum traditionem fecerunt tanquam prophetia gratia circumfulgente, ex Novel.*46. *cap.*1. *ad quam vide quæ notantur per Interpr.*

Vide Epiphan. dicto loco.

* *Præf. in lib. Job.*

being caſt out by the Church he betook himſelf to the *Jews*, and that he might endamage the cauſe of Chriſtians endeavoured to corrupt the Tranſlation of the Seventy, and ſuch places of Scripture as bear manifeſt Teſtimony unto Chriſt. Therefore St. *Hierome* ſet upon the Work and made a Tranſlation out of the Fountains. For as he himſelf † affirmeth to *Lucinius Bæticus* and *Grātian* from him in his Decree, as the credit of the old Books (of the Old Teſtament) is to be tried by the Hebrew Volumes; ſo thoſe of the New by the Greek Tongue. Of the Vulgar and other Latine Tranſlations we ſhall ſpeak in due time and place.

* *Ut veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda eſt, ita novorum Græci ſermonis normam deſiderat. Diſt. 9. c. 6. Ut veterum & Hieron. ad Lucinium Bæticum. Ep.* 28.

97. The following year which was the 421 of our Lord, in the Conſulſhip of *Euſtathius* and *Agricola*, an Edict was publiſhed by *Theodoſius* the Emperour directed to *Philip* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, for *removing of Innovations, obſervance and vigorous Execution of the Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Canons through all the Provinces of that Countrey; that if any doubtfull matter aroſe it ſhould be determined in a Synod not without the Cogniſance of the moſt Reverend Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *which City enjoyed the Prerogative of old* Rome. *Baronius* the Champion of *old Rome* mightily quarrels with this Law, as publiſhing falſe Doctrine through the ſuggeſtion of *Atticus* the Biſhop of the *New*, who for the advancement of his See feigned Canons ſo Ancient that indeed they never had any beginning. He not onely queſtions the being of ſuch Canons, but denies alſo that by any other Authority than that of the Secular Prince, by Decrees of any Council, the City of *Conſtantinople* enjoyed the prerogative of *old Rome* in matters Eccleſiaſtical. As to the buſineſs of *Illyricum*, he both affirms this See never to have had any Juriſdiction over it before this time, nor for many years after enjoyed any. But if *Atticus* his concern for his own See ſo far Tranſported him as to impoſe upon the credulity of the Emperour, the Cardinal's zeal for that of *Rome*, ſometimes alſo bribes his Underſtanding to caſt Miſts before the Eyes of his Incautelous Readers, which he may doe at a cheaper rate than *Atticus* ſurely could in Matters of ſuch Conſequence abuſe his Prince. Had any ſuch Canons been made for the Intereſt of the *Roman* Church, he would have told us that ſuch they were, but they are loſt, for the Council of *Nice* doubtleſs made more than thoſe twenty which are commonly aſcribed to it; that the Canon of *Sardica* cannot be found, which, doubtleſs, once had a being, becauſe ſeveral Popes did not fear to cite it to the *African* Fathers in behalf of their Right to receive Appeals; that an Edict of the Emperours was a thing more ſolemn than to be founded upon light Surmiſes, Lyes, and Falſhood; that many things were which do not at this diſtance appear to us; that if no credit be to be given to Authentick Laws, there is no heed to be taken of any publick Monuments; in concluſion, that *Atticus* never would have dared to broach ſuch a thing which he knew could not be concealed, but coming to the Ears muſt needs open the Mouths of his Æmulatours, eſpecially thoſe in *Italy*.

Omni innovatione ceſſante vetuſtatem & canones priſtinos Eccleſiaſticos qui uſq; nunc tenuerunt, etiam per omnes Illyrici Provincias ſervari præcipimus: ut ſiquid dubietatis emerſerit, id oporteat (non abſq; ſcientia viri Reverendiſſimi ſacroſanctæ Legis Antiſtitis Eccleſiæ urbis Conſtantinopolitanæ quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur) conventui ſacerdotali ſanctóque Judicio reſervari. D. Prid. Id. Jul. Euſtathio & Agricola Conſſ.

Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. §. 6. de Sacroſanctis Eccleſiis, & C.Th. Epiſcopis & Clericis, l. 46.

An Edict of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, declaring the Prerogative of *Conſtantinople*.

98. Whether the Cardinal tell true, when he writes, that the City of *Conſtantinople* at this time did not enjoy any Prerogative of *Old Rome* by virtue of the Canons of any Synod, let the Reader judge by what we have ſaid at the beginning of this Chapter concerning the *Conſtantinopolitan Council*. As great heed is to be taken of what Reflexions he makes upon a buſineſs which happened the year following. *Patroclus* a certain Biſhop by the favour and aſſiſtence of *Conſtantinus* the *Magiſter Militum*, with whom he was very familiar, having diſplaced *Herotes* a good man and Diſciple of St. *Martin*, had thruſt himſelf into the See of *Arles*, and not therewith content had invaded the Rights of another Metropolis, ordaining a Biſhop in the Province of *Narbone*. *Boniface* the Biſhop of *Rome* not onely repreſſed this Inſolency, but by Letters dated on the 28 of *January* to *Hilary* Biſhop of *Narbone*, commands him to uſe the Right of Metropolitan, to conſider what was to be done, and make Report thereof to the Apoſtolick See, ordaining that every Metropolitan ſhould content himſelf with the Exerciſe of Juriſdiction within his own Precincts, and not thruſt his Sickle into the Corn of another man. Thus the good Mother deſires that her Daughter may be more wiſe and vertuous than her ſelf, and the Diſſolute Preacher cries, *Doe as I ſay,*

Proſp. in Chron. Bonif. Ep. 2.

Patroclus thruſts himſelf into the See of *Arles*. And ordains a Biſhop in the Province of *Narbone*.

Which is taken notice of by *Boniface* who preaches contrary to his own Practice.

ſay, but doe not as I doe. He writes this at the ſame time as he endeavoured by all means to intrude into the Affairs of *Africk*, and challenged the Privilege of Appeals upon pretence of a *Nicene* Canon, which the Biſhops rejecting as forged, had ſent to *Alexandria* for authentick Copies, which this ſame year were ſent by the Patriarch of that See. As for what he ordains about the Metropolitan he tells him, he acts according to the Preſcript of the *Nicene* Canons, the ſixth indeed of that Council taking care of the Juriſdiction of the Metropolitans. Whence *Baronius* will perſwade his Reader, that he moſt manifeſtly ſees that the *Nicene* Council ſo took order for having the ſeveral Provinces ſubject to Metropolitans, that yet the Apoſtolical See as he calls it, ſhould *Jus dicere* or exerciſe Juriſdiction over all. Certainly his Reader cannot but ſee moſt manifeſtly that this is a mighty Conſequence, let him ſhew where any *yet ſoe*, any ſuch *proviſo* or *ſalvo* is made by any true Canon of that Council. He will find it perhaps written on the back ſide of that other Canon concerning his Popes Juriſdiction over the *African* Churches. It is certainly a courſe ſo weak as any one may moſt manifeſtly diſcern it, to argue from pretence to true Title, from intruſion to rightfull and juſt poſſeſſion; which would have notably ſerved the deſign of *Patroclus*. It ſeems becauſe *Boniface* and his Fellows thruſt their Sickles into the Corn of the *Africans* and *Galls*, therefore they had a Right to reap their Harveſt, and in truth the one aſwell as the other by permiſſion (nay Ordination of the *Nicene* Canons.

99. The enſuing year *Theodoſius* the Emperour ſet forth ſeveral Edicts againſt *Hereticks*, *Jews* and *Pagans*, yet to be ſeen in his own Code. As to the latter *Theodoret* tells us, that he commanded all footſteps of their Superſtition to be removed, that nothing might remain to the obſervation of future times, and indeed two years after by a Reſcript he forbad all Pagan Worſhip upon pain of Death, commanding all their Temples, Chapels and Oratories, if any remained, to be demoliſhed and expiated, by placing there the ſign of Chriſtian Religion; which Edicts had not the wiſhed effects, as appears from others publiſhed long after by *Martianus* and *Valentinian*, *Leo* and *Anthemius*, to be mentioned in their proper places. This ſame year which was the laſt of *Honorius* the Emperour, died *Boniface* Biſhop of *Rome* on the 25*th* of *October*, after he had governed five years all but two Months and three Days, and was buried in the *Via Salaria* near the Body of St. *Felicity* the Martyr. *Platina* tells us of great matters ordained by him: *viz.* That a Woman or Nun ſhould not touch the Sacred *Palla* or Surplice, nor the Frankincenſe: That no Slave or Indebted Perſon ſhould be received into the Clergy. He built an Oratory in the *Cœmetery* of St. *Felicity*, and adorned her Sepulchre with Marble, gave a Silver Platter of twenty Pounds, a great Cup to the value of ten, three Silver Crowns, and of the leſſer ſort of Chalices two. Under his Name are extant three Epiſtles, One to the Emperour *Honorius*, wherein having mightily applauded the Vertues of that Prince, he prays him to preſerve the Peace of the Church of *Rome* againſt ambitious and factious Perſons; to which the Emperour anſwered, that his pleaſure was, and hereby declared it to be, that if in a Schiſm two chanced to be elected, neither of them ſhould hold, but a third Perſon freely and Legitimately choſen. His ſecond is directed againſt one *Maximus* a Biſhop and a *Manichee*, accuſed of Impiety, Murther and Contumacy, againſt whom he orders the Biſhops of *Gall* to proceed, whether he appeared or not; concluding, that whatſoever they reſolved was neceſſarily to be confirmed by his Authority, ſo cunningly ambitious were the *Roman* Prelates at this time, that if any Church out of reſpect to the Dignity of their See or Ability of their Perſons asked them any advice, they would preſently pretend to Juriſdiction, this being their ſlight wherewith at firſt they began to lay the Yoke upon the Provinces. His this third Epiſtle he wrote to *Hilary* Biſhop of *Narbone*, about the buſineſs whereof we have already ſpoken. Beſides theſe in his Letters, the firſt Tome of the Councils mentions five other Conſtitutions. " 1. That none ſhould be ordained Prieſt before " he had completed thirty years of Age, how worthy ſoever, becauſe Chriſt be- " gan not to Preach untill that time. 2. Differences ariſing amongſt Biſhops " ſhould be decided by the Metropolitan, and if they would not ſubmit to his " Award, the Primate ſhould determine the Controverſie without Appeal. " 3. Whatever had been Conſecrated to God be it Man or Beaſt or any other " thing, ſhould remain in the power of Prieſts, the Offender againſt this Decree " to be Excommunicated as Sacrilegious. 4. Biſhops, Prieſts, and the like Per- " ſons, diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, ſhould be Excommunicated till Repen- " tance,

L. 5. *c.* 36. *C. Th. de Epiſc. & Cleric. de Judæis de Paganis.*

C. Th. de Paganis. l. ult.

Boniface Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

In vita Bonifacii primi.

Tom. 1. *Concil.*

His Works.

" tance, and not reſtored till they had ſpent as much more time in Penance as " they had done in Quarrelling. The *5th* requires, That a Biſhop removed from " his Biſhoprick daring either to return or depart from the place to which " he had been confined, ſhould be thruſt into a Monaſtery in ſome other " Province.

100. In the time of this *Boniface* begun the Seventh Council of *Carthage*, as it is called, or the *African Council*, which it ſeems continued a long time, the Prelates going and coming as there was occaſion. But theſe *Carthaginian Councils* are ſtrangely confounded one with another, and probably the ſixth and ſeventh were the ſame. After the death of *Boniface* the *Roman* See was vacant nine days exclusively, and then was choſen and ordained *Cœleſtinus* a *Campanian* by Birth on the fourth of *November* the firſt *Feria*, being the forty fifth Biſhop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the forty firſt after the account of *Proſper*, and the forty third in the Opinion of *Marianus*, ſo great certainty is there of this Succeſſion ſo much talked of. Two years after on the tenth of *October* in the eleventh Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* and the firſt of *Valentinian* the third, *Anno Dom.* CCCCXXV. died *Atticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, after he had held that Chair nineteen years and ſeven months wanting three days. He is commended as a Wiſe and Religious Governour, extolled for his Bounty to the Poor, wherein he had onely reſpect to want not to any Party, but chiefly regarded ſuch as were aſhamed to beg. Underſtanding that certain *Novatians* who differed from the reſt in the keeping of *Eaſter*, had tranſlated the Corpſe of *Sabbatius* out of the Iſle of *Rhodes*, buried it ſolemnly, and prayed upon his Tomb, he procured in the Night the Body to be removed to another place, which being done they ceaſed to pay any more honour to his Sepulchre. He was lucky in aſſigning Names to ſeveral things. The *Rode* in the Mouth of the Euxine Sea, formerly called *Poyſon*, he named *Medicine*. *Chryſopyle*, being a Rode at the head of the *Boſphorus* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Nicolaus*, *Damaſcenus* and *Xenophon*, and aſſigned for payment of Tribute, in imitation of it he gave to a part of the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* the Name of *Argyropyle*. *Socrates* magnifies the good opinion he had of *Novatus*, and his kindneſs to that Sect. He reduced into Communion the *Johannites* or Followers of *Chryſoſtome*, by receiving his Name into the *Dyptica*, and commanding his Memory to be celebrated at the time of Divine Service, as the manner was of other Holy Biſhops deceaſed. Notwithſtanding what *Socrates* writes of his favouring the *Novatians*, he is commended by St. *Auguſtine* and *Proſper* for his Orthodox Doctrine.

Cœleſtinus ſucceeds him.

Atticus Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* dies.

Vide ejus Epiſt. ad Calliopium Epiſc. Nicea apud Socr. l. 7. c. 25.

Aug. contra Jul. l. 1. Proſp. de Ingratis.

101. After his death there was much ſtir made about the Election of another Biſhop, ſome being inclined towards *Philip*, others towards *Proclus*, both Prieſts of that Church, but the generality much deſiring the promotion of *Siſinius* a Prieſt of *Elæa* a Church in the Suburbs over againſt the City, where the Citizens were wont to celebrate the Feaſt of our Saviour's Aſcenſion. At length the conſideration of his Piety and Charity towards the Poor prevailed, and the Laity getting the upper hand he was conſecrated on the twenty eighth of *February* in the twelfth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, and the ſecond of *Valentinian*, which *Philip* his Competitour ſtomaching exceedingly inveyed bitterly againſt it in an impertinent and confuſed Work he wrote againſt *Julian* the Emperour, called *The Chriſtian Hiſtory*. *Proclus* the other Competitour upon the death of the Biſhop of *Cyzicum*, was appointed by *Siſinius* to ſucceed him, but the People hearing of his coming elected one *Dalmatius* a Religious man to govern the Biſhoprick, neglecting (ſaith *Socrates*) the Law and Canon which commandeth that no Biſhop be appointed and ordained without the conſent and authority of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. They made no account of that Canon, becauſe it commanded, as they thought, that the ſaid Authority ſhould be given to *Atticus* alone. That ſuch a Canon there was the Hiſtorian confeſſeth, who lived about this time; but the People the Laity it ſeems, which as appears in the ſtory of *Siſinius*, was moſt prevalent in thoſe Elections, having little skill in the Canons of the Church applied it ignorantly to *Atticus* alone. Now whether any thing here concludeth, that the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* pretended not to their Juriſdiction from any Canon of an Oecumenical Council, let the Reader judge, for *Baronius* would gladly have him ſo reaſon. Becauſe the People ſurmized that ſuch a Canon onely belonged to *Atticus*, he is ready to ſwear it, though had the Honour of *Rome* been concerned, the People and Laity muſt have been ſcorned and derided, as no Competent Judges in ſuch a caſe. If it was made for *Atticus* alone he it ſeems was not ambitious of ſuch a Privilege, old Canons being by the Emperour alledged,

Socr. l. 7. cc. 26, 27, 28.

Siſinius ſucceeds him, who appoints *Proclus* to the See of *Cyzicum*, but is oppoſed by the Laity who elect *Dalmatius*.

alledged, and as the Cardinal ſurmizeth at his Suggeſtion, for his Authority over *Illyricum*. And if we have more reaſon to believe ſolemn Laws, than hearken unto the Prejudicate Opinions, as certainly we have, and conſider what Juriſdiction was exerciſed by *Chryſoſtome* over the Biſhops of *Aſia*, we ſhall not doubt to extend it to *Cyzicum* and the other Cities of the *Helleſpont*.

St. *Auguſtine* chuſeth *Eradius* as his Coadjutor.

102. This ſame year St. *Auguſtine* being in the ſeventy ſecond year of his Age, on the twenty ſixth of *September* the firſt *Feria*, in the preſence of his Clergy and People thereto conſenting, choſe *Eradius* one of his Prieſts, his Coadjutour in the Epiſcopal Function, and deſigned him his Succeſſour. And now, turning over the Books he had written, this year and the next he wrote his Retractations, beſides theſe, at the requeſt of divers, he undertook pieces of ſeveral Subjects, as about the Predeſtination of the Saints, the Good of Perſeverance, and others, neither had he yet fully completed his Books *de Civitate Dei*, which the year following were brought to a period after ſixteen years, being begun in the year 410. On the twenty fourth of *December* of the ſaid following year *A. D.* 427. died *Siſinius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, a man of ſimple Sanctity and holy Simplicity, as *Marcellinus* calls him, after he had ſcarcely been Biſhop two years, after whoſe deceaſe it ſeemed good to the Emperour, becauſe of the ambition of certain Perſons to chuſe none of that Church (though many put in for *Philip*, and not a few for *Proclus*) but determined with himſelf to ſend for a Stranger from *Antioch*. And who ſhould this prove but *Neſtorius*, a Man too well known afterward, born at or near *Germanicia* a Town of *Syria*, whence coming to *Antioch* he applied himſelf to ſtudy, but never had any bottom nor laid any ſolid foundation, contenting himſelf with ſuperficial endeavours, and never applying himſelf to the ancient Fathers. But for his voluble Tongue and grave Demeanour he came in credit with the People, and his Name being up at Court, had the hap to be promoted to this high Dignity. Immediately after his Inſtalment, the Solemnity whereof was performed on the tenth day of *April*, and the Conſulſhip of *Fælix* and *Taurus*, *A. D.* CCCCXXVIII. In the hearing of all the People he uſed ſuch words as theſe to the Emperour: *Give me the Earth purged of Hereticks, and I will repay thee with Heaven in lieu thereof: Aſſiſt me in foiling the Hereticks, and I will aid thee in ſubduing thine Enemies.* Though this pleaſed ſome Orthodox Perſons, yet others ſoon made a judgment of what he would ſpeedily prove. The *Arians* he perſecuted with too great violence, and the *Novatians* evil intreated, if we credit *Socrates*, for no other reaſon than becauſe *Paul* their Biſhop was in great repute for his Zeal and Piety. He much vexed and diſquieted ſuch as celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter* on the fourteenth Moon throughout *Aſia*, *Lydia* and *Caria*. The great Zeal he pretended for the Orthodox Faith and ſuppreſſing of Hereticks was but to colour and ſweeten thoſe pernicious Doctrines which he himſelf intended ſhortly to broach.

Ep. 110. 7. 2. & *Poſſid. in vita.*

Siſinius of *Conſtantinople* dies.

Ut patet ex l. 18. *c.* 28.

Socr. *lib.* 7. *cc.* 28, 29.

Neſtorius ſucceeds him.

103. About this time *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre* in *Gall* (*Epiſcopus Antiſiodorenſis*, or *Altiſiodorenſis* in Latin) a Dioceſe of *Lugdunenſis* IV. and ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Sens* at the ſolicitation of the Inhabitants, as is very probable, was ſent hither into *Britain* by the *French* Biſhops, to withſtand and eradicate (if poſſible) the Hereſie of *Pelagius*, which had taken here aſwell as in other places too much root. This *Germanus* was born in the ſaid Town of *Auxerre*, of Noble Parentage, and from the Schools of *Gall* was ſent to *Rome* to ſtudy, where after he had furniſhed himſelf with competent skill in the Laws, he returned and practiſed them in his own Countrey, where he was honoured with the Magiſtracy of his Native place, and afterward choſen for his Succeſſour by *Amator* the Biſhop. Being ſent on this errand into *Britain*, he had for Companion *Lupus* Biſhop of *Troyes ſur Seine* (a Biſhop of the ſame Province) the Brother of *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, and Husband to *Pimeniola* the Siſter of *Hilary* Biſhop of *Arles*, one of ſuch learning and ſanctity, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* calls him a *Father of Fathers*, a *Biſhop of Biſhops*, and another *Janus* of that Age; the moſt cried up *Primipilaris of the Spiritual Camp*, the *Rule of Manners*, a *Pillar of Vertue*, and *Prince of the* Gallican *Biſhops*. Arrived in *Britain*, they foiled the *Pleagian* Doctours in Diſputation at the Town now called St. *Albans*, where at this day is ſtanding a ſmall Chapel dedicated to the Honour of St. *German*. Hereby having ſetled the doubting, and reclaimed many whom the Pelagian Hereſie had drawn aſide, they converted alſo many Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith, whom they Baptized at the Solemnity of *Eaſter* Feſtival in the River *Alen*. Then did they turn from fighting againſt Satan to combat with ſuch as were yet enſlaved by him

Germanus comes over into *Britain* and confounds the *Pelagians*.

Beda. Acta Germani Uſſerius de primord. Eccleſiæ Britanicæ.

Epiſcopus Tricaſſenſis, & Tricaſſinus.

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 1.

Bed. l. 1. *c.* 20.

him in behalf of thoſe they had ſet at liberty, their aid having been implored againſt the Heatheniſh *Picts* and *Saxons*, towards whom they led their New Converts. *German* choſe, as a place of advantage, an hollow Dale, encompaſſed with Hills, near a Village called at this day *Mold*, by the *Britiſh Guiderue* in *Flintſhire*, where (as a very Learned perſon tells us) the Field at this preſent time retains the Name of *Maes Garmon*, or *German's Field*. *Germanus* having placed his Men in Ambuſh, commanded them upon a ſignal given to ſhout *Hallelujah* three times, which being echoed on all ſides from the hills made their Enemies believe them twice as many as they really were, with apprehenſion whereof their Courages fell, and without ſtriking one ſtroke they betook themſelves to their Heels. Of this Victory *Gregory* the Great makes mention in his Comment upon *Job*, upon theſe words, *Can any underſtand the noiſe of his Tabernacle?* Having performed all this, he is ſaid to have depoſited in the Grave of St. *Alban* ſeveral Reliques he had brought over with him, and taking along with him ſome of that Martyr's Duſt, returned into *Gall*. Some have reported that he carried over St. *Alban's* Body to *Rome*, whence ſome hundred of years after *Otho* the Second's Empreſs brought it to *Colen*, where yet they ſay it lyes uncorrupted. Yet the Monks of *Ely* have pretended to it, as alſo thoſe of *Ottonium* or *Oſell* in *Danemärk*.

Uſſerius ubi ſuprà, p. 333.

Cha. 36. *v.* 29, 30.

Surius Tom. 3. *vit. Sanct. Junii* 22.

104. About this time lived *Faſtidius* ſirnamed *Priſcus*, born in this Iſland of *Britain*, who being very learned in the Chriſtian Doctrine was made Biſhop of the Metropolitical Church of *London*, and preached the Goſpel throughout the Iſland. For the clearneſs of his wit, the excellency of his memory, and integrity of his life he is ſaid to have excelled all the Clergy of this Countrey, and to have written certain Pieces, of which voracious time has deprived us. And about this ſame time or not long after lived *Nynias* or *Nynna*, by ſome called *Nynianus Venedota*, born of the *Britiſh* Bloud Royal, who when young went to *Rome* to ſtudy, and there being inſtructed by the Clergy of that Church in the Chriſtian Religion, returned into his own Countrey, and ſpent all his life in painfull Preaching to the *Britains* and *Picts*. *Beda* writes, that the Southern *Picts* were by this moſt Reverend Biſhop and Holy Man converted to the Faith, whoſe Epiſcopal Seat famous for the Name and Church of St. *Martin* the Biſhop (where he with other Saints reſteth) the *Engliſh* Nation now obtaineth in the Place, which belonging to the Province of the *Bernicii*, is commonly called, *At White Houſe*, or *Ad Candidam Caſam*, becauſe he there built a Church of Stone, contrary to the *Britiſh* Cuſtome. He wrote Meditations on the Pſalms, a Book of Sentences of Holy Men, yet extant; the reſt of his Works being loſt. He is commended for his aſſiduity in reading the Scriptures, for his ſingular Charity to the Poor Fatherleſs and Widows. Some ſay he was famous for Miracles; he died in a good Old Age. That we may joyn theſe matters of *Britain* together, we ſhall here tell the Reader that *Germanus* had not been long in his own Countrey when the Pelagian root of Hereſie again beginning to repullulate, the Pious and Orthodox Clergy again deſired his return to them, who would not be wanting to ſo good a work, but croſſed the Seas again in company of *Severus* the Scholar of *Lupus*, who Preached to the inhabitants of *Germania Prima*, and was ordained Biſhop of *Triers*. Having repreſſed the Inſolence of the Hereticks, and wrought a Miracle (as *Beda* tells us) upon the Lame Son of *Eluſius*, he returned into *Gall* and died not long after.

Gennadius, Trithemius, Balæus.

Nynianus Venedota a famous Churchman of *Britain.*

Lib. 3. *c.* 4. *Chronologia Saxonica ad A. D.* 559. *Hiſtor. Magdeburg. Cent.* 5. *c.* 10.

Beda. l. 1. *c.* 21.

105. After the firſt Journey of *Germanus* into *Britain*, the Year of our Lord CCCCXXIX. was *Palladius* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church ſent by *Celeſtine* the Biſhop to Preach the Goſpel to the *Scots*, who proſpering ſo much in his work that this Nation began to ſhake off that Pagan and Idolatrous Superſtition wherewith it had formerly been blinded; he had the Honour to be called the Apoſtle of the *Scots*. He ſtrenuouſly alſo oppoſed Pelagianiſm in the Iſland, againſt which he wrote a Book, beſides other Works. Aſſiſtant to him in this Pious Work was *Servanus*, born in *Scotland* of *Scotiſh* Parents, who was afterward ſent to Preach the Goſpel to the *Orchades*, of whom he was alſo called the Apoſtle. Now he being born of *Scotiſh* Parents, the Reader muſt know that many of that Nation had long before this embraced the Chriſtian Faith, the Goſpel having been preached and received there in the time of *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*. Whilſt the Goſpel thus flouriſhed in the Northern Parts, and the errours of *Pelagius* met with ſuch as diſcovered their rottenneſs and danger, the Devil was ready to begin another aſſault upon the Church, and had already furniſhed himſelf with a freſh Champion, for *Neſtorius* by this time, warm in his Patriarchal See, began now to vent thoſe Doctrines which for want of fit advantages he had hitherto concealed.

Idem ib. c. 13. *Chronol. Saxon. ad A. D.* CCCCXXIX. *Proſper. Solom. l.* 8. *c.* 26. *Niceph. l.* 13. *c.* 32. *Trithemius, Balæus. Balæus Hiſt. Magdib. Cent.* 5. *c.* 10.

Palladius Preaches the Goſpel to the *Scots.*

Servanus to the *Orchades.*

Being of old principled by *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* and *Diodorus* of *Tarſus* he had the luck alſo to be Nephew of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, whoſe opinions did him no good, though he pretended to be a great Enemy to them, and an earneſt Maintainer of the *Nicene* Faith. He broached not his Hereſie firſt himſelf, but *Anaſtaſius* a Prieſt whom he had brought with him from *Antioch*, whom he highly eſteemed, and uſed as a Councillour in all his matters. This Prieſt on a certain time taught publickly in the Church, that none ought to call the Virgin *Mary Theotocos*, or the Mother of God, becauſe ſhe was but a Woman, and of a Woman God could not be born. This raiſed a marvellous diſorder amongſt both Laity and Clergy, who had had it of a long time inculcated into them, that Chriſt was true God, but when they blamed *Anaſtaſius*, and expected he ſhould be called to an account for ſuch Language, *Neſtorius* became his Patron, and not onely his but the Patron of his Opinion, not mincing at all the matter, but in his Sermons maintaining what he had aſſerted, that the Bleſſed Virgin could not be the Mother of God. This put the People beſides their Wits. Some ſaid one thing ſome another, many thought he was of opinion that Chriſt was but a mere Man, and that he went about to revive the Hereſie of *Samoſatenus* and *Photinus*. Not onely diſputing there was, as happeneth upon ſuch occaſion, but ſo great were the heats and diſſentions, and the Schiſms came to ſuch an height, that the ſummoning of a general Council ſeemed needfull for deciding the Controverſie, and appeaſing the minds of Men.

Evagrius lib. 1. cap. 2. Cyril de Incar. Virg. Suidas. Socrates, lib. 7. cap. 32.

The Hereſie of *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.*

106. But *Neſtorius* not contenting himſelf with publiſhing his opinions in his own Dioceſe, divulged them by Books ſent into all Places, and *Ægypt* amongſt others, where ſome Monks were intoxicated with this new Doctrine. Hereupon *Cyril* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch beſtired himſelf, as appears by this Epiſtle. Yet with caution, for knowing that *Theodoſius* the Emperour had been the Promoter of *Neſtorius* to that See, at firſt he ſent to *Conſtantinople* onely a Confutation of ſuch Opinions, not naming the broacher of them; at length when all the World began to take notice of them he wrote to himſelf the Heretick ſeveral times, deſiring him to beware of ſuch aſſertions, to which he anſwered with very great ſcorn and ſtomach. *Cyril* ſeeing there was no good to be done, and having by Letters conſulted with *Cœleſtinus* the Biſhop of *Rome*, and others, he reſolved to call a Provincial Synod of Biſhops to *Alexandria*, wherein the opinion of *Neſtorius* was condemned as Heretical, and twelve Anathematiſms formed, which were afterwards ſent to *Neſtorius*, therewith if poſſible to reclame him from his Errours. Theſe becauſe directed againſt his Tenents, diſcover what they were to us, and therefore we ſhall ſummarily repeat them.

Is anathematiz'd in a Provincial Synod at *Alexandria.*

1. "He that ſhall not confeſs God to be *Immanuel*, and therefore the Bleſſed "Virgin to be *Theotocos*, *Deipara*, or *Mother of God*, according to the Fleſh "let him be *Anathema*. 2. As alſo ſuch as ſhall not confeſs, that the word "of God the Father was hypoſtatically united to the Fleſh, and Chriſt to "be one with his own Fleſh, *viz.* both God and Man. 3. And ſuch as after "union diſtinguiſh the Hypoſtaſes, and conjoin them onely in reſpect of Dignity, "Authority or Power, not according to natural Union, 4. And ſuch as attri-"bute to two Perſons or two Hypoſtaſes, thoſe words which occur in Evange-"lical and Apoſtolical Writings being ſpoken either by the Holy men concer-"ning Chriſt, or by Chriſt concerning himſelf; and ſometimes aſcribe them to "a Man, conſidered a part from the Eternal word of God; otherwhiles as appro-"priate to God and the word of the Father. 5. Such alſo as ſhould call the "Man Chriſt *Deifer* or *Theophorus*, and not true God as the onely and natural "Son of God, inaſmuch as the Word being made Fleſh, communicates as with "Fleſh and Bloud. 6. And thoſe who ſhould call the Word of the Father, "the God or the Lord of Chriſt, and not rather confeſs the ſame to be "God and Man, foraſmuch as the word was made Fleſh according to the "Scriptures. 7. If any affirmed that Jeſus Chriſt being a mere Man was "acted or aſſiſted by God the Word, and ſhould fanſie the Glory of the "onely begotten, to belong to the Man as another beſide the word. "8. In like manner, if any ſhould affirm that the Man aſſumed ought to be "adored with the word of God himſelf, to be glorified with him, and to be "called God as one Perſon with another (for this Particle *with* neceſſarily "hinteth ſo much) and with the ſame adoration, Worſhip not *Emanuel*, and "give one Glory to him, according to that ſaying that the Word was made "Fleſh. 9. Such as ſhould ſay, that our one Lord Jeſus Chriſt was glorified by "the Holy Ghoſt, as by a Power aliene from himſelf, and the Virtue he uſed

"againſt

"againſt unclean Spirits, and in working Divine Miracles he had it from him, "and that the Spirit was not his own by which he wrought ſuch Miracles. "10. Seeing we are taught by Scripture, that Chriſt was the High Prieſt and "Apoſtle of our Profeſſion, and offered himſelf for us a ſweet Savour, to God "the Father, If any ſhall ſay that the Word of God himſelf was not our High "Prieſt and Apoſtle after he was made Fleſh and Man like unto us, but that "Man which was born of a Woman, as ſome other divers from him; Or who "ſhall affirm that he offered a Sacrifice for himſelf and not for us onely, he ha-"ving no need of an oblation who was void of Sin. 11. If any confeſs that "the Fleſh of our Lord was not quickning, or the proper Fleſh of the Word of "God himſelf, but of ſome other beſides him joyned with him in Dignity, having "Divine Inhabitation alone and not rather quickning, as being made the proper "Fleſh of the Word, able to quicken all things. 12. Laſtly, if any deny the "Word of God to have ſuffered in the Fleſh, been Crucified in the Fleſh, taſted "of Death in the Fleſh, and to have become the Firſt-born from the Dead, in "that he is Life, and enlivens all things as God, let him be accurſed.

Neſtorius accuſeth *Cyril* as an Heretick to the Emperour.

107. Theſe Anathematiſms being brought to *Neſtorius*, that he might ſubſcribe them he was ſo far from doing this, that he not onely defended the Doctrine by them condemned, but accuſed *Cyril* as an Heretick of the Sect of *Apollinaris*, and afterwards drew up twelve Anathematiſms againſt him, to which he ſufficiently anſwered. At preſent he could not be condemned, foraſmuch as he impeached his grand Accuſer of the ſame Crime, nay it was ſo far from that that vehemently accuſing *Cyril* to the Emperour, as a turbulent and ambitious Perſon, he procured Letters to be written to him, wherein he was chidden and threatned, except he would ſtudy Peace and Union with *Neſtorius*. *Cyril* nothing herewith terrified, ſet himſelf with all Alacrity to write to the Emperour, and his Siſters, and laying before them the dangerous Principles of their Patriarch, deſired an univerſal Council might be called, for the full and clear examining of the Truth. *Theodoſius* perceiving matters come to that paſs, that no Peace could be elſe expected, by his Imperial Letters dated *November* 20, ſummons an univerſal Synod, to meet at *Epheſus* againſt *Whitſontide*, adding after the Precept that he ſhould not excuſe any that failed to be there by that time either to God or Man, foraſmuch as ſuch as refuſed to be preſent at the ſacred Meeting of Biſhops could not poſſibly bear any good Conſcience: Not onely were the Biſhops of the Eaſt ſummoned, but ſuch of the Weſt alſo as were moſt eminent, amongſt whom St. *Auguſtine*, who yet e'er the Meſſenger arrived at *Carthage*, was departed to a place void of all diſſention and errour. For God had removed this moſt Reverend and Learned Biſhop, this moſt eminent orthodox Chriſtian, out of the way, leſt he ſhould either ſee or feel the Cruelty of the *Arian Vandals*, who had now beſieged *Hippo* above two Months. He lived 76 years, whereof 36 he ſpent in the Epiſcopal Function. He preached to his laſt, and prayed in his Church beſeeching God either to remove the Siege, give his Flock patience to endure it, and ſubmit to his good pleaſure, or take him out of the World to himſelf. Falling ſick of a Fever, he ſhut himſelf up, permitting none to come to him, but at ſuch time as the Phyſicians viſited him, or when he muſt neceſſarily take ſome refreſhment, ſpending ten Days in continual Prayers and Tears; for his Judgment was that a good Chriſtian, eſpecially a Prieſt, ought not to die without ſome remarkable ſigns of Repentance and Humiliation.

Tom. 1. Concil.

Who ſummons an univerſal Synod at *Epheſus*.

St. *Auguſtine* dies.

Vide Baron. ad An. 430.

Poſſidius in vita.

108. As for a Teſtament he made none, having nothing to diſpoſe or bequeath thereby, nor ever had any intention to inrich his Kindred. His Books and Library he had committed to the Church, there to be preſerved for the benefit of Poſterity, and concerning his own Works this is very remarkable, that about a year after when the City was taken and ſet on fire, yet they were wonderfully preſerved. Thoſe that were written againſt *Pelagius* and his Tenents had various reception, not onely as the World were inclined to, and againſt that Heretick; But they were maligned and oppoſed by ſeveral in *Gall*, who pretended to abhor thoſe Errours againſt which he wrote, and they were as earneſtly defended by *Hilary* Biſhop of *Arles* and *Proſper* of *Aquitain*. To his Works which are very many, are added many ſpurious and ſome doubtfull, which have been detected, and branded by *Eraſmus* and others. Amongſt the former ſort is the 14 Homily, *de Nat. Domini*, of which he was not the Authour, the Learned *Molanus* with the Divines of *Lovain*, having rejected and cenſured it to be as it is the Work of an unlearned Novice, yet *Baronius* cites it to prove that *Joſeph* was unacquainted with any Matrimonial Act, which is now brought to be the Com-

His Works.

Bp. *Mountague.*

mon Tenent of the *Roman* Schools. Amongſt the Books which he wrote himſelf, there is one which is not to be read without caution; and that is his Book *de ordine*, from the Authority of which ſome *Romaniſts* will prove Stews to be tolerated in a Chriſtian State. But when *Auguſtine* wrote that Book as our *Jewel* obſerves, he was not St. *Auguſtine*. He was yet a very young Man, and but a Novice in the Faith, not yet well inſtructed, not yet baptized in the Name of Chriſt, himſelf as yet keeping a Concubine, and living in Whoredom. What matter then if he ſay in it, take Harlots away from among Men, and ye fill all the Countrey with Ribaldry and Villany. Afterwards fully inſtructed, Chriſtened and grown older and wiſer, he was of another mind as appears from a place in his Book *De Civitate Dei*, * which Work he finiſhed but four years before his Death. As all his Works are large Teſtimonies of his Learning, Ingenuity and Piety, ſo that of his Retractations of his Candour and Humility in an eſpecial manner, wherein of his own accord he confeſſeth and revoketh his former ſlips, faults and errours. Long before him *Hippocrates* had done the ſame. After him *Cardan* and many other great Perſons, yet few in compariſon of thoſe, who rather againſt their Conſciences plead for, than own and retract their Errours. The Example of thoſe Worthies, every one knows, every one commends rather than Opiniaſtrity; but when it comes to the effect not many practiſe. The day of the Death of St. *Auguſtine*, and the Anniverſary appointed to be obſerved to his Memory, was the 28*th*. of *Auguſt*.

* *L.* 14. *c.* 18. *Iſtam in uſu Scortatorum terrena civitas licitam fecit turpitudinem.*

CHAP. VI.

From the third Oecumenical Council *ſummoned by* Theodoſius *the Second to the City of* Epheſus, *to the fourth* Oecumenical Council *ſummoned by the Emperour* Martianus *to the City of* Chalcedon.

The Space of Twenty Years and about Four Months.

The third Oecumenical Council ſummoned at *Epheſus.*

1. THE third *Oecumenical Council* ſummoned by *Theodoſius* the Second to the City of *Epheſus*, aſſembled at *Whitſontide* or *Pentecoſt*, in the 24 year of the Reign of that Emperour, the 7 of *Valentinian* the Third, his Collegue, of Old *Rome* the 1184, of the New 101, the third year of the 302 Olympiad, the 14 Indiction, 107 years after the firſt *Nicene* Synod, 50 after the ſecond *Oecumenical Council* ſummoned to *Conſtantinople*, *A. D.* 431 *Anicius Baſſus* and *Flavius Antiochus* being Conſuls.

2. In obedience to the Imperial Edict, the Biſhops aſſembled from their ſeveral Churches. *Neſtorius* with a great Multitude of People, took his Journey preſently after the *Eaſter* Holy-days. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* came to *Epheſus* about *Whitſontide*, and the fifth Day after *Pentecoſt*, *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Theſe with others coming in good time, ſtaid for *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who with his ſuffragan Biſhops loitered out of deſign, leſt he ſhould be compelled either to condemn *Neſtorius*, or with him to undergo the ſame cenſure; after fifteeen Days expectation, the Metropolitans that were with him came to *Epheſus*, and ſignified to the Fathers, that his preſence was not to be expected. Above two hundred Biſhops are ſaid to have convened, and all as well Occidentals as Orientals, either themſelves or by their Legates, to have been preſent at this Aſſembly. Yet the Prelates of *Africk*, hindred by the dreadfull devaſtation made at this time by the *Wandals*, could not be there; neither were in any

Socrates lib. 7. *cap.* 33. *Acta Concilii.*

any Capacity to ſend any conſiderable Legation: onely *Capreolus* Primate of *Carthage*, doing aſmuch as in him lay, ſent *Baſſulas* a Deacon of his Church with Letters of excuſe to the Synod. Very many Biſhops indeed were perſonally abſent, and preſent onely by their Legates or Agents, as almoſt all the Weſtern Biſhops, and by Name *Cœleſtine* Patriarch of *Rome*, whoſe Legates came not till the 10*th.* of *July*, and the Council had done moſt of their Work. Some its probable upon other occaſions neglected this buſineſs, as the Biſhops of *Gangra* and *Heraclea* in *Macedonia*, who were not at this Synod. Divers others wilfully and obſtinately refuſed to be preſent at this Holy Synod, as *Neſtorius* himſelf the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, *John* Patriarch of *Antioch* and ſome forty Biſhops, who at the ſame time while the Holy Council was held in the Church of the Bleſſed Virgin at *Epheſus*, held a Conventicle by themſelves in an Inn in the ſame City, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Yet, notwithſtanding the perſonal abſence of the firſt, the negligent of the ſecond, and wilfull abſence of the laſt, and although no Presbyters at all were therein, not in their own right, this Holy General Council ſaith of its Synodical Judgment given by thoſe that were preſent, that it *was nothing elſe but* * *the common and conſenting Judgment of the whole World.* For the Council was lawfully called, all were ſummoned univerſally, it was free for all to be preſent, and therefore all the Biſhops in the World did either perſonally, by their Agents expreſs, or elſe in a tacit and implicit manner, wrap up their Judgment in the ſynodal Decree made by the Biſhops preſent in the Council, of which *Cyril* was Patron or chief, aſwell after as before the coming of *Cœleſtine* his Legates to the Synod.

* *Nihil aliud quam communis & concors terrarum orbis ſenſus & conſenſus. Epiſt. Concil. Epheſ. ad Imp. Tom. 2. Act. Conc. Epheſ. Ep. 17.*

Wherein *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria* preſides.

3. For prevention of Tumults the Emperour ſent thither *Candidianus* a Count, and to keep diſorderly Perſons from the Council, to ſee that no diſſention and private Quarrels might hinder their grave Conſultations, with the free and exact diſcuſſion of the Cauſes propoſed, and to provide, that every one might freely and with leiſure propound what was needfull, and to have ſcope to refute all doubts propoſed by others. At the firſt opening of the Synod *Neſtorius* was preſent, whom *Cyril* when they came to fall upon the buſineſs in hand, did vehemently tax, and with other Biſhops contended earneſtly for Chriſt's Divinity, affirming him one and the ſame Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Ages, and in the laſt times made Man of a Virgin, that he was not one and another, and that the Bleſſed Virgin ought properly and truely to be called Θεοτόκος, or the Mother of God. Hereat *Neſtorius* roſe up, told them plainly he would not own a God, that grew to Man's Eſtate by two and three Months and ſo forth, and that therefore he waſhed his Hands of their Bloud, and thenceforth would come no more into their Company. With ſix other Biſhops he ſtreight departed out of the Aſſembly, and kept himſelf afterward private with thoſe Men and others, he thought fit for his purpoſe. And when the Day after, three Biſhops were ſent by the Council to cite him to appear, and he was called once and again afterward, yet he flatly refuſed to come to them, uſing the Meſſengers contumeliouſly, and frighting them by the armed Guards he had got about him by his great Intereſt in *Irenæus* a Count he had brought with him, and *Candidianus*, both whom he had infected with his Hereſie. The Synod perceiving how contumaciouſly he bore himſelf, reſolved to proceed to the Merits of the Cauſe. They cauſed to be read the *Nicene* Faith, the Epiſtles of *Cyril* and *Neſtorius*, written upon the Controverſie, with another ſent from *Cœleſtine* the *Roman* Patriarch. *Theodotus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* and *Acacius* of *Melita*, depoſed on the blaſphemous words they had heard him utter publickly at *Epheſus*. Other Speeches were alledged, the Teſtimonies of Scriptures and Fathers for Incarnation of the word, and the Divinity of Chriſt were cited, all which being done after adviſed and mature deliberation, the Fathers thereto compelled by the Canons, and an Epiſtle received from the moſt Holy Father, and their Collegue the Biſhop of the *Roman* Church, with many Tears they came to this Reſolution and ſentence. He who by him therefore hath been blaſphemed, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath decreed by the preſent Holy Synod, that *Neſtorius* be depoſed from his Epiſcopal Dignity, and baniſhed from all Society of Prieſts.

Neceſſitate nobis à Canonibus & ſanctiſſ. Patris collegæq; noſtri Romanæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopi, Epiſtola impoſita diu multúmque lachrymantes, &c.

And *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, is depoſed and baniſhed the Society of Prieſts.

4. After the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*, about four or five Days, on the 27 of *June*, came *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* to *Epheſus*, with a Company of Biſhops and Prieſts, and railing againſt *Cyril* for making ſuch haſte in cenſuring *Neſtorius*, immediately aſſociated himſelf with him and his Partiſans. Now at the ſelf ſame time in one and the ſame City of *Epheſus*, as one obſerves were held two ſeveral Councils, and Altar erected againſt Altar, Council againſt Council, Patri-

He with other Heretical Biſhops joins in a Conventicle at *Epheſus*.

Dr. Cracha-thorp.

Patriarch against Patriarch, Bishops against Bishops, and Synodal sentence against Synodal sentence. The one consisted of Holy, Orthodox, and Catholick Bishops, whose President was *Cyril*: the other of Heretical, Factious, and several (*a*) deposed Bishops whose President was *John*. The former was held in the Church of the Blessed Virgin, the latter in an (*b*) Inn or Tavern, a fit place for such as denied Christ to be God. The former proceeded in all Respects orderly and synodically, the latter did all things tumultuously, presumptuously, and against the Canons, supporting themselves by Lies, Calumnies and Slanders. In summ the one was truely an holy, a general, an Oecumenical Council, wherein was the Consent of the whole Catholick Church, the other was nothing else but an heretical, schismatical Conventicle, a Faction or Conspiracy of some thirty or forty Persons unworthy the Name of Bishops, insolently opposing the Holy Council, and the whole Catholick Church, in which Number and Faction besides others, were *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, the Ringleader of the Rout, *Paul* Bishop of *Emesa*, *Theodoret* the Bishop of *Cyrus*, and *Ibas* some three or four years after Bishop of *Edessa*.

(*a*) *Ex quibus alii erant extorres vagi propriis sedibus destituti, &c. Synod. Epist. ad Cœlestinum. Tom. 4. Act. Ephes. Cap.* 17.

(*b*) *Johanne in diversorio manente, sacraque illius Synodo præsente.*

Opposing the Canonical Synod.

5. This notwithstanding, as the Holy Council deposed *Nestorius* for an Heretick, the Conventicle deposed *Cyril* for an Archheretick also, condemning his twelve Chapters as Heretical, which the Council had approved as Orthodox. As the Council excommunicated and anathematized *John*, *Paul*, *Theodoret*, *Ibas*, and all the rest of their Factious Adherents, the Conventicle anathematized *Cyril* and all his Adherents, arrogating to themselves the glorious Name of the Holy *Ephesine* Council, and slandering them that held with *Cyril* as a Conventicle, an unlawfull and disorderly Assembly, terming them *Arians*, *Apollinarians* and *Cyrillians*, aswell as those with *Cyril* called themselves, as indeed they were the Holy and Oecumenical Council, and termed *John*, with his Adherents a Faction and heretical Conventicle of *Nestorians*. In fine, as the Council constantly refused to communicate with them, till they consented to the deposing of *Nestorius*, and anathematizing his Heresie, the Conventicle not onely refused Communion with *Cyril* and other Catholicks, but bound themselves by many solemn Oaths, and that afterward in the presence of the Emperour, that they would never communicate with the *Cyrillians*, except they would condemn the twelve Chapters of *Cyril*, adding that they would rather die than consent to any one of the twelve Chapters. But though the Fathers of the true and genuine Council, wrote their Encyclical Epistle to all Christians, and continually upon urgent occasion humbly informed the Emperours of their proceedings, sending Letters after Letters, yet either were the Messengers stopt or their Letters intercepted, so that not the least notice of them came to their Majesties, whereas on the other side the frequent Letters of the Conventicle frought with Lies and Slanders, had every day access and great applause at Court; for Count *Candidianus*, whom the Emperours made their Deputy and President of the Council, to see all good and Canonical Orders therein observed, so far was faulty to his trust, as being most partial to *Nestorius* and his Heresie, he not onely was Privy and assistant to the stopping of the Councils Letters, but by his own dispatches, seconded and confirmed all the Lies which the Conventicle had writ unto the Emperours. Hence it came to pass that the Emperours misinformed, commanded all things done against *Nestorius* and others, as done against Reason and their Command to be revoked, and a new Course taken, telling them that their Majesty could not hold or esteem those things done so disorderly for firm and synodal, nay decreeing, that all thitherto done should be accounted of no force, but utterly void and frustrate.

Acta Concilii.

And anathematizing them.

Sending their Calumnies to the Emperours.

Who being misinformed order that whatever was done against *Nestorius* should be utterly void.

Majestas nostra ea quæ acta sunt pro ratis & legitimis habere non potest, pro irritis & nullis habenda esse. Imp. ad Synod. cap. 17.

6. By this means also it came to pass, that the Emperours knowing nothing of the Divisions amongst the Bishops, and how beside the Holy Council there was a factious and schismatical Conventicle of *Nestorians* held in the City, thought whatever was done aswell against *Cyril* and *Memnon* in deposing them, as against *Nestorius*, had been the Act, Judgment and Sentence of one and the same Council, upon which misinformation they confirmed at first the condemnation of all three. This put the Fathers upon such a shift as this, to send a Letter to *Constantinople* by a faithfull Messenger, who to avoid suspicion put on the Habit of a Beggar, and carried the Letter in the hollow of a Cane, which as a staff he had provided for his Journey. As soon as, by this means the Report of the late disorders came to *Constantinople*, the City was much moved, and *Theodosius* at the solicitation of his Sister and other Catholicks, commanded certain Bishops of either

Et Nestorii & Cyrilli & Memnonis exauctorationem à Sanctitate vestra nobis insinuatam calculo nostro approbavimus.

ther ſide to appear before him at *Conſtantinople*, fully to inform him of the truth of all the proceedings; and the truth being accordingly found out after diligent Examination, the Emperours by their Imperial Authority nulled all the Acts of the Conventicle, reſtored *Cyril* (who at this time wrote a full anſwer to all that had been objected againſt him) and *Memnon*, approved the Judgment of the Council againſt *Neſtorius*, adding to his depoſition baniſhment from *Conſtantinople*. But the ſynodal Sentence of depoſition againſt *John*, and the reſt of his Aſſociates they ſuſpended for a while, partly to prevent a greater Schiſm, which *John* by his great intereſt might procure, but eſpecially in hope that as well he as the Eaſtern Biſhops might in time be brought off, and reduced to Unity with *Cyril* and the Catholick Church, which in the height of their preſent heat and ſtomach could not be expected. And thus was the Council at *Epheſus* diſſolved, a far greater Rent being by this means left at the end, than had been at the beginning thereof, and ſo that Malady for which it was called not preſently cured but increaſed. *Neſtorius* was permitted to ſtay as yet in the Monaſtery of St. *Euprepius* at *Antioch*, to ſee if he would recant his opinions, but growing more obſtinate, was at length after ſome three or four years baniſhed into the Wilderneſs of *Oaſis*. The Emperour alſo animadverted upon his Courtiers who had been falſe to their truſt, and done ſo ill Offices for the *Epheſine* Fathers. *Evagr. l.1.c.7.*

But after a full underſtanding how matters went the Emperours null the Acts of the Conventicle, and add Baniſhment to the depoſing of *Neſtorius*.

7. But beſides what theſe Fathers did directly againſt *Neſtorianiſm* we muſt not omit certain Canons of this Synod of *Epheſus*, mentioned after a Preface, wherein they ſignifie, that being called together by the Emperour's Edict, above thirty of their Number had ſeparated themſelves in behalf of *Neſtorius*, and therefore remained excommunicate and depoſed. Then follow ſeven Canons of which this is the Summ, that if any Metropolitan Biſhop or Clerk imbraced the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* or *Cæleſtius*, he ſhould be excommunicated and degraded; if a Lay-perſon he ſhould be excommunicated; And the ſame to extend againſt ſuch as produced, wrote or compoſed any form of Faith, beſides that of the *Nicene Council*; As alſo ſuch Perſons as ſhould appear of *Chariſius* his opinion who thought not aright of the Humanity of Chriſt. The eighth Canon was made upon occaſion, that the Patriarch of *Antioch*, took upon him to ordain in the Churches of *Cyprus*, *which thing being an innovation contrary to Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, and the Canons of Holy Fathers, and for that Epidemical Diſeaſes require a greater Remedy*, becauſe *they are more dangerous than others, therefore the Fathers decree that it be taken for a Rule in all Dioceſes and Provinces whatſoever, that no Biſhop invade or occupy any Province, which and from the beginning hath not been under his Juriſdiction or that of his Predeceſſours. If any hath already invaded any ſuch Province and by force made it his own, the Holy Synod commands he do reſtore it, leſt the Canons of the Holy Fathers be neglected, and leſt under pretence of Adminiſtration of Holy things, the Arrogance of ſecular Power creep in, and by degrees we imprudently loſe that Liberty which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Saviour of all Men, by the price of his own Bloud hath beſtowed upon us. Therefore it pleaſeth the Holy Synod, that the Rights of every Province, which according to the Ancient Cuſtome it hath had from the beginning, be preſerved to it pure and inviolable, every Metropolitan having liberty to take Copies of thoſe Acts for his Security. And if any Perſon ſhall produce any Sanction contrary to what is here defined, it is the pleaſure of all the holy and univerſal Synod, that it be void and of none effect.* That this Canon was made tacitely againſt the Incroachments of the *Roman* Patriarch, ſome do gather not obſcurely from the Acts of this Council, it evidently from them appearing, that this Canon prevailed and was of force, notwithſtanding the Epiſtle of *Innocent* the Firſt to *Alexander*, whereby he declared that the *Cyprians* did not carry themſelves like faithfull Men, except they ſubjected themſelves to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Yet we ſee this Canon of this Oecumenical Council, is quite contrary to the Sentence of the *Roman* Biſhop, for it decrees that attempt to have been made upon *Cyprus* by him of *Antioch*, againſt Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions and Decrees of the Fathers, and therefore all Sanctions or Epiſtles in this Caſe to be utterly null. But beſides thoſe Canons (that we may conclude with this Synod) the Fathers made another Conſtitution againſt the *Maſſalian* Hereticks, *Euchytæ* and *Enthuſiaſts* (having in the ninth Seſſion condemned the *Pelagians*) and anathematized a Book of thoſe Hereticks, going under the Name of *Aſceticon*, which ſome think near a-kin to the *Aſcetica*, reckoned amongſt the Works of *Baſil.* *Tom. 2. Epheſ. Synod. append. l. c. 4. Ep. 18.*

Several other Canons.

8. *Ne-*

8. *Neſtorius* being depoſed by the Council, that Decree was ratified (*a*) and eſtabliſhed by the Emperour, aſwell as other matters according (*b*) to his Promiſe and their Petition, whereby *they* (*c*) *earneſtly deſired his Piety, that he would command that all which was done by this Holy and Oecumenical Council againſt that Heretick, might ſtand in force being confirmed by his Royal Aſſent.* For in their proceedings, the Emperour's (*d*) Letters were their Direction, and as they themſelves profeſs, a Torch to all their Actions, and in all the Affronts and Contumelies they endured from the Conventicle, they betook themſelves to him, beſeeching him to be Judge betwixt them, and examine their doings. The See of *Conſtantinople* being therefore void, there (*e*) aroſe a difference about the Election of a new Biſhop. *Proclus* had in all probability been the Man, but that ſome in power were his back friends, and pretended that the Canons of the Church forbad any Biſhop to be tranſlated from one See to another, which though either ignorantly or malitiouſly ſpoken (the Canons for the better Edification of the Church allowing it, and many Examples of theſe ancient times approving it) yet was of ſuch force, that the People was therewith ſatisfied and appeaſed. *Maximianus* then, three Months after the Depoſition of *Neſtorius* was choſen Patriarch, by function a Prieſt, who led a Monaſtical Life, one that of late had purchaſed a good Name by building at his own Charge Sepulchres, where Godly Men ſhould be interred, but altogether unlearned, and who had determined to lead a quiet Life, free from all Care and Moleſtation. Thus was the Place of *Neſtorius* filled, but the rent and diviſion he had made in the Eaſtern parts of the World, not yet made up and conjoyned. This diſturbance of the Church, much diſquieted the mind of the Religious Emperour *Theodoſius*, who the very next year after the ſhutting up of the Council, when he thought time and better conſideration, to have alleyed the heat of the Eaſtern Biſhops, began to ſolicite that Union which before he had purpoſed to effect, profeſſing his reſolution to be not to deſiſt from this ſo good a Work, till God ſhould vouchſafe to reſtore Unity and Peace to his People. To this end he wrote a very religious and pathetical Letter to *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, by many reaſons perſwading, and by his Imperial Authority requiring him, and with him the reſt of the faction to ſubſcribe to the depoſition of *Neſtorius*, the anathematizing of his Hereſie, and ſo to imbrace Holy Communion with *Cyril*, and the Catholick Church.

(*a*) *Imperator ſententia Synodi publicè approbata, Neſtorio exilium indicit. Act. Conc. Tom.* 5. *cap.* 11. *&* C. *Th. de Hæret lib. ult.*

(*b*) *Ac tum demum à noſtra Pietate confirmationem expectate. Tom.* 3. *c.* 17.

(*c*) *Ut jubeat ea omnia per veſtræ pietatis nutum & conſenſum confirmata. Act. Conc. Epheſ. Tom.* 4. *c.* 8.

(*d*) *Primo omnium Actorum monumentis reverendas pietatis veſtræ literas quaſi facem quandam præmiſimus. Ep. Synod. ad Imp. Tom.* 2. *Act. Conc. Eph. c.* 22.

(*e*) *Socrat. l.* 7. *c.* 34. *lat. vel* 35. *gr.*

Maximianus choſen Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, in the room of *Neſtorius*.

9. *John* and the other Eaſtern Biſhops, upon the Emperour's motion ſought to make an Union with *Cyril*, but laboured to effect it by drawing him over to them, and their Hereſies, not by paſſing over to him, and cloſing with him according to the Decrees of the late Council. They cauſed *Acatius*, Biſhop of *Beræa*, to write to him in all their Names, offering Unity and Concord, but on this condition that he ſhould aboliſh and condemn whatever he had written againſt *Neſtorianiſm*, and conſequently both his twelve Chapters, the *Epheſine* Decree, and all of that nature. *Cyril* anſwered with Reſolution and Courage, that what he had written was in defence of the Catholick Faith, and therefore he ſhould never recant it, ſo that this Art failing they attempted to effect the Union by *Paul* Biſhop of *Emiſa*, whom they ſent to *Alexandria* to agitate by word of Mouth, and another Letter, wherein though they were not ſo violent as in the former, yet they found fault with the *Epheſine Council*. *Cyril* ſeeing they added as he ſaid Contumelies, who ſhould have asked pardon and recanted, would neither admit of their ſecond Epiſtle, but when *Paul* earneſtly endeavoured to excuſe them, affirming upon his Oath, that their purpoſe was not to exaſperate, but cloſe with him in Charity, he was content to admit this excuſe, *Paul* having in Commiſſion to work him off as much as could be, but however to make an Agreement with him conſented to anathematize *Neſtorius* and his Hereſies, to the depoſing of him and the Election of *Maximianus* into his place, which when he had ſubſcribed with his own hand, *Cyril* received him into Communion. Now he would have perſwaded *Cyril*, that ſeeing he came in the name of the reſt, and had ſubſcribed for them all, and as in the common Perſon of all the Orientals, that this his ſubſcription might ſerve for thoſe that were abſent, and that requiring no more of them, he would be content with their Letters he brought with him. *Cyril* would by no means hear of this, telling *Paul* his ſubſcription could ſatisfie onely for himſelf, as for the reſt,

Ep. Imp. ad Acatium Beræenſ. Epiſc. Johanni mandavit, &c.

Union in the Church promoted by the Emperour *Theodoſius*.

Epp. Cyrilli ad Acatium & Dignatum. Tom. 5. *cc.* 7. 16.

reſt they muſt perſonally and for themſelves ſubſcribe before they could be received into Communion. Hereupon he wrote an orthodox Confeſſion of Faith to the ſame effect as *Paul* had ſubſcribed, and ſent it to *John*, requiring his perſonal ſubſcription to it.

10. *Paul* returning to *Antioch*, brought this reſolute Anſwer of *Cyril* to *John* and his Biſhops there aſſembled in Synod, who perceiving there was no other way to make an Union, and that *Paul* had both ſubſcribed himſelf, and promiſed for them that they ſhould doe the like, at length yielded to all *Cyril*'s Demands, and for an aſſurance of their ſincerity herein, wrote a Synodal and Encyclical Epiſtle to *Cyril*, which they likewiſe ſent to *Sixtus* Biſhop of *Rome* (for *Cœleſtine* was e'er this time dead) to *Maximianus* and other Principal Biſhops, wherein having firſt made a ſound and orthodox confeſſion of their Faith, they give their willing aſſent and ſubſcription to the depoſing of *Neſtorius*, and anathematizing of his Hereſies. This Letter they prevailed with *Paul* to carry and make a ſecond Journey to *Alexandria*, to conclude a final Peace and Union. At whoſe coming thither this ſecond time, and bringing with him the undoubted teſtimony of the orthodox belief of *John*, and the chief of the Eaſtern Biſhops, and that they had now done all which the Emperour and *Cyril* had required, they were welcomly received, and the union being perfectly concluded, Peace was reſtored to the Church. In token whereof *Paul* preached at *Alexandria* in *December*, and made before *Cyril* and all the People ſo orthodox a Profeſſion of his Faith, that his Auditours for joy interrupting him four or five times, cryed out *Orthodox* Paul *thou art welcome to us*; Cyril *is Orthodox*, Paul *is Orthodox*. And in Congratulation with *John* the *Antiochian* Patriarch and the reſt, *Cyril* wrote a notable Epiſtle, which begins, *Let the Heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad*: and publiſhing this as an Hymn of Joy and Thankſgiving for the Union ſo happily effected, ſung, *Glory to God, and peace amongſt Men.* This is the ſum of the whole proceedings betwixt *Cyril* and the Eaſtern Biſhops, touching the matter of the union, as to any one who conſults the Epiſtles of *Cyril* to *Acatius* Biſhop of *Melitene*, to *Dynatus* and *John*, and compares them with the Epiſtle of *John*, and that of the Synod of *Antioch* ſent to *Cyril* and *Xiſtus*, will clearly perceive. Yet ſo impudent were the *Neſtorians* as to ſlander *Cyril* to have at the time of the union conſented in all points to them and their Hereſie, and to have condemned his former Doctrine with the *Epheſine* Council. For knowing that *John* and the Eaſtern Biſhops had written to *Cyril* ſo reſolutely, that unleſs he condemned his own Chapters they would not conſent to any Peace or Union; and ſeeing that *Cyril* afterwards and in the ſame year conſented with *John*, and made an union with him; thereupon they took occaſion to boaſt that *Cyril* did it upon the condition required by *John* at the firſt, which was the condemning of his former Doctrine, wilfully and maliciouſly concealing both how *Cyril* utterly denied to yield unto them, or to that condition required by them, and how at length *John* and ſo many of them as were received to Communion conſented wholly unto him, and ſubſcribed to the Catholick Faith. All this they not onely ſuppreſſed, but to colour the matter, forged alſo a Letter under *Cyril*'s name, whom therein they made to conſent to the condemnation of his own Doctrine; which Letter *Ibas* in his Epiſtle incloſed and ſent unto *Maris* the Heretick. All theſe things our Learned Doctour *Crackanthorp* had detected, evinced and confuted, and hath moreover diſcovered how *Baronius* hath perverted the narration of this union, and ſtrengthned the calumny of the *Neſtorians* by his miſreporting of the ſame, and all to ſerve the great deſigns of his Pope *Vigilius* his infallibility, and to make him appear orthodox and right in the Faith, but to how little purpoſe in due time will be diſcovered.

Which is effected, *John* complying with *Cyril* and the true Orthodox.

11. About the time of the celebration of this *Epheſine* Synod, was *Patricius* ſent by *Cæleſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* into *Ireland*, to convert that Iſland to the Chriſtian Faith. This *Patricius*, it's ſaid, was a *Britain* by Birth, ſome ſay, a *Scot*, the Son of *Calphurnius* a Noble Deacon, and of *Couche* the Siſter of famous St. *Martin*. At his Baptiſm he was called *Suchar*, or (as *Bale* will have it) *Succet*. *Germanus* the *Gallick* Biſhop changed it into *Mangonius*; and *Cæleſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* altered this into *Patricius*. Being inſtructed by his Uncle St. *Martin* and St *German*, he went to *Rome*, where for his eminent worth he came to be known to the Biſhop, by whom he was ſent with ſome other Aſſiſtants to convert the Nation of the *Iriſh*. Being a Man of great Zeal, Piety and Induſtry, famous alſo for Miracles, as thoſe who write his Life too laviſhly talk, he brought the whole Iſland to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, and overſaw the Flock which he had converted, ſome ſay, about ſixty years. This is the famous St. *Patrick* the Apoſtle, and *Tutelary* Saint

St. *Patrick* by *Cæleſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent into *Ireland* to convert the *Iriſh*.

Bal. Sigebert, Uſſerius de prim. Eccleſ. Britan. & Of the Religion profeſſed by the ancient *Iriſh*.

Who compare him with St. *Peter.*

of the *Iriſh*, who had him in ſo great eſteem whilſt yet living, that they compared him with St. *Peter* himſelf, as appears by what *Secundinus*, or (as they call him in that Countrey) St. *Scæchlin*, about the year CCCCXLVIII. wrote of him in a certain Hymn: *He is conſtant in the fear of God, and unmoveable in the Faith, upon whom the Church is builded, as upon* Peter; *whoſe Apoſtleſhip alſo he hath obtained from God, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt him.* Chriſt is there ſaid to *have choſen him for his Vicar.* And his See of *Armagh* is by one *Calvus Perennis*, in the days of *Brian* King of *Ireland*, who was ſlain in the year of Our Lord M.XIV. termed the See Apoſtolick; as *Deſiderius* Biſhop of *Cahors* in *France* is by their Countreyman *Gallus* ſaluted both *Papa* and *Apoſtolicus*; and the Biſhop of *Kildare* in *Ireland* honoured by *Cogitoſus*, with the ſtyle of *Summus Sacerdos*, and *Summus Pontifex*, the *Higheſt Prieſt*, and *Higheſt Biſhop*; theſe Titles and Prerogatives which the Pope now peculiarly challengeth as Enſigns of his Monarchy, being heretofore uſually communicated to other Biſhops, when the univerſal Church was governed in an *Ariſtocratical* way.

Uſſerius ibid. ex vet. Cod. Eccleſ. Armach. c. 7.

Idem ibid.

And ſtyle him *Summus Pontifex, &c.*

12. Now a Countreyman of our own would make us believe, that *When* Ireland *firſt received* Chriſtendom, *they gave themſelves into the Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal of the See of* Rome. But in this reſpect is told that he ſpeaks without Book, by as Learned a Perſon in theſe matters as ever that Countrey bred, of the Spiritual Juriſdiction untruly, of the Temporal abſurdly. For from this firſt Legation of *Palladius* and *Patricius* (ſome ſay *Palladius* firſt Preached in *Ireland*) who were firſt ſent to plant the Faith in this Countrey, it cannot be ſhewed (ſaith he) out of any monument of Antiquity, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did ever ſend any Legates to exerciſe Spiritual Juriſdiction here (much leſs any of his Deputies to exerciſe Temporal Power) before *Gillebertus*, *Who firſt* (they ſay) *exerciſed the Legantine Function of the Apoſtolick See*, as a Contemporary of his words it, even *Bernard* himſelf in the Life of *Malachias*. We reade, moreover (ſaith he) of ſundry Archbiſhops that have been in this Land betwixt the days of St. *Patrick* and of *Malachias*, What one of them can be named that ever ſought for a Pall from *Rome*? *Joceline* indeed, a late Monk of the Abbey of *Furneſs* writes of St. *Patrick*, that the Biſhop of *Rome* conferred the Pall upon him, together with the exerciſe of Legantine Power. But he is well known to be a moſt fabulous Authour, and for this particular, *Bernard* who was more Ancient, informeth us far otherwiſe, that from the very Beginning till his time the Metropolitical See of *Armagh* wanted the uſe of the Pall, with whom the Authours of the Annals of *Mailroſs* doth fully accord, noting that in the year M.CLI. *Pope* Eugenius (to whom *Bernard* wrote his Books *de Conſideratione*) *did by his Legate* John Papiron *tranſmit four Palls into* Ireland; *whither a Pall had never been brought.* Hereupon *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, though he acknowledgeth that St. *Patrick Did chuſe* Armagh *for his Seat, and appointed it to be, as it were, a Metropolitical See, and the Proper place of the Primacy of* Ireland; *yet withall affirms, that indeed there were no Archbiſhops in* Ireland, *but that Biſhops conſecrated one another till the bringing of four Palls by the ſaid* Papiro, *or* Paparo, *the Pope's Legate.* And ſome of the Chroniclers after him note concerning *Galaſius*, then Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, that *He is ſaid to have been the firſt Archbiſhop, becauſe he uſed the firſt Pall, and that others before him were Archbiſhops in Name onely, for reverence of St.* Patrick *as Apoſtle of that Nation.*

Campion Hiſt. of Ireland l. 2. c. 2.

Uſher. quo ſuprá. c. 8.

Ireland not under the Juriſdiction of the See of *Rome.*

Metropoliticæ ſedi deerat adhuc & defuerat ab initio pallii uſus.

Bernard. vita Malachiæ.

13. The complaint made by *Anſelm* in his Letters to *Muriardach* King of *Ireland*, that *Biſhops there were conſecrated by Biſhops alone*, might ſeem ſomewhat to juſtify *Giraldus* his Relation; if we did not find a farther complaint there alſo, that they were often ordained by one Biſhop onely. But as this later argueth not the want of a competent number of Biſhops in the Land (for they had more than a ſufficient number of ſuch) but a neglect of the obſervance of the *Nicene* Canon, ſo can it not rightly be inferred out of the former that they had no Archbiſhops there at that time, but that rather the Biſhops failed much in the reſpect they ought to their *Metropolitan.* For that the *Iriſh* had their Archbiſhops, beſide many other pregnant teſtimonies that might be produced, Pope *Hildebrand's* own Brief ſufficiently manifeſts, directed to *Terdeluachus* (or *Tirlagh*) *the Illuſtrious King of* Ireland, *the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, Nobles, and all Chriſtians inhabiting* Ireland. And for the Archbiſhops of *Armagh*, it appears moſt evidently from *Bernard* in the Life of *Malachias*, that they were ſo far from being Metropolitans and Primates in Name onely, that they exerciſed much greater Authority before they were put to the charge of fetching Palls from *Rome*, than ever they did afterward, and that they not onely conſecrated Biſhops, but erected alſo

Anſelm. l. 3. Ep. 142.

Greg. 7. Ep. ad Hib. MS. in Bibliotb. Cotton.

alſo new Biſhopricks and Archbiſhopricks too ſometimes, according as they ſaw convenient. *Nennius* writes, that St. *Patrick* founded in *Ireland* three hundred ſixty five Churches, conſecrated three hundred ſixty five Biſhops, and ordained three thouſand Presbyters. In proceſs of time, the number of Biſhops was dayly multiplied, at the pleaſure of the Metropolitan (whereof *Bernard* complains) and that not onely ſo far that almoſt every Church had a ſeveral Biſhop, but that alſo in ſome Towns or Cities were ordained more than one, nay ſometimes made without any certain place aſſigned to them. As for the erecting of New Archbiſhopricks, if the Legends may be credited, King *Eugus* and St. *Patrick*, with all the People did ordain, that in the City and See of *Albeus* (now *Emelye*, annexed to *Caſhell*) ſhould be the Archbiſhoprick of the whole Province of *Munſter*. In like manner *Brandubh* King of the *Lagenians*, with the conſent aſwell of the Laity as of the Clergy, appointed that in the City of *Fernes* (the See of *Moedoy*, otherwiſe called *Edanus*) ſhould be the Archbiſhoprick of all the Province of *Leinſter*. But *Bernard*'s teſtimony we have no reaſon not to believe, relating what was known to be done in his own time; that *Celſus* the Archbiſhop of *Armagh* had of new conſtituted another Metropolitical See, but ſubject to the firſt See, and the Archbiſhop thereof. Whereby we may ſee, ſaith Archbiſhop *Uſher*, that in the erection of New Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks all things were here done at home, without conſulting with the See of *Rome* in the matter.

Having Archbiſhops and Biſhops ordering all things at home.

14. Our ſaid Countreyman confeſſeth, that *To the Monarch was granted a Negative in the nomination of Biſhops at every Vacation: the Clergy and Laity of the Dioceſe recommending him to the King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; which laſt clauſe is erroneouſly by him extended to the Biſhops of the whole Nation, which properly belonged to the *Oſtman* Strangers that poſſeſſed the three Cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Limrick*. But as the Kings and People of this Land (our Authour proceeds) in thoſe Elder times kept the nomination of their Archbiſhops and Biſhops in their own Hands, not depending on the Pope's proviſion that way, ſo do we not find by any approved Record of Antiquity, that any viſitations of the Clergy were held here in the Pope's name, much leſs that any Indulgences were ſought for by our People at his Hands. For as for the Charter of St. *Patrick* (by ſome intituled, *de Antiquitate Avalonica*) wherein *Phaganus* and *Dervoianus* are ſaid to have purchaſed ten or thirty years of Indulgence from Pope *Eleutherius*, and St. *Patrick* himſelf to have procured twelve years in his time, from *Celeſtine* it might juſtly be demonſtrated were this a fit place, a mere figment deviſed by the Monks of *Glaſtenbury*. Neither do I well know what credit is to be given to that ſtragling ſentence which I find aſcribed to the ſame Authour: *If any Queſtions ariſe in this Iſland, let them be referred to the See Apoſtolick*; or to that other Decree attributed to *Auxilius*, *Patricius*, *Secundinus* and *Benignus*. *When any difficult Cauſe, and unknown to all the Judges of the* Scotiſh *Nation ſhall ariſe, it is rightly to be referred to the See of the Archbiſhop of the* Iriſh (viz. *to* Patrick) *and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if by him and his Wiſe Men a Cauſe of this nature cannot eaſily be made up: we have decreed, it ſhall be ſent to the See Apoſtolick; that is to ſay, to the Chair of the Apoſtle* Peter, *which hath the authority of the City of* Rome. Onely this I will ſay, that as it is moſt likely that St. *Patrick* had a ſpecial regard unto the Church of *Rome*, from whence he was ſent for converſion of this Iſland; ſo if I my ſelf had lived in his days, for the reſolution of a doubtfull Queſtion, I ſhould as willingly have liſtned to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome* as to the determination of any Church in the whole World, ſo reverend an eſtimation have I of the Integrity of that Church as it ſtood in thoſe good days. But that St. *Patrick* was of opinion that the Church of *Rome* was ſure ever afterward to continue in that good eſtate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that See, that it ſhould never err in Judgment, or that the Pope's Sentences were always to be held as infallible Oracles; that will I never believe: ſure I am that my Countreymen after him were of another Belief, who were ſo far from ſubmitting themſelves in this ſort to whatſoever ſhould proceed from the See of *Rome*, that they oftentimes ſtood out againſt it, when they had little cauſe ſo to doe. For proof whereof I need to ſeek no farther than to thoſe very allegations which have been lately urged for maintenance of the ſupremacy of the Pope and Church of *Rome* in this Countrey. Thus much of St. *Patrick*.

Edm. Camp. Hiſt. Hibern. l. 1. c. ult. ad Ann. 948.

Without any Viſitations from thence, or Indulgences ſought for by any of the *Iriſh* from *Rome*.

Charl. St. Patric. in Guil. Malmesb. libello de Antiq. Claſton. Eccleſiæ M. S. Vet. Collect. Canon. Bibliotb. Cotton. Vet. Codex. Eccleſ. Armagh.

15. About the time of this *Epheſine* Synod, died *Paulinus* the famous Biſhop of *Nola*. And the year following, *April* the 6*th*. *Cæleſtine* the Patriarch of *Rome*, after he had born that Office eight years, five months, and three days, and was

Paulinus Biſhop of *Nola* dies.

Baron. ad An. CCCCXXXII.

Celeſtine Patriarch of *Rome* dies.

buried in the Cemetery of *Priſcilla*, in the *Via Salaria*. He ordained, that the Pſalms of *David* ſhould be ſung by way of Antiphony before the Communion, which formerly had not been done, the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* and the Goſpel being onely read; as alſo that the Prieſt at the beginning of the adminiſtration of that Sacrament ſhould recite the forty ſecond Pſalm, *Judica me Deus*, in which Pſalm you muſt know *David* prays againſt his Enemies that perſecuted him. The *Gradual* alſo, as it's called, which they ſing in the Maſs, is attributed to him. Some add, that he cauſed alſo to be chanted in the Liturgy or Maſs, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*. He dedicated the beautifull Church of *Julius*, and to it gave ſeveral pieces of Plate, the Catalogue of which, if the Reader think it worth his while, he may find in *Platina*. This Biſhop is very much to be commended for his zeal againſt *Pelagianiſm*, and *Neſtorianiſm*, for ſuppreſſing of which he took great pains and care, for ſending *Palladius* and *Patricius* to convert the Northern Nations, as alſo for the ſuppreſſing the *Novatians* at *Rome*, from whom he took their Churches, and conſtrained *Raſticula* their Biſhop to hold private Conventicles. For unto that time (ſaith *Socrates*) the *Novatians* flouriſhed at *Rome*, enjoyed there many Churches, and had under them great Congregations. To this he adds this note: *But then they began to be hated out of meaſure, whenas the Biſhop of* Rome (*no otherwiſe than the Biſhop of* Alexandria) *paſſing the Bounds of his Prieſtly Order, preſumed now to challenge to himſelf Secular Power and Authority.* Beſides his Epiſtles and the Decrees therein contained, *Gratian* hath four which are hardly worth relating, onely one of them inflicts puniſhment upon the Biſhop or Prieſt that ſhould lye with the Woman whoſe Confeſſion they heard, which Cuſtome, to prevent the like villany, had been formerly abrogated by *Nectarius* of *Conſtantinople*. There are extant of his two Epiſtles to the Biſhops of *Gall*; one to them of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and the fragment of another to the *Epheſine* Council. To him ſucceeded *Xiſtus* or *Sixtus* of that Name, the third Son of *Sixtus* a *Roman*, *April* the twenty ſixth, the See having been vacant twenty days.

Platina.

Who does many good things.

Urſpergenſis.

Lib. 7. c. 11.

And is ſucceeded by *Sixtus*.

Several *Jews* deceived by an Impoſtour.

16. About this time many *Jews* in *Crete* being deceived by an Impoſtour, who told them he was *Moſes*, and was come the ſecond time to conduct them through the Sea to the Land of Promiſe, caſt themſelves into the Water. Some periſhed, others were ſaved by Fiſhermen, and the reſt convinced of their credulity by the ſad example of their Fellows, kept themſelves on dry land, and all that remained alive, convinced by ſuch a calamity, renounced Judaiſm, and imbraced the Chriſtian Faith. The year following, a Synod of fifty ſix Biſhops was held in *Rome*; the occaſion was, *Sixtus* the Biſhop his being accuſed by *Baſſus* and *Marinianus* of having defiled *Chryſogenites* a Nun: but he was abſolved in the preſence of *Valentinian* the Emperour, and *Placidia* his Mother. The cauſe of his abſolution ſome make the ſpeech of an *Exconſul*, who ſaid, that Sentence ought not to be paſſed againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*; which words *Sixtus* catching at, ſaid, It was indeed in his Power whether or no he would be Judged, yet would he not but that the truth ſhould be brought to light. By this ſeeming Piety and Humility the Emperour was ſo moved, that he referred the buſineſs wholly to *Sixtus*, who now become both Judge and Party, condemned both his Accuſers, neither upon their repentance to receive them to favour, when one of them pleaded that Chriſt teacheth us thus to pray, *Forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*; he replying, that it was alſo written that the ſin aganſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhould neither be forgiven in this World, nor that which is to come. *Baſſus*, as Principal in the ſlander was Baniſhed, and his eſtate ſeized to the uſe of the Church, three months after which he died, and then the Biſhop, as it ſeems, relenting, cauſed him to be Imbalmed, and (as *Platina* tells us) with his own hands Buried him near to St. *Peter* in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtours. At this ſame time *Sixtus* accuſed *Polychronius* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, as having for a Reward in Money ordained ſeveral Biſhops and Miniſters, and cauſed him for ſome time to be ſuſpended from his Function, being condemned by this *Roman* Synod. It's reported he was angry with him for having once ſaid that it was more fitting the City of *Jeruſalem* ſhould obtain the preeminence than *Rome*, being the place where Chriſt taught and ſuffered, and where the Holy Ghoſt was ſent down firſt upon the Diſciples. But in a time when *Jeruſalem* was Beſieged, this Biſhop ſelling his Lands, and diſtributing the price amongſt the Poor, *Sixtus* procured the Emperour to reſtore him to his Biſhoprick.

Socrat. lib. 7. c. 37.

A Synod held at *Rome*.

Tom. Concil.

Platina Hiſt. Magdeb. Cent. 5. c. 10.

Polychronius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* ſuſpended.

Maximianus Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* dies.

17. The year following being the Four Hundred Thirty Fourth of Our Lord, the twenty ſeventh of *Theodoſius* II. and the tenth of *Valentinian* III. *Maximianus* the

Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 39.

the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* deceaſed, after he had peaceably governed the Church the ſpace of two years and five months, in the Conſulſhip of *Arebindus* and *Aſpares* on *Good-Friday*, being the twelfth of *April*. *At that time* (they are the words of *Socrates*) Theodoſius *the Emperour plaid a very wiſe part. For leſt tumult and diſſenſion ſhould again be raiſed in the Church, without any delay, whilſt the Corpſe of* Maximianus *was above ground, he procured the Biſhops then preſent to enſtall* Proclus *in the Biſhop's See. To this end the Letters of* Cœleſtinus *Biſhop of* Rome *were brought unto* Cyril *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *unto* John *Biſhop of* Antioch, *and* Ruſſus *Biſhop of* Theſſalonica, *certifying them that there was no cauſe to the contrary: but that one either already nominated Biſhop of ſome certain City, or inſtalled in ſome proper See, might be tranſlated to another Biſhoprick.* Theſe be the words of *Socrates*, who ſpends a whole Chapter upon occaſion of the repulſe formerly given to *Proclus*, on purpoſe to prove that it was neither againſt the Canons, nor example of ancient times, for a Biſhop to be tranſlated from one See to another, and reciting the pretended Canon, plainly ſhews it meant no ſuch thing as to inhibit ſuch a removal. Let the Reader then conſider how truly *Baronius* affirms that *Socrates* ſaith this Tranſlation of *Proclus* was made by diſpenſation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe the Canons forbad ſuch Tranſlations, and concludes from *Sixtus* his interpoſing his Judgment and Advice to a Right and Juriſdiction. This ſame year *Vincentius* a *Gall* by birth, who having paſt over the prime of his Youth in Secular warfare and buſineſs relating to the World, afterwards had betaken himſelf to a Monaſtical kind of life in *Leria*, an Iſland of the *Icarian* Sea, whence he had the Sirname of *Lerinenſis*, wrote a notable Commentary againſt all Hereticks, for the antiquity and univerſality of the Catholick Faith, which *Baronius* ſaith was very accommodate to theſe times whereof we write, and will be profitable againſt Innovatours in all Ages. This we moſt readily muſt admit, out of reſpect to his great *κειμηλιον* of Catholick Doctrine, that famous ſaying of his, that *We ought to hold faſt that which* by all, always *and* in all places *hath been believed, this being truly and properly Catholick, as the force of the word and reaſon it ſelf doth declare, all which it truly and univerſally comprehendeth.* Obſervable alſo is his Opinion, that *The Canon of the Scriptures is over and above ſufficient in all reſpects.* By theſe Rules let all Innovatours be Tried, Abſolved or Condemned.

Proclus is tranſlated thither.

Cap. 35.

Vincentius Lerinenſis in Præf. Anno 30. ab Epheſina Synodo.

In ipſa Catholica Eccleſia magnopere curandum eſt, ut id teneamus quod Ubique, *quod* Semper, *quod* ab Omnibus, *creditum: hoc eſt enim verè proprièque Catholicum, quod ipſa vis nominis, ratióque declarat, quæ omnia verè univerſaliter comprehendit, cap. 3. * Scripturarum Canon ſolus ſufficit ad omnia ſatis ſuperque. c. 41.*

The Books of *Neſtorius* burnt.

18. The next year, or the Four Hundred Thirty Fifth of Our Lord, were the Books of *Neſtorius*, which he had written in exile, condemned to be burnt by an Edict of *Theodoſius*. And when he himſelf was ſo far from amendment, that by his tenacious principles he infuſed venome, and raiſed commotions whereever he came; the year following he was removed from the Monaſtery of *Euprepius*, two Furlongs diſtant from *Antioch*, to *Petræ*, a place in the Wilderneſs of *Oaſis*. Being afterward (as *Euagrius* tells us) ſet at liberty by the People called *Blemmyes* in *Libya*, and *Theodoſius* having by his Edicts ordained he ſhould return, as he wandred from place to place about the fartheſt Part of *Thebais*, bruiſing and beating himſelf to the ground, he had ſuch an end as was agreeable to the life he had formerly led, and thereby ſhewed himſelf a ſecond *Arius*. For, as this Authour relates, (after a recitation of his complaining Letters to the Governour of *Thebais*) from his *Amanuenſis*, when he could not be brought to any reaſon or humility by all his miſeries, but rather ſpurned againſt the Authority of the Emperour and his Magiſtrates, his Tongue was eaten off by Worms, and ſo by the juſt Judgment of God he paſſed, ſaith he, from bodily to ſpiritual, from thoſe temporal to eternal puniſhments. The enſuing year was a great Perſecution raiſed againſt Orthodox Chriſtians in *Africk* by *Genſerick* the *Arian* King of the *Wandals*, wherein *Arcadius*, *Probus*, *Paſchaſius* and *Eutychus*, Noble *Spaniards*, received the Crown of Martyrdom. The next after this being the Four Hundred Thirty Eighth of Our Lord, and the ſixteenth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, *January* the twenty eighth, the Corpſe of St. *John Chryſoſtome* was tranſlated from *Comanum* to *Conſtantinople* five and thirty years after his depoſition. The occaſion, as *Socrates* tells the ſtory, was a great deſire that *Proclus* the Patriarch had to reconcile to the Church ſuch as upon the ſcandal of his ſufferings had ſeparated themſelves, whom to oblige he perſwaded the Emperour to tranſlate his Body, and with great Pomp and Reverence to place it in the Apoſtles Church; by which means thoſe that formerly

Cod. Th. de Hæret. l. ult. & Acta Conc. Epheſ.

His miſerable death.

Lib. 1. c. 7.

A Perſecution in *Africk*.

Proſper. in Chron.

The Corpſe of *Chryſoſtome* tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*.

formerly had ſeparated themſelves were reduced to order, and became conformable. Thus is the naked ſtory told by him, to whom do aſſent * *Theodoret*, † *Marcellinus* the great ‖ Menology, their * *Roman* Martyrology, and others.

* *Lib.* 5. *c.* 36.
† *In Chron.*
‖ *Die* 27. *Jan.*
* *Die* 27. *Jan.*

19. But his Body being (*a*) tranſlated from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*, to make his Reliques of more value, they have made the manner of his Tranſlation very miraculous. *Nicephorus* relates the Summ of it, borrowing it, as *Baronius* (*b*) doth not obſcurely hint, from the Luculent Oration of one *Coſmas Veſtiarius*, Whether a *Vatican* or *Baronian* Authour, ſo ignoble and unworthy, that *Poſſevine* judged him not worthy to be named in his *Bibliotheca*, or reckoned amongſt his *Teſtes Veritatis*. Yet out of this Tailor's Oration (ſaith our Great *Crackanthorp*) hath the Cardinal ſticht a very pretty Anile, whereof the Summ is this: *Proclus* making a Panegyrical Oration in praiſe of *Chryſoſtome*, the People were ſo inflamed with a longing deſire after him, that they interrupted the Biſhop, and not ſuffering him to make an end of his Sermon, cried out with many Vociferations, that they would have *Chryſoſtome* and his Reliques. *Proclus* herewith ſore moved, prevailed with the Emperour to ſend divers Senatours, nay ſome ſay an Army with Clerks and Monks to fetch his Body from *Comana*, where it was kept in a ſilver Coffin. Once and again, nay very often they labour and ſtrive with their whole might and skill to lift up the Coffin, but all in vain, the ſacred Body being no more moveable than a Rock. Of this therefore they certifie the Emperour, who calling *Proclus* and other holy Men ſeriouſly to adviſe about the matter, they counſel him to write a Letter to *Chryſoſtome*, in way of a Petition, asking him forgiveneſs for the Sins which *Arcadius* his Father had committed againſt him, and moſt humbly to beſeech him that he would return to *Conſtantinople*, and re-aſſume his See, praying him withall no longer to afflict them by his abſence, being not onely deſirous of his Body, but of his Aſhes, yea of his ſhadow. This the Emperour religiouſly performed, writing a Letter or Petition expreſſed both by *Nicephorus* and *Baronius*, though both the Cardinal and the Tailour *Coſmas* be unwilling to give to *Chryſoſtome* the Title of Patriarch and *Pater Patrum*, which *Nicephorus* as his due aſcribes unto him. The Emperour's Letters were brought to the dead Corpſe, and with great Reverence laid upon the Breaſt of *Chryſoſtome*, which done the next day with eaſe the Prieſts took up the Body, and bringing it to *Conſtantinople*, placed it in the Church of the *Holy Apoſtles*.

(*a*) *Martyrolog. Rom. Inde poſtea Romam tranſlata eſt.*
(*b*) *Ad An.* 438. *& in Annot. ad Martyrol. Rom.*

The miraculous manner of its Tranſlation.

20. Here firſt, as the Cardinal relateth from *Nicephorus*, the Emperour with the People made an humble Prayer for his Parents, and more eſpecially intreated for his Mother, that her Grave which had ſhaken and been ſick of a Palſie, and made a noiſe and ratling for thirty five years, might now at length ceaſe; and the Holy man heard the requeſt and granted it; the Graves Palſie was cured, ſo that it ſhaked no more. After this did *Proclus* place dead *Chryſoſtome* in the ſame See and Epiſcopal Seat with himſelf, all the People applauding and crying, *O Father Chryſoſtome receive thy See*; then by a Miracle beyond the Degree of Admiration, the Lips of *Chryſoſtome* (five and thirty years after he was laid in his Grave) opened and bleſſed all the People, ſaying *Peace be unto you*; and thus both the Patriarch *Proclus*, and the People ſtanding by teſtified that they heard. Such is the Relation of *Baronius* from *Nicephorus* and *Coſmas* his Tailour, a ſtory which puts down *Heliodorus*, *Orlando*, and all the Fictions of the Poets. Not to ſtand to refute ſuch a lying legend, the Cardinal's Friends may conſult *Tilmannus* their *Carthuſian* Monk, and ſee the Cenſure he gives of it, and of *Nicephorus* the onely Authour he knew, till *Baronius* pull'd this blind Tailour out of a Corner. *Though I believe*, ſaith he, *God to be omnipotent, yet I believe not all which is here written of Chryſoſtome. Let the Reader chuſe whether he will believe it or not, for the Writers of Mens Lives who lived before* Nicephorus (and he writ not till about the year 1328) *would not have concealed or ſmothered in ſilence a matter of ſo great moment.* This his Judgment is the more weighty becauſe there is no Ancient Father (I ſpeak it confidently ſaith our Dr. *Crackanthorp*) that hath had more fabulous Writers than are *Palladius* (as he is called) *Leo* and *George* the Writers, or rather Deviſers of *Chryſoſtom*'s Acts, his Life and Death. Any one of them doting after ſuch miraculous Reports, would have painted out this Miracle of Miracles with all the wit and words they had. That which I onely obſerve is, the ſtrange, and if you pleaſe, miraculous lewd dealing of *Baronius*. This Epiſtle of *Theodoſius*, though it was written to *Chryſoſtome* more than thirty years after his Death, the Cardinal approves, applauds, and for a rare Monument commends it, and all that appendant

Ipſe Chryſoſtomus labiis rurſum apertis ad Populum dixiſſe fertur Pax vobis, *Coſmas apud Bar. ubi ſupra. Paræneſis Carthuſiani poſt vitam Chryſoſtomi.*

dant fable to all Poſterity. Why? It is an excellent ſtory, indeed to perſwade the Adoration of Reliques, Innovation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead and ſuch like. Had the Epiſtle of *Theodoret* (hereafter to be mentioned) contained ſuch ſtuff, it ſhould have had every way the like applauſe from his Cardinalſhip, becauſe it wants ſuch matters, and croſſeth in very many things the Cardinal's Annals; oh! it is nothing but a Fiction, and a very forgery of ſome naughty Varlet. Thus Dr. *Crackanthorp*, upon occaſion of Tranſlation of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Bones.

On the fifth Council.

21. We have not for many years heard any thing of the Pagans, and their Superſtition, which it might be expected before this time ſhould have dwindled into nothing, Chriſtianity having ſo long been the owned and legal Religion. But notwithſtanding all former Laws, and the Example aſwell as incouragement of the Emperours, yet did Satan find ſome holes wherein to creep, and upon occaſion ſhew himſelf more publickly, as the Comportment of Affairs would permit. At this time when the diſtreſſes of the Weſtern Empire muſt neceſſarily afford greater Liberty to Souldiers, we find that *Cyrus* the Commander of the *Roman* Army, now when *Carthage* was beſieged, was of that ſuperſtitious perſwaſion, being afterward honoured with the *Prefectſhip* of the *Prætorium* and the *Conſulſhip*. *Littorius* alſo who commanded the *Hunns*, was addicted to the predictions of the *Aruſpices*, and more than this the *Pagans* were ſo bold, as publickly to offer Sacrifice. As this practice grieved the Fathers of the Church, and drew forth ſeveral Pieces declaming againſt ſuch impious practices from *Cyril*, *Salvian*, *Chryſologus* and others, ſo *Theodoſius* in the year 439 on the laſt Day of *January*, publiſhed an Edict againſt *Pagans*, *Samaritans*, *Jews* and *Hereticks*, which ſubjects them to divers pains and forfeitures. And not onely did *Paganiſm* recover in ſome meaſure its dying ſtrength at this time, but the *Arian* Hereſie again became rampant in *Africk*, where a very great Perſecution was raiſed againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians, after the taking of *Carthage* by the *Wandals*, who were infected with that Venome. *Quod vult Deus*, the Biſhop of that City preſently after it was taken, and a great Company of his Clerks were put into leaking Ships and committed to the Mercy of the Sea, which yet by God's mercy tranſmitted them to *Naples* in *Campania*. The ordinary Rule was, either to quit the Countrey or remain in perpetual ſlavery; yet this good came of ſo great an evil, that Paganiſm which had endured the ſhocks of ſo many Edicts was quite caſt down, and pulled up by the roots at *Carthage*, where they utterly defaced the Temple of Memory, and the *Via Cæleſtis*.

An Edict againſt Pagans, &c.

Theod. Nov. Tit. 3.

Victor de perſec. Vandal.

The Temple of Memory, and the *Via Cæleſtis* at *Carthage* demoliſhed.

22. About this time died *Folinus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, into whoſe room the Citizens deſiring *Proclus* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, that another might be elected, when he muſed with himſelf, whom he ſhould aſſign them for their Biſhop, and on *Saturday* was in the Church for that purpoſe, all the Senatours came thither to ſee whom he would elect, and amongſt the reſt *Thalaſſius* the *Præfectus Præterio* of *Illyricum*, on whom he pitched, and ordained him Biſhop of that See, whereat though the Emperour at firſt fretted, yet afterward as *Nicephorus* writes, he confirmed the Election. Here *Socrates* tells us he will cut off and make an end of his Hiſtory, conſiſting of ſeven Books, of which the laſt contains the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of two and thirty years, the whole work compriſing thoſe of an hundred and forty, beginning at the firſt year of the 271. *Olympiad*, when *Conſtantine* was proclaimed Emperour, and ending the ſecond of the three hundred and fifth (more rightly the third of the three hundreth and fourth) and the 17 Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius Auguſtus*. In his Collections he was not Indiligent, though *Euagrius* accuſeth him of Oſcitancy, very partial toward the *Novatians*, a *Greek* by Birth, and born at *Conſtantinople*. To this ſame year alſo being the 439 year of our Lord, *Hermias Sozomenus* of *Salamina* continued his Hiſtory, as himſelf affirmeth in his Preface, which plainly ſhews much of the latter end of that work to be loſt. *Gregory* the Great Biſhop of *Rome* tells us, that his See received not his Hiſtory, becauſe in many things he lies, and he too much commends *Theodorus* the Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*. *Melchior Canus* tells him his Memory failed him, for they are *Theodoret*'s words which he cites for *Sozomen*'s, and *Baronius* anſwers in his behalf, that though in ſuch matters as *Gregory* excepts againſt, he be not to be received, yet neither to be rejected in other matters, the Cardinal being the rather of this opinion, becauſe Pope *Gelaſius* receiveth him, and accounts him more worthy of credit than *Euſebius*, as *Photius* values him above *Socrates*. To this may be added from *Canus*, that his Teſtimony was both cited and approved

Folinus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* dies.

Thalaſſius ſucceeds him.

L. 14. *c.* 4. 2

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 31.

proved in the *Florentine Council* at which *Palæologus* was preſent. To theſe times alſo *Theodoret* (of whom we ſhall have too much occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter) continued his Hiſtory conſiſting of five Books, the Style of which is more Hiſtorical than either that of *Socrates*, *Sozomen* or *Euagrius* in the opinion both of *Photius* and *Voſſius*. Theſe *Greek* Authours were firſt Tranſlated into *Latin* by *Epiphanius* an eloquent Man, and the friend of *Caſſiodorus*, who having procured this to be done, of them three he compoſed the Tripartite Hiſtory, leſt eloquent *Greece*, as he ſaith, ſhould inſult above thoſe of the Weſt, injoying thoſe neceſſaries which they wanted.

Divin. Lect. c.5 & 17. quos à viro Epiphanio diſertiſſimo in uno corpore 12 Libris fecimus Deo auxiliante transferri: ne inſultet habere ſe facunda Græcia neceſſarium quod vobis indicet eſſe ſubtractum. pag. 901. Edit. Genevæ. 1622.

A Synod held at *Rhegium* in the Province of *Narbone*.

23. This ſame year or that following was a Provincial Synod of thirteen Biſhops held at *Rhegium* in the Province of *Narbone*. Of which are 7 obſcure Canons extant. The fifth of them ordains that upon the death of a Biſhop, the Neighbour Biſhop at the time of the Funeral ſhall come and take care of the Church, till the place be legally fitted. The laſt commands that Biſhops, all excuſe ſet apart, fail not to meet twice in the year. The enſuing year being the 440 of our Lord, on the 28*th.* of *March* died *Sixtus* the *Roman* Biſhop, when he had governed that Church eight years wanting 30 days. He built a ſtately Church to the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin called *Maria Major*, as appeared to *Platina* by an Inſcription upon an Arch. How he furniſhed it at his great Coſt, the Reader if he pleaſe may find in that Writer, as that he ſpent all he had either this way, or in his Liberality to the Poor, making his own Eyes his Executours, and having ordained 28 Prieſts, 12 Deacons and 52 Biſhops was buried in a Vault in the *via Tiburtina*, by the Body of St. *Laurence*. This being vacant more than forty days, at length, on the 10*th.* of *May* was *Leo* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, choſen for Biſhop and Paſtour of it. He was a *Tuſcan* born and the Son of *Quintianus*. Having very good natural parts he adorned them in his Youth by good Literature: uſing himſelf to declaiming, by that conſtant exerciſe he became very eloquent, being alſo ſtudied in Divinity above moſt of his time. Under *Sixtus* who made good uſe of his Abilities in his defence againſt *Baſſus*, he was ſent upon ſeveral meſſages of importance, and was now abſent having been diſpatched into *Gall*, to compoſe the difference betwixt *Aetius* and *Albinus* two eminent *Roman* Captains. The year following had for Conſul alone *Cyras* the Pagan of whom we lately ſpake, who at length being diſgraced by *Theodoſius* the Emperour turned Chriſtian, took Orders, and as *Nicephorus* tells us was made Biſhop of *Smyrna*. He was an excellent Poet, and pleaſed thereby *Eudocia* the Empreſs to ſuch a degree (for this Lady was a great Friend and Servant of the Muſes) that thinking him worthy of the greateſt countenance. She brought him in, and gave occaſion to his Advancement to ſo great Honours.

Tom. 2. Conc.

Proſper.

Sixtus Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Leo Succeeds him.

Another Synod held at *Orange*.

24. This ſame year which was the 441 of our Lord, was another Provincial Synod held at *Orange*, or *Aranſio* in *Gall*, in the Province of *Narbone*, called *Concilium Aranſicanum*, whereof are extant 29 Canons of no great importance, beſides a form of Excommunication, and another of Abſolution, aſcribed by *Gratian* to this Synod. The form of Excommunication is this: (*a*) *Following the Canonical Inſtitutions and Examples of the Holy Fathers, by the Authority of God and Judgment of the Holy Ghoſt, we baniſh from the Boſome of our Holy Mother, the Church, and the ſociety of all Chriſtians the violaters or Robbers of God's Churches. Till they repent and give ſatisfaction to the Church of God.* Here the Gloſs moves the Queſtion whether all Sacrilegious Perſons be excommunicate *ipſo Jure*, and reſolves it in the affirmative onely as to thoſe violatours. As for the manner of Reconciliation. (*b*) *When any Excommunicated or Anathematized Perſon asketh pardon and promiſeth amendment: the Biſhop that Excommunicated him ought to come to the Church Door, and twelve Prieſts to ſtand about him, as alſo thoſe againſt whom the offence was committed, and now are to be repaired, who if they have been already ſatisfied and thereof to give Teſtimonial; Then let the Biſhop demand of him if he be willing to undergoe ſuch penance as the Canons do enjoyn to his offences. And if he being proſtrate on the ground do ask pardon, confeſs*

(*a*) *Canonica inſtituta & Sanctorum Patrum exempla ſequentes, Eccleſiarum Dei violatores auctoritate Dei & ſtudio ſancti Spiritus à gremio ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ & à conſortio totius Chriſtianitatis eliminamus quoad uſq; reſipiſcant & Eccleſiæ Dei ſatisfaciant. Can.* 11. *Qu.* III. *c.* CVII.

(*b*) *Cùm aliquis Excommunicatus, &c. c.* CVIII.

feſs his fault, deſire penance and give caution for the future, then let the Biſhop lead him by the right hand into the Church, and reſtore him to Chriſtian Communion and Society, then ſing the ſeven Penitential Pſalms with theſe Prayers, Kyrie Eleiſon, Pater noſter, ſalvum fac ſervum tuum: *then this Prayer grant Lord we beſeech thee to this thy Servant fruit worthy of Repentance, that obtaining Remiſſion of ſins he may be reſtored guiltleſs to thy Church from the integrity of which by ſinning he had deviated. Through*, &c. Upon this the Gloſs notes that an Heretick is alſo to give Oath that he will no more tranſgreſs, as alſo all guilty of ſo grievous Crimes. And foraſmuch as at this day by virtue of later Laws, Excommunication may be pronounced in one ſimple word, ſo alſo Abſolution, it being a Rule that every thing may be diſſolved or ended by the ſame cauſes by which it was made or received its being. After this in the collection of Councils follows how the Biſhop is to make publick his Reconciliation. *Extran. de Reg. Juris Omnis ret.*

Another at *Vaiſon.*

25. The next year, or the 442 of our Lord, was another Provincial Synod of the Province of *Narbone* held at *Vaſio* a Town of the *Vocontii Salyones*, at this day *Vaiſon*, the Canons whereof, as *Baronius* obſerves, being altogether uncertain are confounded with thoſe of another Council held at this place in the days of *Conſtantius*, a Third in the Reign of *Decius Junior* in the year 463. About this time (ſome two years after) died *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, having governed that See 32 years leaving a good name behind him to all poſterity. For his manifold Learning as well Divine, as Humane, his painfulneſs in Preaching and Writing againſt all Hereticks and Pagans, and his great zeal in governing his flock. After his death *Theodoret* the Biſhop of *Cyrus* is ſaid to have written an Epiſtle to *John* Biſhop of *Antioch* wherein he exceedingly rejoyceth for the death of *Cyril*, and prates in ſuch a manner that it may more truly be called a Satyr or an infamous Libel than a Letter. This Epiſtle is inſerted near the laſt end of the fifth Collation of the fifth Synod; yet *Binius* eſteems it no better than the forgery of ſome wicked and obſcure Heretical Eutychian, and by fraud and ſurreption thruſt into the Acts of that Council. *Baronius* more than once paſſeth upon it the ſame cenſure, avowing it to be the figment of ſome *Neſtorian* Heretick and giving him the Lye that ſhould ſay it was *Theodoret's*. The reaſon is, for that *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* to whom this Epiſtle is directed, was dead ſeveral years before *Cyril*, *Baronius* demanding how *Theodoret* could write to *John* about the death of *Cyril* ſeeing *John* was dead ſeven years before him, which, ſaith the Cardinal, is ſure and certain both by *Nicephorus* and others, who write the ſucceſſion of Biſhops, as alſo by an Epiſtle which *Cyril* writ to *Domnus* the Succeſſour of *John*, both which proofs *Binius* alſo alledgeth. With both theſe Champions, our as Learned Dr. *Cracanthorp* grapleth, and with what ſucceſs (for nothing can be added to the ſtrength of his Arguments) the impartial Reader ſhall be Judge.

Cyril Patriarch of *Alexandria* dyes. *Liberatus. Nicephorus.*

Theodoret's Epiſtle to *John* of *Antioch* urged by *Binius* and *Baronius* as a Figment. *Bin. in 5 Concil.*

Which is anſwered by Dr. *Crackanthorp.*

26. His firſt anſwer is that if this be a Demonſtration of forgery becauſe an Epiſtle is written to one that is dead, the Papiſts themſelves and not we ſhall be the greateſt loſers thereby. For, firſt there is a Decretal Epiſtle written by *Clement* Biſhop of *Rome*, to *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the Brother of our Lord, wherein he tells him that "*Peter* being ready to be Martyred took *Clement*, ordained him Biſhop, gave him the Keys, and ſeating him in his own Chair ſaid unto him, O *Clemens*, I beſeech thee before all that are here preſent that thou write unto *James* the Brother of our Lord, how thou haſt been my Companion in my Travels and Actions from the firſt beginning, write alſo what thou haſt heard me Preach in every City, what order I have uſed in my Preaching, and how I end my life in this City. And fear not that he will be ſorry for my death, for he will not at all doubt but I die for Pieties ſake, nay it will be a great comfort to him to hear that I leave not my charge to one that is ignorant or unlearned. This and much more wrote *Clement* to *James*, after his death, and of the life and death of *Peter*. Now *James* to whom he wrote was dead, ſix or ſeven years before *Peter*, *James* being ſlain in the ſeventh, and *Peter* in the thirteenth year of *Nero*, as out of St. *Jerome*, *Euſebius*, *Joſephus* and others is evident, and *Baronius* and *Binius* not onely profeſs but rightly prove; nay more, becauſe this Decretal Epiſtle and Apoſtolical writing, as *Turrian* calls it was not ſent from Pope *Clement* till the tenth year of *Domitian* as is proved by *Baronius*, it followeth that it was not writ to *James* till thirty years after his death. Yet notwithſtanding muſt not this Epiſtle be rejected as a forgery. *Binius* calls it the Epiſtle of Pope *Clement*, *Baronius* affirms that it is not onely Pope *Clement's*, but that this and the other written to the ſame *James* the dead Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* are his intire and incorrupted writings. In their Canon its vouched for no

Epiſt. 1. Clem. tom. 1. conc. p. 25. &c.

Ad A. D. 93. num. 2.

Ep. 1. Clem. Pap.

leſs, and that what is there related muſt ſtand for the words and Doctrine of St. *Peter*, yea the Authority of it as of other Decretal Epiſtles is affirmed every way equal to the Canons of *Nice*, of *Chalcedon*, and other holy Councils; nay farther what St. *Auſtin* ſaith of the very ſacred and Canonical Scriptures indited certainly by the Spirit of God himſelf, that doth *Gratian* (wretchedly abuſing his words) apply to this and the reſt of the Popes Decretal Epiſtles ſaying that *They are to be reckoned amongſt the Canonical Scriptures*, which *Bellarmine* not onely defends in general, but by the Authority of *Ruffinus* defends this to be the true Epiſtle of *Clement* to St. *James*. More particularly the Jeſuite *Turrian* to whom *Baronius*, *Binius*, *Gretzor* and others refer us for the credit of theſe Epiſtles, has writ a whole Book in defence of them all, wherein he calls them moſt holy, moſt true Epiſtles, moſt worthy of their Authours (in particular mentioning and defending this of *Clement* to *James*) that is Men Apoſtolick, conſecrated by the Reverence of the whole World, full of all Gravity, Learning and Sanctity, confirmed by the Teſtimony and uſe of all Ages: and which is moſt pertinent to our preſent purpoſe, the Jeſuite words it thus: *What if in theſe Epiſtles ſometimes we meet with ſuch matters as are not eaſie to all? muſt we therefore doubt of their Authority? by no means.*

Diſt. 80. c. 2. & 6. qu. 1. c. 5.

11. Qu. 3. c. 12. 6. qu. 1. c. 5. Diſt. 20. Can. Decretales.

Lib. 2. de Doctr. Chriſtiana c. 8. Pro epiſt. Pontificum. lib. 2. præf. p. 152. &c.

27. If any Man therefore underſtand not how the Epiſtle of *Clement* could be written to St. *James* who was dead ſo long before, ſuch an one according to his Doctrine, if a learned, modeſt and temperate Man muſt ask of others, and in the mean time contain himſelf within his own bounds, that is, he muſt as the Jeſuit explaineth it, ſo firmly believe it to be written by *Clement* that he eſteems it a great ſin to doubt thereof. But beſides this *Turrian* hath writ a large Chapter on purpoſe to defend this Epiſtle to be truly *Clement*'s though written to *James* long after his death, whereas ſome there were (followed by *Baronius*, *Poſſenine* and *Binius*) who thought it to be written indeed by *Clement* not unto *James* but to *Simeon* his Succeſſour. Againſt thoſe, he held that it was writ to none but *James*, and whereas ſome would think it madneſs to write to one that was dead (for who ſhould be carrier of the Letter) eſpecially to write to him as a Governour in the Church militant and to adviſe him what he ſhould doe. *Turrian* tells you of divers great and weighty reaſons why St. *Peter* commanded *Clement*, and why *Clement* wrote to a dead Man, and having given very wiſe and worthy reaſons thereof, one taken from Transfiguration, another from imitation, a third from voiding hatred which he would have incurred had he writ to any alive, a fourth to be a Teſtimony of the Reſurrection; and ſuch like; at length he concludes that no Catholicks muſt doubt of the truth of this Epiſtle though they ſee no reaſon why it ſhould be written to a dead Man; and withall that with Men who have reaſon and Judgment, ſuch muſt aſſure themſelves both that St. *Peter* and *Clement* knew reaſons for writing to a dead Man. Both the Cardinal therefore and *Binius*, had they been Men of reaſon and Judgment, and conſidered this tract of *Turrian* to which they refer us, might therein have ſeen divers reaſons why *Theodoret* might write to *John* though he was dead, they being as forcible to defend this Epiſtle of *Theodoret* as to excuſe *Clement* for writing to St. *James*. But the cauſe is now altered, the Cardinals Demonſtration holding in thoſe things alone which diſtaſte him, or make for us and againſt their cauſe. But if any ſuch writing bring, as all the Decretals do, either honour to the *Roman* See, or gain to that Court, though they were writ to one that was dead, not ſeven onely but ſeven times ſeven years before, they ſhall be honoured as the true and undoubted threatnings of the Authours. If any one ſcruple to yield his aſſent to this truth let him but add to this the other Example about *Chryſoſtome*'s bones, the writing of a Letter to that Patriarch thirty five years after his death by the Emperour *Theodoſius*, and he will find it ſuch an one as cuts all the Sinews, yea the hart-ſtrings of the Cardinals Demonſtration. He muſt confeſs it either to be fallacious or proclaim the Epiſtle of Pope *Clement* and the other of *Theodoſius* with that whole narration to be fictitious, and the Cardinals Annals a Fabulous Legend.

28. The Doctours ſecond anſwer is that though *John* was dead to whom the Epiſtle was directed, yet that onely proves the Title or inſcription to be amiſs, or that *Theodoret* wrote not this Epiſtle to *John*; it cannot prove (which the Cardinal undertook to doe) that the Epiſtle is forged and not written by *Theodoret*. For that it was truly *Theodoret*'s own Sermon publickly preached at *Antioch* before *Domnus* after the death of *Cyril*, and mentioned in the Synodal Acts next after this Epiſtle, doth clearly manifeſt the very ſcope and purpoſe of that Sermon being the ſame which is expreſſed in the Epiſtle. As in the Epiſtle

Col. 5. p. 559.

Epiſtle *Theodoret* declareth his eagerneſs for defending the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, and inſulteth over dead *Cyril* as the chief Oppugner of that Hereſie, the very ſame eagerneſs for *Neſtorianiſm*, and love to his Hereſies, as alſo the like joy for *Cyril's* death, doth his Sermon expreſs, and that more fully with ſuch Expreſſions as theſe: *None doth now compell any man to blaſpheme*, ſeeing *Cyril* is dead, *Where are thoſe who teach that God was Crucified. It was the man Chriſt and not God who was crucified. It was the man Jeſus that died, and it was God the Word who raiſed him from the dead. Now there is no contention* (ſeeing *Cyril* is dead) *the Eaſt and Ægypt* (that is, aſwell thoſe who are under the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as ſuch as are ſubject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*) *are all under one Yoke*, or all ſubmit themſelves to one Faith, *viz. Neſtorianiſm. Envy is now dead and all Contention dead and buried with him. Let now the* Theopaſchites (that is the Catholicks who taught God to have ſuffered and died) *let them now be quiet.* Now who can imagine but that the Epiſtle which maintains the ſame Hereſie, and inſults in the ſame triumphing manner at the death of *Cyril* was written by *Theodoret* when he publickly in a Sermon before a Patriarch uttered the ſame Matter? Would he forbear to write that in a Letter which he neither did fear, nor forbear to profeſs openly in a Sermon, and that in ſo ſolemn a place and Aſſembly? Or was *Theodoret* Orthodox, and a lover of *Cyril* in his Writings before his death (as *Baronius* alledgeth) who was Heretical and ſo big with *Neſtorianiſm* after his death, that he muſt vent them, and with them diſgorge his malice and ſpite in an open Pulpit, and ſuch an Audience? It is not the Inſcription or Title of the Epiſtle, but the Epiſtle it ſelf, which the Fifth Council and we after it ſtand upon. But that they knew the Epiſtle to be *Theodoret's*, they needed not by it to have proved that he after the Union, yea, after the death of *Cyril*, was eager, violent, yea, virulent in defence of the Hereſies of *Neſtorius*, his Sermon had been a ſufficient demonſtration of that: But becauſe they were ſure this was the true Epiſtle of *Theodoret*; they thought good to teſtifie that he was the ſelf ſame man in writing that he was in preaching, and in both a malitious *Neſtorian*; that long after the Union made betwixt *John* and *Cyril*, yea after *Cyril's* death he continued both to write and ſpeak the ſame.

29. Next the Doctour obſerveth the fraudulent dealing of *Baronius* and *Binius* in this Cauſe, who though they carp not at the Sermon, yet deny the Epiſtle, whereas though the Epiſtle had never been extant, yet the Cardinal's Poſition for *Theodoret's* Orthodoxy and Catholick Faith ever after the Union betwixt *John* and *Cyril* is clearly and certainly refuted by his Sermon made twelve years after the Union. Then whereas the Cardinal ſtrongly urgeth the Epiſtles, which in their *Vaticane* or *Minthouſe*, are ſtamped with the Name of *Theodoret*, to prove his Orthodoxy for ſix and twenty years, this Sermon alone convicts them of falſehood, wherein he Vomits out in a moſt Solemn Aſſembly, together with the Blaſphemies of *Neſtorius*, moſt ſlanderous Revilings, not onely againſt *Cyril*, at whoſe death he inſulteth, but againſt all Catholicks, whom after the *Neſtorian* Language he ſtiles *Theopaſchites* and *Hereticks*: With ſuch falſe, feigned and lying Writings doth the Cardinal fight againſt the Fifth Synod and the Acts thereof. After this to meet with the Objection which *Baronius* might make againſt the Epiſtle from the falſeneſs of its Superſcription, by many Inſtances our Authour proveth an Epiſtle may be true, when yet the Title is falſe and erroneous. As 1ſt. in the Epiſtle of *Clement* to *James*, the Inſcription whereof, though both he and *Binius* confeſs to be falſe, yet held the Letter it ſelf to be *Clement's*. Excuſing it they ſay it was onely an errour in writing *James* inſtead of *Simeon*, and had they not been too malitious againſt the Fifth Synod, they would as eaſily have ſaid the Epiſtle is truly his but in the Inſcription, in the Acts, the Name of *John* is by the Writers miſtaken for that of *Domnus*. 2. In *Theodoret's* Hiſtory and the *Venice* Edition of the Councils by *Nicholinus* Pope *Damaſus* is ſaid to have writ an Epiſtle to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, whereas it ought to be read, as *Baronius* and *Binius* confeſs, Biſhop of *Antioch*. 3. The ſixteenth Novel of *Juſtinian* is directed to *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, whereas *Mennas* at that time governed that See. 4. The Epiſtle of *Fœlix* the fourth to *Sabina*, was dated on the twelfth of the Calends of *November*, at which time *Fœlix* was dead, whoſe Name as the Cardinal ſaith might eaſily creep in for that of *Boniface* his Succeſſour. By ſeveral other inſtances not neceſſary here to be expreſſed, doth he make the Cardinal's Exception againſt this Epiſtle of *Theodoret* very ridiculous.

Ad An. 518. *Ad Concil. ſub Damaſo.*

Ad An. 530.

30. And no leſs ridiculous doth he ſhew the Cardinal's reaſons to be why *John*

died before *Cyril*. He confeſſeth it true that *John* did die before him, becauſe of many undoubted teſtimonies of the Council of *Chalcedon*, not one of which the Cardinal had the grace to alledge, but his reaſons are ſo weak, and withall ſo full of fraud and untruth, that the Doctour counts it worthy of conſideration to ſee his blindneſs and perverſeneſs, even in proving that which is true. He firſt tells us: *I have ſhewed this moſt manifeſtly that* John *died ſeven years before* Cyril, *by the Epiſtle which* Theodoret *wrote to* Domnus *four years ſince* (that is four before this year 444) *in the behalf of one* Fælicianus, *whoſe eſtate* Theodoret *recommends to* Domnus. The Doctour obſerves how egregious a trifler the Cardinal hath ſhewed himſelf hereby. For neither in the four hundred and fortieth, nor in any four years either before or after that doth he ſet down any Epiſtle of *Theodoret's* to *Domnus* in behalf of *Fælicianus*. The Epiſtle which the Cardinal dreameth of, is in behalf of *Cæleſtianus*, and that is indeed expreſſed *Ann.* 440. where note, I pray, that the Cardinal by a ſlip either of his own Pen or Memory (as I verily ſuppoſe) or of his Scribe, names *Fælitianus* inſtead of *Cæleſtianus*. God even by this demonſtrating how unjuſtly he carps at the Synodal Acts, for that very errour or ſlip of a Pen, which the Cardinal himſelf falls into, even while he for the like ſlip declaimeth againſt theſe Holy Synodical Acts. And yet there's a worſe fault in this Reaſon. For it is no more ſhewed that *John* died before *Cyril* by that Epiſtle than by *Tully's ad Atticum*. That Epiſtle having neither date nor any Circumſtance to induce that, and may aſwell be written *Ann.* 448. as 440. His ſecond Reaſon is: There are Letters extant of *Theodoret* to *Domnus* the year following (*Ann.* 437.) and that Epiſtle I will ſet down in its due place, the next year. Now in the next year, *viz. Ann.* 437. there is no Epiſtle of *Theodoret* ſet down by the Cardinal, nor is either *Domnus* or *Theodoret* ſo much as named in all his diſcourſe of that year. Is not this now ſhewed *moſt manifeſtly*; you may be ſure he would not have feared to perform his promiſe, but that there was ſomewhat in that Epiſtle which would have bewrayed his lewd dealing in this Cauſe. His third Reaſon is drawn from the Teſtimony of *Nicephorus*, from whom he ſaith it is certain. No it is ſure and certain by *Nicephorus* that *Baronius* is erronious in this matter, for he accounteth *John* to have been Biſhop of *Antioch* 18 years, and the Cardinal will allow him no more than 13, now the firſt year of *John* cannot poſſibly be before the year 427, for in that year *Theodotus* his next Predeceſſour died, as *Baronius* himſelf proveth. Add now unto theſe 17 more, and then the death of *John* will be *Ann.* 444. which is the ſelf ſame year wherein *Cyril* died.

Ad Ann. 444. *num.* 16.

31. But ſee farther, how the Cardinal is infatuated in this Cauſe. *John* (ſaith he) *died* Ann. 436. *having been Biſhop* 13 *years*. John *ſucceeded to* Theodotus *who died* Ann. 427. Say now in truth is not the Cardinal a worthy Arithmetician, who of 427 and 13 can make no more than 436? And is not this a worthy reaſon to refuſe *Nicephorus*? But this is not all, for *Baronius* gloſſing upon *Theodoret's* Letter to *Dioſcorus*, which, as he ſaith, was written *Ann.* 444, there obſerves with a Memorandum, that by this Paſſage of *Theodoret*, you may ſee how long *Theodotus*, *John* and *Domnus*, had ſitten in the See of *Antioch*, *viz.* 26 years in all, from that time that *Theodotus* was made Biſhop unto that year 444, *viz. Theodotus* 6, *John* 13, and *Domnus* 7, untill that year. *Theodotus*, as *Baronius* will aſſure you was made Biſhop *Ann.* 423. Add now unto theſe 6 of *Theodotus*, 13 of *John*, and 7 of *Domnus*, and tell me, whither you think the Cardinal had ſent his Wits when he could ſum thoſe to be juſt 444. Or will you ſee the very quinteſſence of the Cardinal's Wiſedom? *I will* (ſaith he) *ſet down the next year* (viz. Ann. 437.) *the very Epiſtle of* Theodoret *to* Domnus, *which was then written unto him, and I will ſet down in his due place* (viz. Ann. 444.) *that Epiſtle of* Theodoret *to* Dioſcorus, *whereby is ſhewed, that* John *was Biſhop of* Antioch *juſt* 13 *years*. Thus the Cardinal, who by theſe two Epiſtles of *Theodoret* will prove both theſe. As much in effect as if he had ſaid, I have already proved that *John* began to be Biſhop of *Antioch* Ann. 427. and this being ſet down for a certainty; I will now prove by *Theodoret's* Epiſtle to *Domnus*, that *John* died *Ann.* 436, that is, in his ninth year; and then I will prove again by *Theodoret's* Epiſtle to *Dioſcorus*, that he died in his thirteenth year, and ſo died not till the year 440. Or, as if he had thus ſaid, I will firſt prove that mine own Annals are untrue, wherein it is ſaid, that *John* died in the year 436, which is but the ninth year of *John*, becauſe he died not, as *Theodoret* in one Epiſtle witneſſeth, untill his thirteenth year, which is *Ann.* 440. And then I will prove unto you, that mine own Annals are again untrue, wherein it is ſaid that *John* was Biſhop 13 years, and ſo died not till *Ann.* 440. (beginning the firſt *Ann.* 427.) becauſe *Theodoret* in another Epiſtle witneſſeth, that *John* died

died *Ann.* 436. Or thus, I will firſt prove that *John* was dead *Ann.* 436, though he was alive *Ann.* 440, and then I will prove unto you that *John* was alive *Ann.* 440, though he was dead *Ann.* 436. Is not this brave dealing in the Cardinal? Is he not worthy of a Cap and Feather too, that can prove all theſe, and prove them by *Theodoret*'s Epiſtles? Or do you not think theſe to be worthy Epiſtles of *Theodoret*, by which ſuch Abſurdities, ſuch Impoſſibilities may be proved?

32. Doth not this alone if there were no other evidence, demonſtrate theſe Epiſtles of *Theodoret* to be Counterfeits? If that to *Domnus* be truely his as *Baronius* aſſures you, whereby *John* is ſaid to have died *Ann.* 436, then certainly the other to *Dioſcorus* muſt needs be a forgery, whereby *John* is ſhewed to live *Ann.* 440. Again if that to *Dioſcorus* be truely his as *Baronius* aſſures you, wherein *John* is ſaid to live 440, then certainly the other to *Domnus* muſt of neceſſity be a forgery, wherein *John* is ſaid to be dead *Ann.* 436. And as either of theſe two Epiſtles demonſtrates the untruth and forgery of the other, ſo they both demonſtrate the great Vanity of *Baronius*, who applauds them both, and who will make good what they both affirm; that is the ſame Man to be both dead and alive, a Biſhop and no Biſhop at the ſelf ſame time; and by theſe worthy Reaſons doth the Cardinal refute his own witneſs, *Nicephorus*, who by giving eighteen years to *John*, ſhews plainly that *John* and *Cyril* died within one year, which account perhaps gave occaſion to the Exſcriber of the Synodal Acts to thruſt in the Name of *John*, whom upon *Nicephorus* his account he thought to live after *Cyril*, whereas in very deed he died ſomething before *Cyril*. His fourth and laſt Reaſon is drawn from a Canonical Epiſtle of *Cyril* to *Domnus*, ſet down in the additions to *Theodore Balſamon*, where he concludes it *out of doubt that John died, ſeeing one Cyril writ to his Succeſſour Domnus*, yet are there two great doubts in it. The firſt whether that Epiſtle be truely *Cyril's*, what the Cardinal brings being much againſt it, the Epiſtle aſcribing ſo great Anthority to *Domnus*, as to put out Biſhops and reſtore them at his pleaſure, quite contrary to the Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which requires that the Metropolitan doe nothing in ſuch Cauſes without the advice and conſent of the other Biſhops of that Province. The other doubt is whether *Domnus*, to whom this Epiſtle is written be *Domnus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and Succeſſour to *John*. In removing hereof the Cardinal is much troubled, winding himſelf divers ways, and concluding that *He who had ſuch Authority muſt needs be ſome eminent Biſhop, and not one of an inferiour See*, although he might be a Metropolitan, though no Patriarch, and ſo have inferiour Biſhops under him.

Concil. Antioch. ſub Julio i Can. 9.

33. But he adds that, *There is no* Domnus *elſe, but this* Domnus *Biſhop of* Antioch, *mentioned either in the Council of* Epheſus *or* Chalcedon, *who had ſuch Authority as to depoſe and reſtore Biſhops ad libitum.* But in ſuch lawfull manner as *Domnus* of *Antioch* might doe it, there were others called by the Name of *Domnus* mentioned in thoſe very Councils, who might upon juſt cauſe, and by due and Canonical proceeding, depoſe and reſtore their inferiour Biſhops. Look but into theſe Councils, and you will admire both the ſupine Negligence of the Cardinal in this point, and his moſt audacious down-facing of the truth; for, to omit others both in the Conventicle of *Epheſus*, and the Council of *Chalcedon*, there is often mention of *Domnus* Biſhop of *Apamea*, a Metropolitan Biſhop. And that you may ſee how fraudulently the Cardinal dealt in this very point, he neither would ſet down that Epiſtle, nor acquaint you with that which in *Balſamon* is expreſly noted; that *Peter* the Biſhop, whom that *Domnus*, to whom *Cyril* writeth, had depoſed, was *Alexandrinus Sacerdos*, a Biſhop of the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*. Now what had *Domnus* of *Antioch* to doe with the *Alexandrian* Biſhops? So clear it is by *Balſamon*, that this *Domnus*, to whom *Cyril* wrote, was not *Domnus* of *Antioch*, as the Cardinal I fear againſt his Knowledge avoucheth. But thus you ſee all the Reaſons the Cardinal bringeth to prove *John* to be dead ſeven years before *Cyril*, not onely to be weak and unable to enforce that Concluſion, but alſo to be full fraught with frauds and untruths. So that if I had not found more ſound and certain Reaſons to perſwade this, I could never by the Cardinal's proofs have been induced to think that an Errour in the Inſcription of *Theodoret*'s Epiſtle. But ſeeing upon the undoubted Teſtimonies in the Council of *Chalcedon*, it is certain that *John* died before *Cyril*, I willingly acknowledge a ſlip of ſome Writer in that Inſcription, but yet the Epiſtle it ſelf muſt be acknowledged to be truely *Theodoret's*, which is all that the Synod avoucheth, and that which the Cardinal undertook to diſprove, but by no one Reaſon doth offer to prove the ſame. And even for that Errour alſo in the Inſcription,

Act. 3. Conc. Chalc. p. 75. &

ſcription, I doubt not but thoſe who can have a ſight of the *Greek* and Original, nay perhaps ſome ancient Copies of the Acts of the fifth Council, ſhall find either no Name at all, or which I rather ſuppoſe, that of *Domnus* expreſſed therein; inſtead of which, though ſome ignorant audacious Exſcriber hath thruſt in the Name of *John*; it is not nor ought not to be any Impeachment at all to the Synodal Acts, unleſs the Cardinal will acknowledge his own Annals to be of no credit, becauſe in them *Paſchalis* is written by ſome ſuch errour for *Pelagius*, *John* for *Vigilius*, *Juſtinus* for *Juſtinianus*, *Theodorus* for *Theodoſius*, *Sexta* for *Quinta*, *Fælicianus* for *Cæleſtianus*, and a Number the like in other Cauſes, moſt of theſe ſlips pertaining to this very Cauſe of the three Chapters of which we do entreat. Thus Dr. *Crackanthorp* the *Baroniomaſtix*, to whoſe Arguments nothing can be added, it's pity any thing ſhould be detracted, but that we onely write an Inſtitution. In due place we ſhall again hear of him.

To *Cyril* of *Alexandria* ſucceeded *Dioſcorus*.

34. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* was ſucceeded by *Dioſcorus*, of whom we may hear too much hereafter. *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the mean time vigorouſly proſecuted the *Manichees*, as alſo *Valentinian* the Emperour, who by an Edict commanded them to be puniſhed as ſacrilegious Perſons. At this ſame time *Leo* interpoſing himſelf into the Eccleſiaſtick Affair of *Gall*, was earneſtly oppoſed by *Hilary* the Biſhop of *Arles*, a Man very famous in this Generation, who being a Monk of the *Lerinenſian* Monaſtery had for his Merit been promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Arles*. All he could get together he diſtributed to the Poor, and the better to inable himſelf to be charitable toiled much at Huſbandry and Countrey-work, yet without neglect of his particular Calling. A year or two following died *Proclus*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, when he had governed that Church ſomething above twelve years, and was ſucceeded by *Flavianus* a Prieſt of the ſame Church. Much about this time were held ſeveral Synods in *Spain* againſt the *Priſcillianiſts*, of which one held at *Toledo* firſt added that Paſſage concerning the Holy Ghoſt to the Creed, *Proceeding from the Father and the Son*, which was not for a long time after received by the Church of *Rome*. The year following *Theodoſius* the Emperour to appeaſe the Wrath of God which much appeared at this time in the Deſolations and Waſtings of ſeveral Countries by the Invaſion of the barbarous Nations as otherwiſe, publiſhed Laws againſt Heathens and *Neſtorians* commanding the Books of *Porphyry*, and others made againſt the Writings of *Cyril* to be ſought out and burned. But the Devil being driven out of this hold betook himſelf ſtreight to another Device, and made uſe herein of the Zeal wherewith Catholicks were inflamed againſt *Neſtorianiſm*, turning it ſo far into the other Extreme, as out of an extravagant deſire to ſhun *Charybdis* they ſtruck upon *Scylla* and made a change from one Hereſie to another.

Novel. Valen. Tit. 2. de Manich.

Proſper. Gennadius. alii.

Proclus of *Conſtantinople* dies. *Flavianus* ſucceeds.

Niceph. in Chron. & Niceph. Caliſtus. lib. 14. cap. 47. Concil. Tolet. in fine.

Eutyches and his Hereſie.

The Ringleader of this Party was one *Eutyches* an Abbat or *Archimandrita*, as the *Greeks* called it, of *Conſtantinople*, who ſo far contended againſt two Perſons in Chriſt, that he alſo denied two Natures. At firſt he ſaid Chriſt was not Conſubſtantial with us according to the Fleſh, but brought his Body with him from Heaven, afterward he held that the Natures which were before the Union two, and diſtinct each from other, after the Union became one and the ſame. According to the former Aſſertion *Theodoret* tells us he revived the Hereſie of *Valentinus*, who imagined that the Son of God took nothing from the Virgin, but being made fleſh paſſed onely through her Body, *Eutyches* began to publiſh this his Opinion to the World in or about the year of our Lord 448, the Conſulſhip of *Flavius Poſthumianus* and *Flavius Zeno*.

Acta Concil. Epheſ.

Liberatus Breviar. c. 11. Theod. in hæreticis fabulis. Flavian. Ep. inter Leonis. Leo variis ut 11. 19. Euagrius libb. 1. 2. 3. 4.

Is condemned in a Synod held at *Conſtantinople*.

35. *Eutyches* his Doctrine being early diſcovered at *Conſtantinople*, was condemned by a Synod aſſembled there by *Flavianus* for that purpoſe. This ſame year were two Synods held at *Tyre* and *Berytus* about *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa* in *Syria*, who was accuſed of *Neſtorianiſm*, and as *Baronius* tells us, was thereof acquitted, not onely at *Berytus* but alſo afterward in the General Council of *Chalcedon*, how truly we ſhall hereafter declare. In the mean time the Friends of *Eutyches* knowing what diſreputation the late Synod at *Conſtantinople* had procured him, laboured by all means to null the Decrees thereof, eſpecially *Chryſaphius* the Eunuch out of a particular Grudge to *Flavianus*, upon whom he ſtudied how to devolve all the Odium and Infamy. This *Chryſaphius* at firſt was much diſpleaſed with his advancement to the See of *Conſtantinople*, and to pick ſome Quarrel ſent to him to tell him it was fitting he ſhould preſent the Emperour with ſome gift at his promotion. He ſent him accordingly ſome White-Loaves, whereat the Eunuch being diſpleaſed, and pleading for Gold as moſt worthy of the Prince, the Biſhop affirmed he had none but what belonged to the Church, and dedicated to the

Acta Conc. Chalc.

Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 47.

Service

Service of God, and uſe of the Poor. *Chryſaphius* rather irritated by this his reſolute Anſwer ſtudies all ways how to out him of his See, and perceiving he ſhould profit nothing in any ſuch attempt as long as *Pulcheria Auguſta* the Siſter of *Theodoſius* ſate at the Helm, by falſe Suggeſtions he brings her into diſcredit with *Eudocia* the Empreſs firſt, and then with the Emperour himſelf, and contrives how to deveſt her of her Imperial Power, and reduce her into a condition no better than that of the Deaconeſſes of the Church, which being made known to her by *Flavianus*, ſhe of her own accord quitted the Government and retired to a private life. *Chryſaphius* therefore joyns himſelf with *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the great Patron of this Heretick. *Eutyches* incouraged by his aſſiſtence complains that he had not been fairly dealt with in the late Synod of *Conſtantinople*, that the Acts of it were changed and altered at the pleaſure of his Enemies, and all things falſly and diſadvantageouſly recorded and repreſented on his ſide. He petitions the Emperour that the Records might be diligently ſearched and examined.

But appealing to the Emperour.

36. His ſuit was very eaſily granted through the intereſt of *Chryſaphius*, who ſo far alſo prevailed in his behalf, that though the Fathers of this new Synod called for examination of this matter oppoſed it, he procured him a diſpenſation as to appearance, and the matter to be examined in the preſence of his Proctours, which favour yet could not be granted to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* his Accuſer. But by this Aſſembly of thirty Biſhops, who as *Evagrius* writes ſifted out the doings of *Flavianus*, were the Records found true and confirmed. *Eutyches* to bring *Flavianus* into greater diſcredit with the Emperour, and all good Men, accuſed him as a Fautor of *Neſtorianiſm*, whereupon *Theodoſius* demanded of him a Confeſſion of his Faith, which inveighing againſt and anathematizing as well the one as the other Hereſie, perceiving he nothing profited by any of theſe ſhifts, being adviſed and governed by *Dioſcorus* and *Chryſaphius*, he deſires a general Council ſhould be called, whereof *Dioſcorus* ſhould be Preſident or Moderatour. *Chryſaphius* by the Mediation of the Empreſs eaſily obtaineth his ſuit, openly pretending to clear the difficulty in the Cauſe of *Eutyches*, but in his mind deſigning aſwell the advancement of his opinions, as the depoſiting and Ruine of *Flavianus*. By his means the Emperour appointed a Council to be held at *Epheſus* by the firſt of *Auguſt* (*A.D.* 449) over which he commanded *Dioſcorus* to preſide, and bring with him ſeveral Biſhops, but *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* and *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa* were forbidden to be preſent. *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome* was alſo ſummoned, but not finding it convenient to come himſelf ſent his Legates, who brought with them an Epiſtle to *Flavianus*, wherein the Hereſie of *Eutyches* was condemned, and which *Dioſcorus* the Preſident ſuppreſſed, not willing it ſhould be read. On the tenth of *Auguſt* the Biſhops met, to the Number of about 128, beſides ſome that were onely preſent by their Legates. Beſides *Dioſcorus* the Head of the Faction appeared *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Domnus* of *Antioch*, *Stephen* of *Epheſus*, *Flavianus* of *Conſtantinople*. *Dioſcorus* brought a rout of his own *Egyptian* Biſhops, and procured a Military Guard under Command of *Elpidius* and *Eulogius*, moreover a great Company of *Eutychian* Monks, Men clamorous, importune and audacious, gave their attendance at this Synod, which becauſe all things were carried irregularly, unjuſtly, and by force and violence in latter Ages, hath obtained the Name of the *Epheſine* Latrociny.

Lib. 1. *c.* 9.

Liberatus in Breviario. c. 11.

Obtains a Council to be call'd to *Epheſus.*

37. *Dioſcorus* the Moderatour would permit no Clerk to take the Acts of the Synod but one of his own making, yet permitted thoſe of his own faction to take what notes they pleaſed. At the opening of the Aſſembly was read the Emperour's Letters, wherein he permitted ſuch as had formerly condemned *Eutyches* in the Synod of *Conſtantinople* to be preſent, but with injunction of ſilence, becauſe their Acts were now to be examined, he alſo commanded all things to be done according to the preſcript of the *Nicene Faith*, and that they would doe their utmoſt to extirpate all Hereſie. They confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, and receiving a Paper from *Eutyches*, wherein he had written his opinion, after it was read, up ſtands *Dioſcorus*, and cries out *Eutyches* his Faith is very good, agreeable to that of the 318 Fathers. *Eutyches* believeth aright, and we profeſs the ſame opinion. *Eutyches* incouraged by this Patrociny, makes a long invective againſt *Flavianus*, and the late Synod of *Conſtantinople*, and complains he was much injured by them. The leſſer part moved that the Acts of that Synod might be read, but the Legates of *Leo* firſt required they would hear his Letters, which yet at the inſtance of *Eutyches* was denied, he being jealous of the Legates, becauſe they had been entertained by *Flavianus*. In ſhort, *Eutyches* was reſtored,

Acta Concil. Chalced. Evagrius lib. 1. *cap.* 10.

Wherein *Eutyches* is reſtored, but *Flavianus* and the Orthodox are excommunicated.

reſtored, with the Monks of his faction excommunicated juſtly by *Flavianus*. *Flavianus* and *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum* were excommunicated, and the former ſo cruelly handled, that he died ſhortly after. The Biſhops by Threats and Terrour of Death and Tortures, were forced to ſubſcribe to this Sentence. *Domnus* Patriarch of *Antioch* having ſubſcribed, afterward recanted, and for that was condemned and depoſed. The ſame meaſure had *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*, *Daniel* of *Carræ*, *Irenæus* of *Tyre*, and *Aquilinus* of *Biblus*, and *Theodoret* of *Cyrus*, for they raged aſwell againſt thoſe that held the other Extreme, as the Orthodox Biſhops. The worſt was, *Theodoſius* the Emperour was ſo overreached by *Chryſaphius* and others, that he confirmed the Acts of this Pradatorian Aſſembly by his Imperial Authority, and ſo this ſecond Oecumenical *Epheſine* Council, as *Baronius* ſtyles it, had an end.

Which is confirmed by *Theodoſius* the Emperour.

38. *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch certified how things were carried in this Aſſembly ſummoned a Provincial Synod, wherein was condemned the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, which notwithſtanding, *Dioſcorus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, gathering together ſome of his own Faction and Dependants thundred out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Leo* himſelf. Not long after *Theodoſius* the Emperour died, having as *Nicephorus* writes, given ample Teſtimony of his Repentance for what he had done in behalf of *Eutyches*, being convinced and perſwaded to abandon that Cauſe by *Pulcheria Auguſta* his Siſter, who moved with Indignation to ſee how things were carried, returned from her retirement to the care of the publick, and after her Brother's death procured the Empire to be conferred on *Martianus*. The new Emperour following either his own inclination or the Dictates of his Wife, preſently publiſheth * an Edict againſt the *Eutychians*, on whom he commands the puniſhments to be inflicted which by former Laws had been decreed againſt other Hereticks, adding baniſhment out of the *Roman* Territories. He recalls the Biſhops Confeſſours out of Exile, and cauſeth the body of *Flavianus* dead in Baniſhment to be tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*. Then doth he conſult with *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome* eminent for his Orthodox Faith as much as the dignity of his See, and at length reſolves to call another General Council, at which he intended to be perſonally preſent. *Leo* both in the time of *Theodoſius* and now, had a great deſire to have ſuch a Synod called in *Italy* as appears by ſeveral of his Letters to theſe two Princes, in which he alſo deſires to be excuſed that he came not himſelf, and prays them not to take it ill that he ſends his Legates. But that Requeſt being judged unreaſonable, *Martianus* by a publick Sanction dated *June* 22, commands all Biſhops to meet at *Nice* in *Bithynia* by the firſt of *September* next following. Many Prelates came thither accordingly, and expecting his coming, ſome days petitioned him, that out of reſpect to their Age and Infirmities he would give order for opening the Council. He ſtill deferred to doe it, out of the great deſire he had to be preſent himſelf, for the Invaſion made by *Attila* into *Illyricum* gave him work at *Conſtantinople*, from which City at length perceiving that he could not be far abſent becauſe of this War, he gave order to the Fathers to remove themſelves to *Chalcedon*.

Acta Conc. Chalced.

Theodoſius dies.

Lib. 14. *c.* 49.

Martianus choſen Emperour, who puniſheth the Sect of *Eutychians*.

* *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 7. *leg. ult. & extat in Actis Conc. Chalc. Eos qui Catholicarum Eccleſiarum clerici vel Orthodoxæ fidei monachi, relicto vero Religionis cultu, Apollinaris vel Eutycheris hæreſim & dogmata abhominanda ſequuti fuerint, omnibus pœnis quæ prioribus legibus adverſus hæreticos conſtitutæ ſunt, jubemus teneri & extra ipſum quoque Romani Imperii ſolum repelli ſicut de Manichæis precedentium legum ſtatuta ſanxerunt. Dat. Cal. Aug. Valentiniano A. vii. & Aviano Coſſ.*

Tom. 2. *Conc. p.* 40. 32. 44. *&c. Epp.* 23. 24, *&c.*

Summons a General Council at *Nice* in *Bithinia*.

But removes it to *Chalcedon*.

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

From the Fourth Oecumenical Council *ſummoned by* Martianus *the Emperour to the City of* Chalcedon, *to the Depoſing of* Auguſtulus, *and the Ruine of the Weſtern Empire.*

The ſpace of Twenty five Years.

A General Council held at *Chalcedon.*

1. THE Fourth General Council ſummoned by the Emperour *Martianus* to *Chalcedon* a City of *Bithynia*, aſſembled in the Month of *October* in the ſecond year of the Reign of that Prince, the 27 of *Valentinian the Third*, of *Old Rome* the 1024, of *New Rome the* 122, the fourth Indiction, 127 years after the firſt *Nicene* Synod, 70 after the ſecond General Council called to *Conſtantinople*, 20 after the Celebration of the third Oecumenical Synod at *Epheſus*, of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt the 451, *Martianus Auguſtus* and *Adelphius* being Conſuls.

The Perſons who met there.

2. From all parts the Biſhops aſſembled to the number of 630, as generally Writers do agree. Here were preſent as Legates from *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch *Paſchaſinus* Biſhop of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, *Lucentius* of *Aſculum*, with *Bonifacc* and *Baſilius* Prieſts, and *Julianus* Biſhop of *Coa*. *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who had ſucceeded *Flavianus*, here alſo appeared, as alſo *Dioſcorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Domnus* the late Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Maximus* who enjoyed his place. The *African* Church and that of the *Saracens* were not wanting to ſend their Repreſentatives, *Zachary Rhetor* reported that *Neſtorius* was ſummoned to appear, but *Euagrius* contradicteth him, telling us it was plain it could not be ſo, for that *Neſtorius* was commanded under pein of being accurſed, not to ſhew his face in the Council, which *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Berytus* wrote plainly in his Letters to *John* the Biſhop and *John* a Prieſt, touching the Canons of this Council, wherein he uſeth theſe words: *There came to the Council ſuch as diligently ſearched for the Relicks of* Neſtorius, *and with open mouths they exclaimed againſt the Council. What Reaſon or Conſcience is there that holy men ſhould be accurſed? So that the Emperour was greatly incenſed againſt them, and commanded his Guard to ſet them packing.* Wherefore I cannot ſee (ſaith *Euagrius*) how *Neſtorius* being dead ſhould be called to the Council. Sometimes *Martianus* the Emperour himſelf with *Pulcheria Auguſta* was alſo preſent; but becauſe he could not always be preſent in perſon, he deputed certain Secular Judges to execute the uſual Imperial Preſidency, to ſee that all things ſhould be done lawfully without Force, Fraud or Tumult. Theſe were *Anatolius* a *Magiſter Militum*, *Palladius* a *Præfectus Sacrorum*, *Tatianus* the Prefect of the City, *Vincomalus* the *Magiſter Sacrorum Officiorum*, Count *Martialis*, *Genethlius* the *Comes Rerum Privatarum*, *Florentius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Senator Patricius*, *Patricius Nonius*, *Protogenes* the Prefect, the Prefect *Zoilus*, *Theodorus*, *Apollonius*, *Romanus Præfectus Sacri Cubiculi*, *Theodorus* Prefect of *Illyricum*, *Conſtantinus* the *Præfectus Prætorium*, *Artaxerxes* the *Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi*, and *Eulogius* Prefect of *Illyricum*.

Lib. 2. c. 2.

3. On the eighth of *October* the Biſhops met in the Church of St. *Euphemia* the Martyr, where being placed before the *Cancelli Altaris* (which place *Liberatus* calls the *Secretarium*, and thence the ſeveral Seſſions therein held *Secretaria*) the Emperour *Martianus* together with *Pulcheria* his Empreſs came into the Synod.

Cap. 13.

The deſign of their Meeting.

He told them *he could ingenuouſly proteſt that he no ſooner came to the Government, but his mind was fully bent to eſtabliſh the true Religion in the purity and ſincerity thereof. That this was the cauſe of their meeting at this time, from which he promiſed*

ſed himſelf all good and juſt things reaſonably to be expected, as from thoſe who would act to the utmoſt of their duty for purging and clearing the truth of Chriſtian Religion from thoſe Miſts and Errours which either the Avarice or Ambition of ſome light Perſons had brought upon it. That they might with more Facility obtain this end he would impoſe this as a Law upon them that now ſhould dare to diſpute or argue concerning the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt contrary to the Faith of the three hundred Fathers laid down in the Nicene *Synod. As for himſelf he aſſured them he came not thither for the Oſtentation of his Power or Authority, but to confirm the Faith, and ſuppreſs all ſtrife and diſſention that might ariſe.* Having ſpoken to this purpoſe the Fathers ſet about their Synodical Work. At the beginning the Legates of *Leo* Patriarch of *Rome* began much to take upon them, willing that *Dioſcorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch might be put out of the Aſſembly, and ſaid, Either let *Dioſcorus* depart, or we will be gone. The Judges gravely reproved this their unreaſonable humour, telling them, If they would be Judges, they muſt not proſecute as Accuſers; neither did they ſuffer *Dioſcorus* to depart, but commanded him, as was fitteſt, to ſit in the Place of the *Rei*, or accuſed Perſons. Then did *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum* ſtep forth and accuſe him of Injury done to himſelf aſwell as the Death of *Flavianus*, giving into the Synod the Petition he had put up to the Emperour, which being read, together with the Acts of the *Epheſine Latrociny*, by all which *Dioſcorus* appeared aſwell guilty of the Blaſphemous opinion of *Eutyches* as of what *Euſebius* had laid to his charge. The Synod therefore condemned him, with his principal Aſſiſtants: *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea*, *Euſebius* of *Ancyra*, *Euſtathius* of *Berytus*, and *Baſilius* of *Seleucia*. To the condemnation of *Dioſcorus*, who had been the Ring-leader, the Eaſtern Biſhops moſt willingly aſſented, but interceded for ſuch as had been by threats drawn to joyn with him, that their depoſition might be ſuſpended. The Synod commands, that the ſeveral Biſhops ſhould ſeverally and apart make Confeſſions of their Faith, according to the preſcript of the *Nicene* Synod, and the writings of *Baſil*, *Gregory*, *Hilary*, *Athanaſius*, *Ambroſe*, and the two Epiſtles of *Cyril* publiſhed in the Council of *Epheſus*. The Action was furniſhed with Acclamations of the *Triſagion* to Almighty God, Well-wiſhes to the Emperour, and Curſes againſt *Dioſcorus*.

Aut ille Egrediatur aut nos Eximus. Act. 1. p. 4. B.

Dioſcorus Biſhop of *Alexandria* and his Adherents condemned.

4. This Cuſtome of Acclamations in Council at the end of the ſeveral Seſſions or Concluſion of the Synod ſeems taken from the practice of the Senate and People, in which Aſſemblies after the Debate and Conſultation ended, extraordinary Acclamations were wont to be made to the Honour of the Emperours. For though the word doth ſignifie a vocal aſſent given by any one to what is ſaid by another, yet there were Acclamations extraordinary and ſolemn made upon certain Occaſions, a Cryer or Officer dictating to the Multitude. So *Trebellius Pollio* tells us in the Life of the Emperour *Claudius*, that after the reading of his Letters in the Temple of *Apollo*, it being ſaid, *Claudius Auguſtus, The Gods keep thee*, the Aſſembly acclaimed it ſixty times. Claudius Auguſtus *We have ever wiſht for thee, or ſuch an one as thou art to be our Prince*; this was reiterated forty times. Claudius Auguſtus *the Commonwealth ſought after thee*; this was repeated forty times. Claudius Auguſtus *thou haſt been a good Brother, Father, Friend and Senatour, thou art truly a Prince*; this was acclaimed eighty times. Claudius Auguſtus *avenge us of* Aureolus; five times. Claudius Auguſtus *avenge us of the Palmyrenians*, five times. Claudius Auguſtus *deliver us from* Zenobia *and* Victoria; ſeven times. Claudius Auguſtus, Tetricus *did nothing*; ſeven times. In like manner when *Tacitus* the Emperour by a Speech in Anſwer to the Senate, had excuſed himſelf by his Old Age from taking upon him the Government, the Senate made theſe Acclamations: Trajan *alſo came Old to the Imperial Dignity*; this they ſpoke ten times. Adrian *in like manner came Old to the Government*; this they pronounced ten times. *In like manner did* Antoninus; ten times. *Thou alſo haſt read* (*viz.* Virgil *Æneid.* 6) *Incanaque menta Regis Romani*; ten times. *And who Rules better than an Old Man?* ten times. *We make thee an Emperour, not a Souldier*; twenty times. *Do thou give orders, let the Souldiers fight*; thirty times. *Thou art prudent, and haſt a good Brother*; ten times. Severus *ſaid, The Head ought to Govern, and not the Feet*; thirty times. *And we make choice of thee for thy Mind, not thy Body*; to which they acclaimed twenty times. Theſe forms of Acclamations being Recorded, Hiſtorians copied them out of the Rolls, and ſome Coins have been ſtamped with a Memorial of them, ſo much did Princes think they tended to their Fame and Reputation, as in a medal of the Emperour *Conſtantius*, wherein is read, *Gaudium Populi Romani*, or *The Joy of the* Roman *People*; being words of Acclamations whereby the People teſtified the publick

Acclamations uſed at the end of General Councils.

What they were.

Flavius Vopiſcus Syracuſ. in Tacito.

Joy,

Joy, and within a laurel Crown, *ſic V. ſic X.* or *ſic Quinquies, ſic Sexies*, that ſo ſix, or ſeven times the People acclaimed. *Triſtanus* mentions a medal of *Conſtans* the Emperour with the ſame notes, which he interprets, *ſic Quinquennalia, ſic Decennalia*, and indeed *Antiquaries* took no notice of theſe Acclamations expreſſed upon Coins, till *Jacobus Chiffletius* began to obſerve them, as appears in his Book called *Anaſtaſis Childerici.* Tom. 3. p. 607. Cap. 19.

5. No wonder then that in ſo Solemn and Holy Aſſemblies, wherein the Prayers of the Faithfull availed much, ſuch Religious Acclamations ſhould be made, expreſſing praiſe and glory to Almighty God, and prayers for the welfare of the Emperours, the nurſing Fathers of his Church. It was the ancient Cuſtome of the Eaſtern Churches to handle matters in Councils in a publick meeting of all, and upon occaſion popular Acclamations did often happen, and ſometimes tumultuous, which notwithſtanding did conclude in concord, and in the end the Biſhops tranſported with Joy, for the uniform Determinations, did paſs to Acclamations, in praiſe of the Emperours, who had aſſembled and favoured the Council, in commendation of the Doctrine declared by it, in prayers to God for his continual aid and aſſiſtence afforded to his Church, for the welfare of the Emperours, and the health and proſperity of the Biſhops, which were not premeditated, but as the Spirit did excite ſome Biſhops more zealous to break out fitly into ſome of theſe Expreſſions, ſo the multitude acclaimed or cried with him. This was imitated of late in *Trent*, yet not giving place to the extemporary Spirit of any, but meditating what ſhould be propoſed and anſwered, and repeating it out of a Paper, the Cardinal of *Lorain* took upon him to be the *Præco* or Cryer, not onely being chief in compoſing the Acclamations, but thundering them out alſo, which was generally accounted lightneſs and vanity, not beſeeming ſuch a Prelate and Prince to doe an Office belonging rather to the Deacons of the Council, than to ſo principal an Archbiſhop and Cardinal. But the Cardinal roared, and the Tridentine Fathers anſwered ſuch things as will not edify the Reader toknow, and if he pleaſe he may find them in the excellent Hiſtory of that pretended General Council. Thus much by the way concerning Acclamations, once for all, and perhaps not unprofitably.

The deſign of them.

6. At the ſecond Meeting, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* renewed his complaint aſwell in behalf of *Flavianus* as himſelf, and after ſeveral things petitioned, deſired that *Dioſcorus* might be ſummoned to anſwer for himſelf, for, this ſecond time, he had not appeared. Three ſeveral times was he ſummoned by three Biſhops and a Notary, but as often excuſed himſelf, and in the mean time came certain Prieſts and Deacons of his own Church, accuſing him aſwell of Blaſphemy as Robbing them of their Goods. Upon this occaſion being ſummoned again, and refuſing to appear, he was condemned as Contumacious, and depoſed; the Legates of *Leo* by the conſent of the Synod pronouncing the Sentence, wherein they attributed enough to his Authority that ſent them. With theſe things the Emperour was made acquainted, and under his Authority the form of Depoſition was ſent to *Dioſcorus* who was Baniſhed to *Gangrena* a City of *Paphlagonia*, and his Sentence being written to the ſeveral Churches, was confirmed by Imperial Authority. On the thirteenth of *October* was the third Seſſion held, wherein moſt of what had formerly paſſed being repeated, the ſeveral Biſhops were commanded to give an account of their Faith. *Florentius* Biſhop of *Sardis* as wavering, deſired reſpite, but *Cecropius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtopolis* publickly declared his Faith to the Fathers, aſſerting that of the *Nicene* Council confirmed by the Fathers, and lately by *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch. After this were read and approved the *Nicene* Creed, the Decree of the Synod of *Conſtantinople*, wherein the Hereſie of *Eutyches* had been condemned, the Faith of the Firſt *Epheſine* Council held againſt *Neſtorius*, the two Epiſtles written by *Cyril* to *Neſtorius* and *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, with the Confeſſion of the ſaid *John* approved by *Cyril*, in which writings the middle and ſafe way betwixt the errours of *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches* was pointed out. Next was read and approved the Epiſtle of *Leo* to *Flavianus*. Then whereas ſome Biſhops doubted concerning ſome expreſſions in *Cyril's* Letters, by the advice of *Anatolius* certain Biſhops who had already ſubſcribed were appointed to explain and give ſatisfaction to ſuch as ſtaggered.

In the ſecond Meeting *Dioſcorus* is Baniſhed to *Gangrena.*

In the third the Biſhops give an account of their Faith.

7. The Fourth Seſſion was held on the ſeventeenth of *October*, wherein firſt it was demanded by the Secular Judges, Whether the *Nicene* Faith, and the Decree of the Synod of *Conſtantinople* were agreeable to the Epiſtle of *Leo*, to which an Anſwer being given in the affirmative, the Biſhops were required to ſubſcribe it, for therein being plainly and expreſly condemned the Hereſie of

In the fourth Seſſion the Biſhops are required to ſubſcribe the Epiſtle of *Leo.*

Eutyches this was judged a more certain expedient to try the minds of the Fathers; foraſmuch as ſuch as are content to cloſe with the more general expreſſions of a Council and wreſt them to their own ſenſe cannot ſo eaſily evade the driſt of a particular Paper deſtined to the Condemnation of an Heterodox opinion. Then were admitted into the Synod, ten *Ægyptian* Biſhops, and the Confeſſion of Faith which they had written to the Emperour was read, wherein they profeſſed to imbrace the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, the *Nicene Creed*, with the Faith of *Athanaſius*, *Theophilus* and *Cyril*. Condemning all Hereſies, particularly thoſe of *Arius*, *Eunomius*, the *Manichees*, *Neſtorius* and ſuch as affirmed the fleſh of Chriſt to have come from Heaven, not to have been truly Born of the *Virgin Mary*, which was indeed the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. The Synod command them to ſubſcribe the Epiſtle of *Leo*, but they refuſed it, denying that they repreſented all the *Ægyptian* Biſhops, wherefore they would not preſcribe to them, nor could they doe it legally having no Archbiſhop ſince the depoſing of *Dioſcorus*. The Synod had well nigh pronounced a raſh ſentence againſt the Biſhops, crying out that they were Heretical. But the Judges knowing well that they forbore to ſubſcribe becauſe of a Cuſtome they had that they might doe nothing without their Patriarch not then choſen, and not as thinking Heretically in the Faith, moderated the Synod, telling the Fathers that to them it ſeemed reaſonable and agreeable to good nature not to condemn them but ſtay till their Patriarch be choſen, to whoſe grave and ſober ſentence the Synod conſented, making a Canon for this ſame purpoſe, and ordaining that in caſe they would give ſecurity not to depart out of the City, or that as ſoon as they had a Patriarch choſen, they would ſubſcribe, they ſhould be diſpenced with as to preſent ſubſcription. At the end of this Seſſion ſeveral *Eutychean Monks* petitioned the Synod and made great ſtir about *Dioſcorus*, their Patriarch, being Headed by *Barſumas* the principal *Archimandrita*. But the Fathers after much contention found reaſon ſtill to Anathematize *Dioſcorus* and caſt out their Petition, giving the Monks three days time to conſider and revoke their Heretical Tenents.

The *Eutychean* Monks Petition for *Dioſcorus* rejected.

8. In the fifth Seſſion more contention happened about the Perſon of *Dioſcorus* whom *Anatolius* if poſſible would have cleared as to the Crime of Hereſie. The Emperour perceiving there was no end to be expected in thoſe perſonal cauſes, and that the Biſhops ſpent all there time therein, ordained that ſix Eaſtern Biſhops, three of *Pontus*, three of *Aſia*, three of *Thrace*, and as many of *Illyricum*, together with *Anatolius* and the Legates of *Leo* ſhould conſult together and lay down ſuch a form of Faith as the reſt ſhould own and ſubſcribe. A form of Faith they accordingly compoſed in writing, whereof the firſt part contained a cenſure of the Hereſies of *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* and the *Macedonians*. To the Condemnation of their opinions was added a confeſſion of Faith to this purpoſe: according to the example of the Holy Fathers, *We confeſs one and the ſame Son of God, Chriſt our Lord, and unanimouſly affirm him perfect in the Divinity, and perfect in Humanity: true God and true Man, having both a rational Soul and Body: Coeſſential with the Father according to Divinity, and Coeſſential to us according to Humanity, in all things like to us, ſin excepted: begot of his Father before all Ages, as to his Divinity: in theſe laſt times for us and for our Salvation manifeſted, being born of the* Virgin Mary *the Mother of God according to Humanity, one and the ſame Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, the Lord and onely begotten, in two Natures, without confuſion, converſion, divulſion or ſeparation: the difference of Natures being no wiſe taken away by unity, but rather the propriety of both Natures concurring to one Perſon, and one Subſiſtence being preſerved, not that he is parted or divided into two Perſons, but is one and the ſame onely begotten Son, God the word, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and in old time the Prophets foretold, Chriſt himſelf hath taught us and the Fathers have delivered to us.* This being read, the whole Synod Acclamed: *This is the Faith of all the Fathers, let the Metropolitans ſubſcribe it, this is the Faith of the Apoſtles, let us all follow this: we are all of this Judgment.* Then did the Synod decree that what had ſo univerſally paſſed and pleaſed the Fathers ſhould be reported to the Emperour *Martianus*. Notwithſtanding this final Accord, in making the Definition of Faith, a great diſſention there was in the Synod, ſome would have it one way, ſome another way ſet down, inſomuch that the Legates of *Leo* were ready to make a Schiſm, to depart from the Council and hold another Synod by themſelves. The glorious Judges then (as they are ſtiled) propoſed this proper expedient to have the matter peaceably delated and concluded. But outcryes and Tumults prevailing, the Judges complained of theſe diſorders to the Emperour, and *Martianus* injoyned them to follow the direction

In the fifth Seſſion a Confeſſion of Faith compoſed.

Suggerentur Imperatori Clamores iſti.

rection of the Judges, wherein they obeyed him, and ſo at length came to a full concluſion and definition of Faith.

In the ſixth Meeting it is confirmed by the Edicts of the Emperour.

9. At their ſixth meeting came *Martianus* with the Empreſs into the Synod where he ſpoke to the Fathers firſt in *Latin* (according to the Cuſtome of preſerving the repute and grandeur of *Old Rome*, and then in *Greek* to the ſame purpoſe as formerly. After he had made an end, *Aetius* the Archdeacon of *Conſtantinople*, in the name of the Synod briefly recounted what had been hitherto done, and then read a writing which declared the Faith of the Fathers to be agreeable to that form we lately mentioned. The Emperour demanded if that was the Act and Judgment of the whole Synod, and upon anſwer that it was, and that they all believed accordingly, he publiſhed his Edict importing that whereas the Catholick Faith was now explained, and defined by the holy and univerſal Synod, according to what had been deliver'd by the Apoſtles and Fathers, he thought it neceſſary to cut off for the future all occaſions of diſputes in matters of Religion. Therefore he commanded and declared that no Perſon whatſoever whether Clerk, Souldier or others (called *Idiotæ*, *Plebeians* or *private Perſons*) ſhould move any queſtion publickly concerning the Faith, under Pein of Baniſhment to a private Perſon, to Clerks and Military Men or of the Senatorian rank loſs of their Degree and Dignity, with other penalties. This was applauded by ſeveral Acclamations of *Many years to the Emperour*, *Many years to the pious and Chriſtian* Auguſtus, *Many years to the Orthodox Empreſs*, and Anathema to *Dioſcorus*; and the like. After this he told them there were certain things which he thought fit to propound to them as for their nature being proper for their Cogniſance, which reſpecting Clerks and Religious Perſons we ſhall mention when we come to ſpeak of the third, fourth and fifth Canons of this Council. *Euagrius* writes that the Emperour now commanded the Biſhops to continue there three or four days more, and prepare more matter ſuch as they ſhould think to be expedient. And they ſtaid not onely three or four days but many more, new matter ſtill ariſing before them. *Lib. 2. c. ult.*

In the ſeventh *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* hath Patriarchal power confirmed to that See.

10. In the ſeventh Seſſion an Agreement betwixt *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch* and *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, was propounded to the Fathers and ratified. The Reader muſt know the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* had long before this time the mere Name and Title of a Patriarch as both *Bellarmine* and *Binius* acknowledge, and though his See was but a ſingle Biſhoprick, Subject, as both St. *Jerome* and the *Nicene Council* declare, to the Biſhop of *Antioch* as Patriarch, and to the Biſhop of *Cæſarea Paleſtina* as Metropolitan, yet out of reſpect to our *Saviour* he had the name of a Patriarch, and place in Councils above the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. But the Authority and power of a Patriarch he had now by Decree and Judgment of this Council of *Chalcedon*. *Juvenalis* had moved about it in the *Epheſine Council*; but the Patriarch of *Antioch* as it ſeemeth, ſaith our Dr. *Crackanthorp*, being unwilling to manumit him, and as it were free him from his ſubjection, *Cyril* reſiſted it, and wrote to Pope *Leo* to doe the like. But after long contention both parties being ſatisfied, the matter was in this Seſſion brought to this Council before which *Maximus* and *Juvenalis* profeſſed they were both willing that the *Biſhop of* Antioch *ſhould hold the two* Phœnicia's *and* Arabia, *and the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem *the three* Paleſtina's, *and they both deſired the Synod to decree, confirm and ratifie their Agreement*. The whole Council upon their Petition ratified it, all the Biſhops crying, *We all ſay the ſame and conſent thereunto*. And after them the moſt glorious Judges in the Emperour's name added the imperial Authority and Royal aſſent to their Decree, ſaying, *This by our Decree and Judgment of the Council ſhall abide firm for ever, that the Church of* Antioch *have under it the two* Phœnicia's *with* Arabia, *and the Church of* Jeruſalem *have under it the three* Paleſtina's. *Euagrius* witneſſeth that this Agreement betwixt *Juvenalis* and *Maximus after Conſultation had both by the Judges and Biſhops was confirmed*. *Nicephorus* teſtifieth the ſame. So untrue it is that *William* of *Tyre* and from him *Baronius* avoucheth that the Church of *Jeruſalem* was firſt made a Patriarchal See or had the Provinces and Metropolitans of *Cæſarea* and *Scythopolis* annexed unto it by the fifth Council, that it is undoubtedly certain, that it had together with the Title and Dignity, true Patriarchal Authority and power over divers Provinces with their inferiour Biſhops conferred upon it, by a plenary conſent of the whole Church in this Council of *Chalcedon*.

Lib. de Pontif. Rom. l. 1. c. 24. Ad Epiſt. Anacleti 3. tom. 1. Cone. & ad Conc. Nic. c. 7. Ep. ad Pammachium. Conc. Nic. c. 7. Of the fifth Council, ch. 31. Leonis Ep. 62. Act. 7. p. 105. Lib. 3. c. ult. verſus finem. Nic. Calliſtus lib. 15. c. 30.

11. That

11. That you may ſee the ſhamefull dealing both of *Baronius* and *Binius* in another place (Reader they are *Crackanthorp*'s words) where their Choler againſt the fifth Council was not moved they acknowledge that truth, for intreating of the Council at *Chalcedon*, *In this ſeventh Seſſion*, ſaith *Baronius*, and the like doth *Binius*, *was the controverſie compoſed betwixt the Biſhops of* Antioch *and* Jeruſalem, *and the cauſe being judged, the two* Phœnicia's *and* Arabia, *were given to the Biſhop of* Antioch, *and the three Paleſtines were adjudged to the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, *whence it doth evidently appear that the right of the* Metropolis *which before belonged to the Biſhop of* Cæſarea *was tranſlated to the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. So they, who yet in hatred againſt the Acts of the fifth Council (the reaſons of their hatred ſhall be declared in due place) with Faces of Adamant deny that truth which here upon this occaſion they confeſs to be clear and conſpicuous. But the Cardinal objecteth that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was made *Poſt abſentiam Legatorum*, when the Popes Legates were now gone, and ſo they being abſent, is to be held invalid. O the forehead of the Cardinal! were the Pope's Legates abſent? were they gone? Truly they were not onely preſent at this Decree and conſenting to it, but after it was propoſed by *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, they were the very firſt that gave ſentence therein, the Council following their ſentence. For thus runs the ſtory, Paſchaſinus *and* Lucentius *the moſt Reverend Biſhops, and* Boniface *the Preſbyter holding the place of the Apoſtolick See, ſaid by* Paſchaſinus; *Thoſe things betwixt* Maximus *and* Juvenalis *are known to be done for their good and peace, & noſtræ humilitatis interloquutione firmantur, and are confirmed by the Interloquution of our humility, ut nulla in poſterum in hac cauſa ſit contentio, that never hereafter there ſhould be any contention about this matter between theſe Churches.* Is it credible that the Cardinal ſhould be ſo audacious and impudent as to utter ſuch palpable untruths? unleſs he had quite put off, I ſay not Modeſty, but Reaſon, Senſe, and almoſt Humane Nature.

Which is falſly objected againſt by *Baronius* and *Binius*.

Ad An. 451. *num.* 124. *Nich. ad hoc Conc. p.* 184. *Vide etiam Baron. ad An.* 451. *num.* 26.

Ad An. 553. *num.* 246.

Act. 7. p. 105.

12. *Baronius* following on his charge, in the ſecond place objecteth that Pope *Leo* himſelf withſtood this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, becauſe it was prejudicial to the Rights of other Churches, and by reaſon of his Averſeneſs, it was not put in Execution as it was after the Decree of the fifth Synod, Dr. *Crackanthorp* coming in here alſo to the relief of the Council, affirmeth that had the Cardinal and his Friends been well adviſed they would have been afraid and much aſhamed once to mention the reſiſtence of Pope *Leo*, to the Council of *Chalcedon*, either in theſe Patriarchs or the other of *Conſtantinople*: for firſt, the reſiſtence of *Leo* which was merely ineffectual, demonſtrates that the Popes contradiction, with all his might and power, can neither diſanull nor infringe the Judgment of a general Council, which is no ſmall prejudice to his principality or Princely Supremacy. Again it convinceth *Leo* of a very foul and inexcuſable Errour, judging the *Nicene* Canons concerning matters of Order, Polity, and Government of the Church (ſuch are theſe concerning the extent of Sees or Superiority of one Biſhop above another) to be unalterable and Eternal, no leſs than the Decrees of Faith. *The condition*, ſaith he, *of the Nicene Canons* (pointing in the margent to the ſixth and ſeventh both which concern the Limits of Sees) *being ordained by the Spirit of God, is in no part ſoluble; and whatſoever is divers from their conſtitution, omni penitus authoritate vacuum eſt, is utterly void of all Authority by whom ſoever it be Decreed.* Much more in this and the following Epiſtle he addeth to the ſame purpoſe. Particularly concerning *Juvenalis* who was truly at this time made a Patriarch, for keeping the Statutes of the Holy Fathers, which in the *Nicene Synod* are confirmed *inviolabilibus decretis* by Inviolable Decrees, I admoniſh your Holineſs ſaith he, that the Laws of the Churches may continue, let no Man's Ambition covet what's another Man's, let no Man ſeek by impairing another to advance himſelf, for though they ſeek Aſſiſtence from Councils, *Infirmum atq; Irritum erit quicquid à prædictorum Patrum Canonibus diſcreparit; whatſoever differs from theſe* Nicene *Canons ſhall be void.* And to *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch*; Let it ſuffice that I pronounce this in general, *ad omnia, as to all matters*, concerning Limits of Sees and the like, that, If any thing be attempted by any Man, in any Synod againſt the Statutes of the *Nicene* Canons, *nihil præjudicii poteſt inviolabilibus inferre decretis*, It can bring no prejudice to theſe unalterable and inviolable Decrees. Thus *Leo* erroniouſly judging the order preſcribed in the *Nicene* Canons for the bounds and pre-eminence of Biſhops to be Eternal, and not to be altered by any Council whatſoever.

Quo priùs.

Leo Epiſt. 53.

54

Ep. 61.

Ep. 62.

13. Be-

13. Behold the wiſedom of the Cardinal in alledging Pope *Leo.* If the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not of force becauſe *Leo* contradicted it, then neither can that other Decree, ſuppoſed to be made in the fifth Council, be effectual, becauſe *Leo* contradicteth it alſo, ſeeing that by the Judgment of *Leo*, at no time, by no Perſon, by no Council, by no Authority can the order of *Nice* be changed. If this at *Chalcedon* was not in force, to which the Pope's Legates conſented, how can the Cardinal think that of the fifth Council to be of force, to which neither Pope nor Legate conſented, nor was ſo much as preſent in the Council? If the Judgment of *Leo* ſtand for good, then neither is, nor ever was either *Conſtantinople* or *Jeruſalem* Patriarchal Sees; and then the Decree of the eighth Council and the Lateran, and I know not how many more muſt be rejected as unlawfull and Impious. If the Judgment of *Leo* be (as by their eighth Council and the Lateran it is adjudged) Erroneous, then was *Jeruſalem* a Patriarchal See, notwithſtanding the contradiction of *Leo* to that Decree. In a word, if *Leo* his Judgment be of force, it repeals the Decree of the fifth, eighth, and all other General Councils decreeing this; if it be not of force, it neither did nor could infringe the Decree of *Chalcedon.* But to ſatisfie the Cardinal yet a little more fully, it is an untruth which he ſaith, that the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the time of the fifth Synod and the ſuppoſed Decree thereof. For this Council of *Chalcedon* decreed that their ſentence in advancing *Jeruſalem* to a Patriarchal See, ſhould ſtand in force *in omni tempore*, and therefore doubtleſs even then, and from that very time it was truly a Patriarchal See, the contradiction of *Leo* no more hindering it the very next or ſecond year, than it did two Hundred or two Thouſand years after that Decree made. Again, as it is certain that the See of *Conſtantinople* both before and after the Decree of *Chalcedon* (which was not introductive but confirmative in that point) exerciſed Patriarchal Authority, *Juſtinian* alſo by his Imperial Law made ſome twelve years before the fifth Council confirming the ſame; ſo it is not to be doubted but the Church of *Jeruſalem* did the very like in it's own Patriarchal Dioceſe, eſpecially conſidering that *Juſtinian*'s Imperial Law is as forcible for the one as the other. So that for any one to have denied, or ſought then to have infringed the Patriarchal Authority confirmed to *Conſtantinople*, conferred to *Jeruſalem* by this Council of *Chalcedon*, had brought him into danger, not onely of the Eccleſiaſtical cenſure; but of civil puniſhment with the Emperours high indignation.

Novel. 131. *c.* 1, 2.

14. But if the Cardinal will not be ſatisfied, unleſs he ſee the practice of that Patriarchal Authority, let him look into the General Council under *Mennas*, and there he ſhall ſee *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, hold a Provincial Synod of the Biſhops of the three *Paleſtines*, *qui ſub eo ſunt*, *who were under him*, two whereof as by their ſubſcriptions appear, were the Metropolitan Biſhops of *Cæſarea* and *Scythopolis*, with thirty more; ſo many were then ſubject to the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem.* Again in another Provincial Synod held at *Jeruſalem* in the tenth year of *Juſtinian*, *Peter* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, was Preſident over all the Biſhops of the three *Paleſtines* there aſſembled with him, two of which were the aforeſaid Metropolitans. So untrue it is, which *Baronius* to maintain the falſe Teſtimony of *Guil. Tyrius* avoucheth, that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the fifth Council. Another untruth is, that which he pretends in his Fragments of the Fifth Council, that it had no other means to erect this Patriarchſhip of *Jeruſalem*, but by taking part from both thoſe of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*; for there was another means as both the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the Event did ſhew, and nothing at all was taken from that of *Alexandria.* That is alſo as falſe as the reſt, that the Fathers took from *Alexandria* the Metropolitan Sees and Provinces of *Ruba* and *Berithus*, for neither of theſe Sees belonged to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, but of *Antioch.* Of them both *Berterius* (refuting this Fragment, at which the Cardinal and *Binius* ſo gladly ſnatcht) ſaith, *Certainly* Ruba *is placed by* Ptolemy *in* Syria, *and it's manifeſt that* Berithus *is the* Metropolis *of* Phœnice *near* Libanus: *Syria autem & Phœnicia orientis Provinciæ omnibus notæ ſunt:* Now that *Syria* and *Phœnicia* were Provinces of the Eaſt (and conſequently belonging to the See of *Antioch*) *all do know.* For *Berithus* the matter is certain that it is not near the Limits of *Alexandria*; for that it is in the Province of *Phœnicia*, not onely *Ptolemy* ſhews, but the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops, both in the * *Nicene*, the firſt *Conſtantinopolitan* † and *Chalcedon* ‖ Councils, in all which the Biſhop of *Berithus* is ſet in the Province of *Phœnicia*; whence another untruth is to be obſerved in that Fragment of *Tyrius*, which ſaith that *Berithus* was granted to the new Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*; whereas

Act. 5. *p.* 455. *&c.*

Contra Severum & alios. Tom. 2 *Conc. p.* 472. *Præſidente ſanctiſſimo Patriarcha Petro aſſiſtentibus Epiſcopis trium Paleſtinarum.*

Pith. Diatrib. 2. *c.* 2.

* *Lib.* 5. *c.* 15. † *P.* 310. ‖ *P.* 513.

whereas it is clear, that it was in *Phœnicia*, and that the two *Phœnicia's*, both by the Agreement of *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, and by this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, did belong to the See and Biſhop of *Antioch*, and not of *Jeruſalem*.

15. In the eighth Seſſion *Theodoret*, the Biſhop of *Cyrus* came to clear himſelf, and to be reconciled to the Church. Hitherto he had been received and admitted by the Synod no otherwiſe than as Plaintiff, accuſing *Dioſcorus*, for injuriouſly outing him of his See, and placing another in it. For when he firſt came into the Council the Biſhops of *Egypt*, *Illyricum* and *Paleſtine* exclaimed againſt him, crying *The Canons exclude this Man, out with him, thruſt out the Maſter of* Neſtorius, *the* Orthodox *Council doth not receive* Theodoret, *call him not a Biſhop, he is no Biſhop, he is a Fighter againſt God, he is a Jew, out with him; he accuſed, he anathematized* Cyril; *If we admit him we reject* Cyril. *The Canons exclude him, God deteſteth him.* Knowing him to have formerly imbraced and defended the *Neſtorian Hereſie*, they would not be ſatisfied otherwiſe than by the appointment of the Judges, he ſhould ſit onely as an Accuſer of *Dioſcorus*, not as one having Judicatory Power, or a deciſive Voice, till his own cauſe ſhould come to be heard and thoroughly examined. Now in this eighth Seſſion when he appeared for this purpoſe, no ſooner was he eſpied but the Biſhops cried out again, *Let* Theodoret *forthwith anathematize* Neſtorius, *let him do it ſpeedily and without delay.* He offered to them a Paper containing a Confeſſion of his Faith, but they refuſed to hear it. Then began he at large to clear himſelf, telling them he came thither out of a ſenſe he had, that he was calumniated as if he had taught Hereſie, that as he had been bred and educated amongſt the Orthodox, ſo he had ever taught, being averſe to *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* and all others who held falſe and heterodox Opinions. But as he was proceeding, the Synod ſuſpecting that he uſed theſe delays as unwilling to anathematize *Neſtorius*, cried out, *He is an Heretick, He is a Neſtorian, put out the Heretick*, and out they had put him, but that leaving all Circuition and delay, he preſently cried out *Anathema* to *Neſtorius, and to them that either do not confeſs* Mary *the Virgin to be the Mother of God, or divide the one onely begotten Son into two.* He told them alſo, that he ſubſcribed to the Definition of Faith, and the Epiſtle of *Leo* the moſt Holy Archbiſhop. With this the Synod was fully ſatisfied, the glorious Judges ſaying, *Now all doubt is quite removed concerning* Theodoret, and receiving him into Communion as Orthodox reſtored him to his See, of which in the *Epheſine Latrociny* he had been outed, all crying out, *Theodoret is worthy of his See, let the Church receive their Orthodox Paſtour, To Theodoret a Catholick Doctour, let the Church be reſtored.*

In the 8th. *Theodoret* Biſhop of *Cyrus* anathematizing *Neſtorianiſm* is reſtored.

Act. 1. p. 6.

Act 8. Nihil relegi volumus, anathematizet Neſtorium.

16. In the Ninth Seſſion was examined the Cauſe of *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*, who had alſo been depoſed by *Dioſcorus* and his *Epheſine Junćto*. He had formerly held the Hereſie of *Neſtorius*, and after the Union betwixt *Cyril* and *John*, had written a Letter full fraught of Hereſie and Blaſphemy, to *Maris* a *Perſian*. About this his Hereſie a Synod was held at *Berithus*, before *Photius*, *Euſtathius* and *Uranius*, where the Epiſtle and Contents thereof were condemned. But being commanded to imbrace the firſt *Epheſine Synod*, which that impious Epiſtle rejecteth, and to condemn and accurſe *Neſtorius* with his Followers commanded by that Epiſtle, he conformed himſelf to their order, profeſſing that he believed as the Letters of *Cyril* unto *John* did teach, and that he conſented to all things done by the firſt *Epheſine Synod*, accounting their Judgment as inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt. Moreover, at the Inſtance of *Photius* and *Euſtathius* he publiſhed in Writing, what he now profeſſed for full ſatisfaction of ſuch as had been ſcandalized by his former Doctrine. And on his own accord he promiſed before theſe Judges, that he would in his own Church at *Edeſſa*, and that publickly accurſe *Neſtorius* as the Ringleader in that Impious Hereſie, and thoſe alſo who were of his Judgment, or who uſed his Books or Writings. The Acts of theſe matters being read in Councill, *Eunomius* told the Fathers that ſeeing *in poſterioribus* or *in poſtremis*, *Ibas* had made a right Confeſſion, (though he did formerly write againſt *Cyril* and the Faith) he judged him worthy of his Biſhoprick, provided he accurſed *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* with their wicked Hereſies, and conſented to the Writings of *Leo*, and this General Council. Now the Orthodox Confeſſion of *Ibas* made before *Photius* and *Euſtathius*, the accurſing of *Neſtorius* and his Hereſie, and the imbracing of the *Epheſine* Council is that which *Eunomius* calleth *poſteriora* or *poſtrema*, as following by many years, not onely that which *Ibas* did or ſaid before the Union made between *John* and *Cyril*, but even that impious Epiſtle written

In the Ninth *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa* renouncing his Hereſie,

Apud Act. Conc. Chalced. Act. 9 p. 108. A.

written after the Union. By this Confeſſion being *poſterius*, or later, than the Epiſtle, *Ibas* had refuted all for which he was formerly blamed, in effect refuting, condemning and accurſing that whole Epiſtle with all the Hereſies and Blaſphemies in all parts thereof. For this Cauſe, and in regard of this Holy Confeſſion, the fifth Council afterwards ſaid, that thereby *Ibas had anathematized his own Epiſtle, being in every part of it contrary to the Faith, both in the beginning and the end.* Coll. 6. p. 564.

17. That this was the meaning of *Eunomius*, the Interlocution of *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Angra*, in this ſame Council of *Chalcedon* doth make apparent, who expreſly mentioning theſe Acts before *Photius* and *Euſtathius*, and the Confeſſion of *Ibas* then made (called by *Eunomius Poſteriora*) ſaid thus in the following Seſſion, to which the Concluſion of this matter was adjourned: The reading of that Judgment before *Photius* and *Euſtathius* doth ſhew, that *Ibas* in that Judgment accurſed *Neſtorius* with his impious Doctrines, and conſented to the true Faith. Wherefore I receive him for a Biſhop, if he do now condemn *Neſtorius*. This was applauded by *Diogenes* Biſhop of *Cyzicus*, *Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea*, *John* of *Sebaſtia*, to which all acclaimed, We all ſay the ſame. So clear it is, that upon this Confeſſion of *Ibas* made firſt before *Photius* and *Euſtathius*, and after that by this whole Council of *Chalcedon*, and not upon his Epiſtle nor any part firſt or laſt thereof, *Ibas* was acknowledged and received as a Catholick. Whereby appeareth not onely the Errour, but extreme fraud of *Baronius*, who in excuſe of *Vigilius*, not onely affirmeth an heretical Untruth, that the latter part of the Epiſtle is Orthodox, but labours to uphold that untruth by malitious perverting and falſifying, both the words and meaning of *Eunomius*, as if he had ſaid or meant by the *Poſteriora*, the latter end of that Epiſtle. This and more in Confutation of the Cardinal about that Epiſtle, and in defence of the Fifth Council, and the Acts thereof the Reader may ſee in the Book of Dr. *Crackanthorp* formerly mentioned, and we ſhall have too much occaſion again to ſpeak of this Subject. As for *Nonnus* who had been put into *Ibas*'s place, the Synod referred it to the Biſhop of *Antioch* to take care of him. The moſt glorious Judges confirmed what the Synod had done, ſaying, that *what the Holy Council had judged concerning the Reverend Biſhop* Ibas, *ſhould retain its own Strength.* And ſo ended the Tenth Seſſion.

Is reſtored in the tenth by the Fathers.

18. At the Eleventh Meeting the Synod decreed all things, which had been done in the *Epheſine Latrociny* under *Dioſcorus*, ſhould be void and of no effect, the Ordination of *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch* excepted, and they petitioned the Emperour, that ſuch things as there had paſſed ſhould not be taken for Authentical. At this Seſſion alſo contended *Stephen* and *Baſſianus*, about the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, both challenging it as his due, and recriminating each other. The Emperour upon the earneſt Petition of *Baſſianus*, commanded the Synod to examine the Cauſe. The Fathers were ſo much divided in their opinions, that they were forced to put it off till their next Meeting. Yet would they generally have given Sentence for *Baſſianus*, ſaying that Equity and Right called for him to be Biſhop of the place; but the glorious Judges conſidering more ſeriouſly, and ſeeing farther into the matter, thought that neither of them both could indeed be Biſhop, and the whole Council directed by them altered their Opinion, and ſaid, *This is a juſt ſentence*, this *is the very Judgment of God*. It was therefore reſolved that both of them ſhould be removed from the See of *Epheſus*, yet ſo that they ſtill retained the Epiſcopal Dignity, and to each ſhould be paid out of that Church, the Annual ſtipend of 200 *Solidi* for their maintenance. Now a *Solidus* after the time of *Conſtantine*, as our Learned *Brierwood* hath obſerved, was worth of our Money Eight Shillings Six-pence Halfpenny Farthing, and Six parts of a Farthing, till the time of *Valentinian*, who increaſed it to the Value of juſt ten Shillings. At the thirteenth Seſſion was compoſed, the difference betwixt *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* and *Anaſtaſius* of *Nice*, by a Decree, that foraſmuch as *Nicomedia* had ever been the *Metropolis*, and *Nice* had onely obtained that Title by favour of Princes, the Metropolitan Rights ſhould be, and continue in the See of *Nicomedia*, according to the Ancient Canons. The fourteenth Meeting was employed in the Cauſe of *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Paros*, who being accuſed of ſundry Crimes, had been ſummoned before a Provincial Synod called to *Antioch* by *Domnus* Biſhop of that See, to whoſe Patriarchal Authority the Biſhoprick of *Paros* was ſubject. Refuſing to come though thrice cited to appear, he was depoſed by that Synod, and *Sabinianus* put into his place. In this Seſſion he complained of wrongfull Extruſion, and petitioned the

In the eleventh the *Epheſine* Latrocine Orders are made void.

At the twelfth the Conteſt 'twixt *Stephen* and *Baſſianus* decided.

In the thirteenth the difference 'twixt *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and *Anaſtaſius* of *Nice* compoſed.

In the fourteenth the Cauſe of *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Paros* diſcuſſed.

In *Greek* Νόμισμα. *De Antiq. Nummis Roman. c.* 15.

Council, that his See might be reſtored to him, excuſing himſelf that he appeared not at the Synod of *Antioch* according to ſummons, becauſe *Domnus* the chief Judge therein was his Enemy, and thereupon he could not eſteem him an equal and indifferent Judge, though he could not but acknowledge him his Patriarch. The Glorious Judges that the matters laid to the charge of *Athanaſius*, ſhould be examined in Synod by *Maximus* then Patriarch of *Antioch*; and in caſe he were found guilty of theſe Crimes, he ſhould for ever ſtand debarred from his Biſhoprick. But if either in that ſpace of time they examined not the Merit of his Cauſe, or upon Examination found him innocent, he ſhould then as unjuſtly depoſed be reſtored to his See of *Paros*, and *Sabinianus* ſhould remain his Subſtitute till *Maximus* could provide him of another Biſhoprick. This Sentence of the ſecular Judges, the whole Council approved, crying out, *Nothing is more juſt, nothing is more equal, this is a juſt Sentence, you judge according to the Mind of God.*

At the fifteenth Meeting were made 27 Canons.

19. At their fifteenth Meeting were twenty ſeven Canons made, of which we ſhall in ſhort deliver the ſubſtance. *Act. Conc. & 25. 91.*

1. " The First confirms ſuch as had been by the Fathers ordained in former Synods. *A ſanctis Patribus, 19. 1.*

2. " The Second cenſureth that Biſhop that ſhould ordain for Money, depoſing him and nulling the Orders to him, on whom they are conferred. *ſi quis Epiſcopus.*

3. " In the Third the Synod taking notice at the inſtance of the Emperour, how ſeveral in Orders hired Lands for Lucres ſake, undertook ſecular employments, and through lazineſs neglected Divine Service, betook themſelves to ſecular Perſons, and for profit became their Steward, and overſaw their buſineſs, decreed that thenceforth it ſhould be unlawfull for any Biſhop, Clerk or Monk to hire any Poſſeſſions, or meddle with any ſecular Eſtates, excepted ſuch as the Laws did not excuſe from the Charge of Tutours or Curatours, or the Biſhop of the City ſhould entruſt with the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, the overſight of Widows or Orphans, or ſuch Perſons that ſtood in need of the aſſiſtence of the Church in the fear of God. If any acted contrary to this Canon, he ſhould be liable to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, by which the Gloſs in the Decree tells us, that Excommunication and Suſpenſion is underſtood. *Diſt. 86. c. 26. Pervenit ad ſanctam Synodum.*

4. " The Fourth Confeſſeth that ſuch as chuſe true- and purely a ſolitary Life are worthy of convenient honour. But certain Perſons in the Habit of Monks, careleſly and preſumptuouſly paſſing from City to City, and Monaſtery to Monaſtery, and thereby condemning themſelves, it pleaſeth the Synod that no Monaſteries or Oratories be builded or made without the Knowledge of the Biſhop of the City, as alſo that ſuch as in Cities or Villages live in Monaſteries ought to be ſubject to the Biſhop, be quiet and continuing in theſe places where firſt they devoted themſelves to God, be conſtant in Faſting and Prayer, not medling either with Eccleſiaſtical or Secular Affairs, or forſaking their Monaſteries, except thereto injoyned for urgent Reaſons by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. Alſo that no Slave be taken in to be a Monk, without conſent of his Lord. Such as act contrary to theſe things they excommunicate, that the Name of the Lord be not blaſphemed, and reſolve that the Biſhop take care, and have inſpection over the Monaſteries. *16. q. c. 12. Qui verè & purè & 18. q. 2. c. 10. Quidam Monachorum.* Μήτε ὑ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν ἢ ἀπεκοινωνεῖν.

5. 20. " In their fifth Canon the Fathers Decree by reaſon of thoſe Biſhops and Clerks that paſſed from City to City, that the Canons made by the Holy Synods retain their ancient force and vigour; which former Synods, as we have ſeen before, ordained, that No Eccleſiaſtical Perſon without ſome lawfull and weighty cauſe ſhould forſake his Calling and Station in *7. q. 1. Propter eos Epiſcopos. c. 26.*

6. " one place, to remove into another. The Sixth enjoyns, that No Presbyter or Deacon be ordained abſolutely or without a Title, nor out of a publick place, as a Church or a Monaſtery. Such as are ordained without Title, it pleaſeth the Holy Synod that the Impoſition of Hands upon them be void and null, to the reprehenſion of thoſe who ſo ordain them. *Diſt. 70.* Εἴμη ἰδίκαις ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ χώμης ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ χειροτονήμενος, &c.

7. " The Seventh Forbids Clerks or Monks to turn Souldiers, or aſpire to Secular Honours, Anathematizing ſuch as having ſo done ſhould not return to their former ſtation. As to the latter Part concerning Honours, the *Gloſs* tells us here is meant onely ſuch places of Honour wherein Jurisdiction of Bloud is exerciſed, or filthy lucre, or perſonal ſervice is required; elſe it appears by other Laws that a Biſhop or Clerk may enjoy Secular Dominion, ſo he exerciſe what belongs to Bloud by his Deputy. *20. q. 3. Eos qui Semel. c. 3. Ut 88. Diſt. Epiſcopus gubernationem & 5. q. 4. quia Johannes.*

8. The Eighth Canon declares, that " Clerks whether in Hoſpitals, Churches dedicated

" to

" to Martyrs, or Monaſteries, are according to the tradition of the Holy Fathers " under the Power of the Biſhop of the City, from which they ought not pre- " ſumptuouſly to withdraw themſelves. Therefore ſuch as ſhall reſcind this " order, and refuſe to be ſubject to their own Biſhop ; if Clerks, it ſubjects " them to the puniſhments inflicted by the Canons, according to their quality ; 9. " if Monks or Lay-perſons, it deprives them of Communion. The Ninth de-crees, that *One Clerk having a quarrel againſt another, the matter ſhall be decided by their Biſhop. If a Clerk have a Controverſie with his own Biſhop or another, it ſhall be judged by the Provincial Synod, or* (as *Theodore Balſamon* expounds it) *by the Metropolitan of the Province. But if any Biſhop or Clerk have any Controverſie with the Metropolitan, let him betake himſelf to the Primate of the Dioceſe, or to the See of the Royal City of* Conſtantinople, *and there be Judged.* That this is a true and genuine Canon *Nicholas* the firſt of that Name Biſhop of *Rome* confeſſeth, *Ep.* 1. but both he and the later *Romaniſts* miſerably torment themſelves in expounding it, as not knowing how to evade the ſtroke which it gives to their pretended Supremacy.

The ninth whereof giving appeals to *Conſtantinople* very much perplexeth the *Baronians* and the *Romaniſts* to expound for their turn.

21. They are forced ſo to expound the word Dioceſe, as meant of the whole word it ſelf, as if any one meanly converſant in Church Antiquities knew not there were many Dioceſes of old. And by the *Primate* they will mean none other than him of *Rome*, though the Sun be not clearer than this, that there were ſeveral other Primates beſides him, and they ſo ridiculouſly expound this Canon, as commanding all Appeals to be made from the Metropolitans to the Pope in all places of the World, and permitting onely the ſame to be done to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* by thoſe who inhabited near to that City. Now can it be imagined that theſe Fathers ſhould forbid Appeals from the Metropolitan to the Patriarch of the Dioceſe, whenas by a Decree of thoſe of *Nice* Appeals lye to him ? In no caſe but by the ambiguous titles given to Primates, theſe *Romaniſts* impoſe upon unwary Readers. For as we ſaid formerly, there being fourteen Dioceſes in the Church, over each of them one Biſhop preſided with Patriarchal power, under ſeveral Names and Titles, as ſometimes of Patriarch, ſometimes of Metropolitan, otherwhiles of Primate, Exarch or Prince, which laſt is given to *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* in this very Council of *Chalcedon.* All theſe fourteen Primacy Biſhops had the ſame equal Patriarchal power, although at firſt three and afterwards ſix of them were eſpecially and by way of eminence called Patriarchs. So inſulſe and ſilly is that plea that the *Roman* Biſhop is here meant, becauſe the word *Exarch* is uſed, that (as *Berterius* himſelf obſerveth) in this very Council this ſame word is uſed to ſignifie the (*a*) Primate of the Eaſt or him of *Antioch*, and for proof that the Primates had this title he alledgeth (*b*) this very ninth Canon upon which we inſiſt, withall proving, that even the Byſhop of (*c*) *Tyre* in the eighth Synod hath given him the Title of *Exarch*, who yet was not reckoned in the number of Patriarchs or Primates.

Act. 1. *p.* 22.

Pithan. Diatrib. 2. *c.* 1.

(*a*) *Rurſus ab Exarcho Orientis Diœceſis evocatus eſt.*

(*b*) Καταλαμβανέτω τ' Ἔξαρχον τ διοικήσεως.

(*c*) Ὅσος Θωμᾶ μητροπολίτε Τύρε πρωτοθρόνε κ) Ἐξάρχε, κ) τοποτηρητ τ Θεουπόλεως.

22. The meaning therefore of theſe *Chalcedonian* Fathers was this, that ſeeing (as appears from * a conſtitution of *Juſtinian de foro Clerici & Epiſcopi accuſati*) the Council of *Nice* or ſome other had preſcribed the form and method of Appeals to be, that firſt they ſhould lye from the Biſhop to the Metropolitan, from him to the Primate, the Prince, Exarch or Metropolitan of the Dioceſe, and to no others, a General Council onely excepted ; out of reſpect to the Dignity of the Imperial Seat they conferred this Honour on the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that it ſhould be lawfull for any Biſhop in any Dioceſe whatſoever at his choice, if he thought he ſhould not be indifferently heard, to appeal from the Metropolitan of the Province or the Provincial Synod, to the ſaid Biſhop inſtead of the Exarch or Primate of the Dioceſe. Another meaning of theſe Fathers ſeems to have been this: that whereas formerly it was unlawfull to appeal from the Definitive Sentence of the Primate or Patriarch to the Tribunal of any other Patriarch or Biſhop , to doe Honour to this Imperial Seat, they gave leave to appeal to the Biſhop thereof from any Sentence of Primates or Patriarchs, which the words themſelves , *Let him repair to the Exarch of the Dioceſe, or the Seat or Biſhop of the Royal City*, ſeem, though obſcurely to hint, but practice and the Imperial Law formerly mentioned plainly declareth, wherein is enjoyned that *If after appeal to Patriarchs or Metropolitans, or any other Biſhop ſentence be pronounced which diſpleaſeth any party, if this party appeal, the appeal muſt lye to the See of* Conſtantinople, *wherein, as the Cuſtome was, the matter is to be determined.* To the Patriarch of *Conſtantinple* there-

* *L. Sancimus ut nemo de Epiſcopali Audientia. L.* 29. *Cod. Juſtin.*

ſore from the ſentence of any other Patriarch or Dioceſan Primate Appeal was granted, and from him none, except to a General Council, to which, as the *African* Fathers, in their Letters to * *Cæleſtine*, affirm it lawfull to appeal, ſo theſe of *Chalcedon* never intended to barr any one concerned of that liberty. And particularly as a † Learned Proteſtant obſerveth, as from any Province, ſo alſo from that of the *Roman* Patriarch himſelf Appeal is allowed by this Holy and Oecumenical Council, to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, but on the contrary from him of *Conſtantinople* or a Primate of any other Dioceſe to the *Roman* Biſhop the liberty of appeal is granted in no cauſe whatſoever.

* *Conc. Afric. Can. ult. vel* 105.

† *Crackanthorp. Defenſ. Eccleſiæ Angl. contra Spalat. c.* 31.

10. 23. The Tenth Canon * prohibits "Clerks to paſs from "a Church in one City to one in another; or if a Clerk "be tranſlated to another, to have to doe with the former "upon pein of Depoſition. How the *Gloſs* endeavours to reconcile this Canon with later Laws and Practice is too long here to be ſhewn, and therefore the Reader may at his leiſure conſult it. The Eleventh " † Forbids a Clerk or Rea- "der to Miniſter in any ſtrange place whatſoever without Letters commenda- "tory from his own Biſhop. In the Twelfth the Synod taking notice that certain "Perſons had procured Pragmaticks or Reſcripts from Princes, for dividing one "Province into two, ſo that two Metropolitans happened to be in one and the "ſame Province, forbad any Biſhop to attempt the like for the time to come, under pein of Depoſition. This Canon the *Gloſs* reſtraineth and limiteth, in * caſe the multitude of People encreaſeth in the Province. The Thirteenth, or rather the Eleventh, ordains, that " All Indigent Perſons ſhall have *E-* "*piſtolia* or *Pacifick* Letters, and not Commendatory. The Fourteenth for- "bids *Pſalmiſts* and *Readers* to take Wives of another Sect. If any hath "already ſo done, the Synod commands, that Their Children Baptized by "Hereticks be preſented to the Catholick Church, therein to communicate. "If they be not yet Baptized, they are in no wiſe to be Baptized by Hereticks, "neither to be Married to any *Heretick*, *Jew* or *Pagan*, except ſuch Perſon "to whom they are Married engage to conform to the Orthodox Faith. The "Fifteenth declares, that A Deaconeſs ought not to be ordained till forty years "of Age, and then not without diligent examination. If being ordained ſhe had "ſerved at all in this Miniſtry and married afterward, the Canon anathematizeth "her, and him that married her. At this Age indeed a Woman might know "whether ſhe could bear the condition of *Cælibate*, and conſequently thoſe great "diſorders would be prevented, which have been too common amongſt Girls "inſnared in this courſe of life. But foraſmuch as Chaſtity is the gift of God, and in the power of none perfect in either Sex, the humour of this Age is hereby diſcovered too much admiring and doting on forced Virginity. This the next or Six- teenth Canon farther evinceth, which "Commands that no Virgin which had dedica- "ted herſelf to God, or Monk, ſhould Marry, under pein of Excommunication; yet "they decree that they be gently dealt with if the Biſhop of the place think fit.

* 21. *q.* 1. *c.* 2. *Clericum in duarum Eccleſiis civitatum eodem tempore conſcribi non oportet.*

† *Ibid.* 2. *c.* 3. *Signis jam.*

11.

12. *Diſt.* 17. *Diſt.* 110. *c.* 1.

* *Ut* 16. *q.* 1. *Præcipimus, & Diſt.* 99. *Nulli.*

13.

14. *Diſt.* 32. *quoniam in quibuſdam.*

15. 27. *q.* 1. *Diaconiſſam non debere c.* 23.

16. 27. *q.* 1. *ſiqua virgo. c.* 22.

17. 24. " The ſeventeenth enacts that Biſhops retain thoſe Countrey Pariſh Church- "es whereof they are in Poſſeſſion, eſpecially if they have kept them without "violence the ſpace of thirty years. But if within this term of years there "hath been or ſhall happen to ariſe any controverſie about them, it ſhall be law- "full for ſuch as think themſelves aggrieved to traverſe their cauſe in a Pro- "vincial Synod. And if any think himſelf injured by his own Metropolitan, he "may either betake himſelf to the Primate of the Dioceſe, or to the See of *Con-* "*ſtantinople*, as was ſaid before, *viz.* in the *9th.* Canon. But if any City be al- "tered by the Authority Imperial or ſhall be altered for the time to come, the "order of Pariſh Churches ſhall be conformable as to Civil and Publick Orders. "The eighteenth forbids upon pein of Depoſition all Aſſo- 18. "ciations and Conſpiracies amongſt Clerks or Monks a- "gainſt Biſhops, made it ſeems in behalf of *Eutyches* and "his Doctrine. The nineteenth commands the Biſhops to 19. "hold Provincial Synods twice a year, according to Anci- "ent Canons. The twentieth commands a Clerk ordained 20. "in one Church there to ſtay, and not betake himſelf to "another, except out of Neceſſity when they loſe their "former places. If any Biſhop hereafter receives any ſuch Clerk belonging to "another Biſhop it pleaſeth the Holy Synod that both the Clerk and the Recei- "ver remain ſo long Excommunicated till the Man return to his former Church,

16. *q.* 3. *c.* 1. *Per ſingulas Eccleſias.*

11. *q.* 1. *c.* 1. *Conjurationum & conſpirationum quod apud Græcos, φεατεία dicitur, &c.*

Diſt. 18. *c.* 6. *Pervenit ad noſtras aures.*

Diſt. 11. *Clericos. c.* 4.

Cauſ. 2. *q.* 7. *c.* 49. *Clericos aut Laicos.*

12. *q.* 2. *c.* 43. *Non liceat Clericis.*

" agreeable

" agreeable to what the *Nicene* Fathers had formerly decreed in their 16 Canon.
21. " The one and twentieth requires that ſuch as accuſe Eccleſiaſtical Perſons be not
22. " lightly admitted except they be Men of known repute. The twenty ſecond for-
" bids Clerks to rifle the goods of their deceaſed Biſhop (which it ſeems was at this
" time practiſed and had been prohibited by former Canons) under Pein of in-
" curring Depoſition. This Canon was long after reinforced by the *Laterane*
23. " *Council* (*Cap.* 4.) under *Innocent the ſecond.* In the twenty third the Holy Sy-
" nod taking notice that certain Monks without any order from their Biſhop and
" ſometimes by him Excommunicated, repair to the Royal City of *Conſtantinople*,
" where they diſturb the Peace of the Church, and corrupt ſeveral Houſes, or-
" daineth that they firſt be admoniſhed to depart the Town, if they refuſe,
" to be forced out and compelled to return to their own places by the *Defen-*
" *ſor.*

16. *q.* 1. *c.* 17. *Quidam Monachi nihil habentes.*

24. " The twenty fourth Canon commands that ſuch Monaſteries as had been ſo
" made by conſent of the Biſhops continue ſuch and be not again changed to ſe-
25. " cular uſes. By the twenty fifth notice being taken how certain Metropolitans neg-
" lected their Flocks, and deferred the Ordination of Biſhops, it therefore ordains
" that Conſecration of Biſhops be made within three Months except there be
" abſolute Neceſſity of protracting the time, under pein of heavy cenſure. As
" alſo that the whole Revenue of the vacant Church be collected and laid up by the
" Stewards thereof. In their twenty ſixth the Fathers ſigni-
26. " fie how they are informed that in certain Churches, Bi-
" ſhops manage the Revenues thereof without any Oecono-
" mus or Steward, therefore they reſolve that every Church
" having a Biſhop have alſo its Steward, or *Diſpenſator*,
" one of its own Clerks who by the conſent of the Biſhop ſhall Adminiſter the
" Income thereof that there may be witneſs how it is managed, leſt waſte be
27. " made of its ſubſtance and the Prieſtly dignity be ill ſpoken off. The twenty
" ſeventh cenſureth ſuch as commit Rapes and thereby get themſelves Wives, as
" alſo ſuch as aſſiſt them if Clerks with Depoſition, if lay Perſons, with the Ana-
" thema. Beſides theſe 27 Canons are three more extant in the Tome of the
Councils whereof the firſt confirms the former Decree of the *Epheſine Synod* about
the Privileges of the See of *Conſtantinople*. *For, following in all things*, as the Ca-
non runs, *The Decrees of the Holy Fathers and acknowledging that lately read, of*
the 150 *Biſhops lovers of God, we alſo decree and ordain the ſame things concer-*
ning the Privileges of the moſt holy Church of Conſtantinople *being* New Rome.
For on the throne of Ancient Rome, *becauſe that City was the ſeat of the Empire,*
the Fathers deſervedly beſtowed Privileges. And the 150 *Biſhops moved by the*
ſame conſideration gave equal Privileges to the moſt holy Throne of New Rome, *right-*
ly judging that the City which was honoured with Empire and a Senate and enjoyed e-
qual Privileges with the Ancient Lady Rome, *ought to be extolled and magnified*
no loſs than ſhe alſo in Eccleſiaſtick matters, being the next to her, and that the Me-
tropolitans onely of the Dioceſes of Pontica Aſiana *and* Thracia, *as alſo, the Biſhops*
of the ſaid Dioceſes amongſt the Barbarians ſhould be ordained by the foreſaid Throne
of the moſt holy Church of Conſtantinople, *each Metropolitan of the ſaid Dioceſes*
together with the Biſhops of the Province ordaining the Provincial Biſhops, as it is
delivered in the Divine Canons. But as is ſaid the Metropolitans of the forenamed
Dioceſes are to be ordained by the Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople *convenient Electi-*
ons being made according to Cuſtome, and thereof Notice being given to him.

Three Canons more.

The firſt concerning the privileges of the See of *Conſtantinople.*

Quia in quibuſdam & cauſ. 16. *q.* 7. *c.* 21. *Quoniam in quibuſdam ubi vide quæ notantur in gloſſa de Epiſcoporum & aliorum Oeconomis.*

Cauſ. 36. *q.* 2. *c.* 1. *Eos qui rapiunt.*

Can. 206. *Eccleſiæ univerſalis.* Παντα χῦ τοῖς πρὸ ἀμέων πατέρων δεῖς ἕπεσθαι. Οἱ πατέρες ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τ πόλιν ἐκείνην. Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπονεῖμαι τῇ ἁγίας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ.

26. By this Canon the firſt dignity and Precedence was confirmed to the *Roman* Patriarch as beſtowed on it by the Ancient Fathers, not out of any conſideration that his Church was founded by St. *Peter or any other*, but out of a ſecular reſpect to the Dominion and Sovereignty of that City, as Miſtreſs or Sovereign of the Empire, the Polity of the Church correſponding as near as poſſible with that of the State. Now that *Conſtantinople* was put into the ſame Capacity with *Old Rome* as to Majeſty, Sovereignty and Dominion, the Fathers found the ſame reaſon for conferring the ſame Privileges upon her, though much to the regret and ſtomach of *Leo* his Legates, who not being preſent when the thing paſſed, came into the Council the next meeting and proteſted againſt it. But this would not doe, their alledging the *Nicene Canons* ſignified little, the Fathers having in their Memory what had paſſed between the Biſhops of *Africk* and the former *Roman Prelates*. They urged that the ſubſcriptions to this Canon were forced and wreſted from the Biſhop by plain conſtraint which was flatly denied by ſuch as had ſubſcribed. Then did the glorious Judges interpoſe and gave ſentence that the chief Honour

was

was to be given to the See of *Old Rome*, yet Primacy and the like Privileges to that of the *New*, which now as well as the other was ordained with the *Faſces* of the Empire, ſo that the Biſhop thereof ſhould have power to ordain Metropolitans in *Aſiana*, *Pontica* and *Thrace*, leaving the Authority to the Metropolitan of each Province to conſecrate Biſhops. Yet would not the Legates be ſatisfied, but required that the Decree might be ſuſpended till the Judgment of *Leo* might be had about it, to which it's ſaid the Synod Aſſented. But *Liberatus* affirms that the contradiction and Proteſtation of the Legates was rejected, and how little account was made of it, or of the oppoſition of *Leo* himſelf appears by the practice of following times, as well as what formerly has been ſaid of this Subject. As for this Canon none either have called in queſtion the truth or the force and validity of it, except thoſe concerned in behalf of *Rome*. Its found in all *Greek* Copies, beſides ſeveral *Latin* ones, as one above a thouſand years Old in *Juſtellus* his Library, another in that of *Monſieur de Thou*, which abundantly diſcovers to us the truth and ſincerity of thoſe *Roman* Copies wherein it is wanting. " There are " beſides thoſe 28 Canons two other mentioned, whereof the firſt forbids a Biſhop " to be reduced to the Decree of a Prieſt making it Sacrilege and requiring that " if any Biſhop be for juſt cauſe degraded, he loſe alſo the Prieſtly Office. The " laſt contemns what the Fathers reſolved concerning the *Egyptian* Biſhops who " deſired their ſubſcription to the Epiſtle of *Leo* might be reſpited till their Metropolitan was choſen.

Quod vidiſſe teſtatur Dr. Baſier.

All which are confirmed by the Emperour's Edict.

27. All buſineſs being now diſpatched, the Synod deſired of the Emperour that he would confirm what they had done. He accordingly gave his Royal Aſſent which was followed by Acclamations often ingeminating *Thou haſt confirmed the Orthodox Faith.* The Fathers alſo cauſed their Synodical Epiſtle full of reſpect to be written to *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch wherein letting him know that they were aſſembled by the Sanction and Decree of the Emperour, they tell him what they had done and deſire him to honour * them with his Approbation. For it was requiſite for the Peace of the Church that ſuch Biſhops as could not be preſent in theſe Oecumenical Councils ſhould approve and confirm what had been done therein. Not that there was any need of judicially determining and defining any controverſie or giving the Deciſion full and perfect Authority, for that had been already done in the General Aſſembly wherein all Biſhops were either perſonally preſent or implicity and juſtly ſuppoſed to be there. But when they ſhould give their expreſs conſent to what they had formerly ratified but implicitly, this would ſtop their mouth for the time to come, remove or prevent all objections ariſing from difference and oppoſition, and whereas we are apt to be drawn more by Example than precept, gain greater repute and conformity to the Decrees. Therefore did this Council ſeek the Approbation of *Leo*, who being moſt eminent for the dignity of his See, and very conſiderable for his perſonal Qualifications, might be more capable through his Example of doing good or hurt; after by conſenting to procure Peace and Conformity, or by diſſenting to make a rent and ſchiſm in the Church. On this ſame account did *Theodoſius* the Emperour and *Cyril* labour ſo much to have *John* the Patriarch to conſent to the Decrees of the *Epheſine Synod* againſt *Neſtorius*, for they knew it would be a great means to draw in the reſt of the diſſenters, as indeed it proved. The truth was, all the Fathers could doe was little enough to preſerve the Church in quiet, and prevent that extravagance both in opinion and practice which the luſts and paſſions of Men ſo frequently procured. Therefore to revive the Memory of former Decrees did each Council, as it were, preſent a new Table of what had paſſed in ſuch as had been before it. So did the Council of *Conſtantinople* confirm that of *Nice* with the Faith decreed therein, and this of *Chalcedon* all three preceding Oecumenical Synods, and the ſecond *Nicene* Synod or Conventicle all the ſix which had been before it, although each of them was of as great Authority before, and as to their intrinſick value needed not the Confirmation of the ſubſequent eſpecially of the later *Sancto.*

In perpetuum quæ à vobis terminata ſunt ſerventur. Orthodoxam fidem confirmaſti.

An Epiſtle ſent to *Leo* to ſubſcribe to what had been done at this Seſſion.

* *Rogamus tuis decretis noſtrum honora judicium, Ep. Synod. ad Leonem, poſt Act.* 16.

Can. 1.

28. Farther, the Ancient Chriſtian prudence of theſe Fathers, for theſe very reaſons, directed them to make uſe not onely of General Councils but of Provincial Synods, not onely of Patriarchs but particular Biſhops to confirm their General Synods, and the Decrees thereof. Thus the great *Nicene Council* was confirmed, as they themſelves phraſe it, by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* of *Nice* two exiled Biſhops for the cauſe of Hereſie in token of their repentance and converſion. So the Synod Aſſembled at *Milan* confirmed the Acts of the *Firſt Epheſine Council*, as *Binius* himſelf obſerveth. And this very Council of *Chalcedon*

Confirmare decrevimus, apud Socr. l. 1. *c.* 10.

Not. in Conc. Rom. 3. *ſub Sylveſtro.*

Chalcedon at the inſtance of Pope *Leo*, when ſome began to carp at its Decrees, was confirmed by an Edict of the Emperour *Leo*, who commanded alſo the ſeveral Biſhops to declare their Judgments concerning its Doctrine, that the Council of *Chalcedon* might be again confirmed, ſaith *Binius*, by the Conſent and Confeſſion of all theſe Biſhops. In obedience to his Command ſome did it of themſelves, as *Anatolius*, *Lucianus*, *Sebaſtianus* and *Agapetus*, beſides ſeveral others, ſome jointly as the Biſhops of *Egypt* and *Europe* in their Synodal Epiſtles, which are joyned to the Acts of this Council. It is not to be imagined, that the Teſtimony of ſingle Biſhops could give any Authority to an Oecumenical Synod, nor yet Provincial Councils which conſiſted but of 19 Biſhops as that of *Milan*, or but of ſeven as that of *Syria*, or ſix as that of *Mæſia*, five as that of *Syria Secunda*, or no more than four as that of *Oſroena*. But much advantage was gained by theſe Teſtimonies, and this may be added to what we have formerly mentioned out of Dr. *Crackanthorp*, that every one hereby either approved himſelf to be Orthodox in Judgment, or upon refuſal appeared to be heretical in Doctrine, and ſtood ſufficiently convicted, ſo that ſuch a Wolf could not doe miſchief in Sheeps cloathing, the Church having ſufficient notice and warning of him. But thus as the forementioned Learned Perſon obſerveth, Confirmation of Synods by Biſhops was twofold. The Confirmation of thoſe preſent in Council is *Judicial*, the latter Confirmation by the Abſent is *Pacifical*. The former *Authoritative*, ſuch as gives the whole Authority to any Decree, the latter whether by ſucceeding Councils, or abſent Biſhops is *Teſtificative* witneſſing them to be Orthodox in that Decree. The former joyned to the Imperial Confirmation (which is neceſſary to the making of a Lawfull Council) is *Eſſential*, eſſentially making both the Council an approved Council, and all the Decrees thereof approved Synodal and Oecumenical Decrees: the latter is *Accidental* which graceth a Biſhop, but little or nothing the Synod, and being denied doth neither diſgrace the Council, nor impair the Dignity or Authority thereof, but extremely diſgracing the party that denies it, pulls down upon him both the juſt Cenſures of the Church, and the Civil Puniſhments due to Hereticks and Contumacious Perſons.

A twofold Confirmation of Synods by Biſhops.

29. So ſmall reaſon is there for *Baronius* to infer, that becauſe the Fathers deſire the Aſſent of *Leo*, therefore they thought their Acts invalid without his Confirmation. But thus ended this famous *Chalcedonian Synod*, which our Learned *Crackanthorp* tells us he never read or almoſt remembred, but with a kind of Amazement; he admired the rare Piety, Prudence, Integrity, Moderation and Gravity of thoſe moſt Glorious Judges, who ſupplying the Emperour's place in his Abſence were the Imperial Preſidents in this Council. Had they or ſuch been wanting at this time it may juſtly be feared, conſidering the eagerneſs and temerity, not to ſay the inſolency of the Pope's Legates in this Synod, that this Council of *Chalcedon* had proved a worſe Latrociny, than was that ſecond of *Epheſus*. All being diſpatched, the Fathers returned to their ſeveral Churches. *Dioſcorus* was baniſhed to *Gangra*, a City of *Paphlagonia* where he died. In memory of the Condemnation of the *Eutychian Hereſie*, the *Greeks* ordained an Anniverſary ſolemnity on the *16th.* of *July*, as appears by their Menology. And *Martianus* the Emperour to follow on the ſtroke, and add the ſecular Arm to the Spiritual ſword, publiſhed an Edict directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, bearing date on the 26 of *January*, or the *6th.* of *February* next following. For it is extant at large in the Acts of the Council, and part of it in *Juſtinian's Code*, being there falſly aſcribed to *Valentinian* and *Marcian* together, and here falſly dated with the Conſulſhip of *Patricius* and *Richimeres*, whereas it appears by the *Faſti Conſulares*, that in the ſecond year of *Marcian*, *Heraclianus* and *Aſporatius*, bore the Conſular Office. This Law, ſeveral expreſſions whereof are taken out of the Synodal Acts, forbids all Perſons whatſoever to diſpute of Chriſtian Religion in Aſſemblies, ſeeking thereby occaſion of tumult and perfidiouſneſs. He adds a reaſon that this would offer manifeſt Injury to the Judgment of the moſt Reverend Synod aſſembled lately at *Chalcedon* by his(*a*) Command, which followed therein the Apoſtolical Doctrine according to former Decrees of the *Nicene* and *Conſtantinopolitan Councils*. The Offenders both as Factious and (*b*) Prophaning the venerable Myſteries before *Jews* and *Pagans*, if Clerks ſhould be depoſed, if Souldiers de-

An Edict condemning the *Eutychian* Hereſie.

Act. 3. *Cod. de ſumma Trinit l.* 4. *& in Synop. ſi Baſilicon.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *c.* 4. *Adde huic legi titulum integrum, Cod. Theod. de his qui Religione contendunt, lib.* 16. *Tit.* 4.

(a) Qui Chalcedone convenerunt per noſtra præcepta.

(b) Sed etiam Judæis & Paganis ex hujuſmodi certamine prophanata veneranda Myſteria.

prived

prived of the Military girdle; Others if Free ſhould be baniſhed from *Conſtantinople*, and otherwiſe puniſhed, if Slaves chaſtized with the greateſt Severities. Thus much of the Fourth Oecumenical Council, concerning the Integrity of the Acts whereof let the Reader Examine what Dr. *Crackanthop* applieth to the frivolous objections of *Baronius*. This and the three former, as made in the pureſt Ages have been deſervedly had in greateſt eſteem, and of ſtrongeſt Authority by all ſober Chriſtians. The Pope of *Rome* at his promotion (as appears from what *Deusdedit*, the Cardinal noteth in his Collection of Canons) of old time ſwore, according to a former, exemplified by *Gratian* in his Decree out of his Day-book, *To obſerve theſe four Councils to a Tittle, profeſſing to follow and preach what they held and decreed, and both with Heart and Mouth, to condemn what they condemned.* This ancient Oath as our Divines obſerve, badly agreeeth with the late *Bulla lænæ*, wherein the *Roman* Patriarch forbids Appeals from himſelf to a General Council. So doth the Profeſſion of *Zozimus*, formerly mentioned. But from that ancient Oath, a Learned Man inferreth that the *Roman* Biſhop cannot juſtly plead that he is ſuperiour to theſe Councils, except he arrogate to himſelf Power over the four Goſpels

Canones 4 Concil. pro legibus habeantur, vide c. de ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis. l. 4. l. 12. §. 1. Novel. 131. c. 2.

Diſt. 16. c. 8. Ex diurno Libro Profeſſio Romani Pontificis.

Seſchaſſerius in Conſult. Venet.

Another to the ſame purpoſe, but ordering the Writings of *Eutychius* to be burnt.

30. The Imperial Edict of *Martianus* againſt the *Eutychian* Errours did ſo little good, that he was conſtrained to enforce it by another, bearing date on the 13*th.* of *March* following, wherein he ſubjects them to the ſame Pains and Penalties as formerly. Yet would not all this doe, for ſuch Tumults were made in *Egypt*, and the Eaſtern Parts, that he was forced afterwards in this ſame year to add greater Puniſhments, and command the Books and Writings of the *Eutychians* to be burnt. By a particular Reſcript alſo, he aſmuch as in him lay aboliſhed the Memory of the Arch Heretick, and revived that of *Flavianus*, becauſe honoured as he ſaith by ſuch, and ſo great a Teſtimony of almoſt innumerable Prieſts, in the Synod of *Chalcedon*. Into the Seat of *Dioſcorus*, baniſhed by the Emperour's Command, was elected *Proterius* by the General conſent of the Council, as *Evagrius* writes, about which great Tumults and Bloud-ſhed happened at *Alexandria*, ſome of the People cloſing with his promotion, and others being for the recalling of *Dioſcorus*. The Commander of *Thebais* placed his Guards to keep the Peace, but the Inhabitants ſet upon the Magiſtrates, and drove the Souldiers into the old Temple of *Serapis*, where they burnt them alive. The Report hereof coming to Court, the Emperour ſent down to *Alexandria* three thouſand diſciplin'd Souldiers, who ſetting upon the Townſmen, and raviſhing their Wives and Daughters, a more fierce and cruel Uproar happened than the former. At length *Florus* the Governour of the Garriſon, gratifying the Multitude in the Reſtitution of the Corn he had taken from them, their Baths and ſolemn Shews for which they moved, quieted their Minds, and reſtored Peace for a certain time. But whilſt matters thus were ordered at *Alexandria*, the Monks of *Paleſtine* inhabiting the Deſarts near to *Jeruſalem*, who had been at the Council and diſſented from it, returning home and complaining of the form of Faith laid down by the Synod, by their ſtories exaſperated thoſe of their Profeſſion, perſwading them that the Fathers who had made the Decrees were all *Neſtorians*. *Juvenalis* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* they expelled, and in his room elected *Theodoſius* the Captain of the Rout, a cunning and reſolute Fellow, who had drawn *Eudoxia* the Empreſs Dowager to the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, whilſt ſhe reſided in that City. Having invaded the Chair, he took upon him to place new Biſhops in the Sees of thoſe who were not yet returned from the Council, and viſiting the Cities of *Paleſtine*, as Metropolitan, compelled them to receive other Paſtours addicted to his Hereſie and Faction, uſing ſuch with great Cruelty as reſiſted his proceedings.

Act. Conc. Chalc. Act. 3.

Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Epiſcop. & Clericis. l. 23.

Lib. 2. c. 4. ex Priſco Rhetore. Liberatus in Breviar. c. 15. Niceph. lib. 15. c. 19.

Proterius elected in the Seat of *Dioſcorus*, upon which a Tumult ariſes at *Alexandria*.

Juvenalis Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, depoſed by the Monks, who ſet up *Theodoſius*.

Who commits ſeveral Outrages there.

31. *Severianus* Biſhop of *Scythopolis*, for ſo doing he drove out of the City, and then procured him to be ſlain. *Athanaſius* a Prieſt after various Tortures he cauſed to be beheaded, his Body to be dragged up and down the Streets of *Jeruſalem*, and at laſt caſt to the Dogs. Some he killed, others he plundered or burnt their Houſes, ſo that *Jeruſalem* repreſented a Town lately taken by an Enemy. When *Martianus* heard of theſe diſorders, he commanded this Villain to be apprehended and brought to his preſence, and ſending down *Juvenalis* with a ſufficient Power to redreſs the former Abuſes, commanded him to depoſe as many as *Theodoſius* had advanced to the Prieſtly Order. But the Bird was flown

By the Emperour's Protection and Power *Juvenalis* is reſtored to his See.

flown e'er the Souldiers could lay hands on him, and though he was gone, yet the effects of heretical and cruel demeanour ſtill continued, as in other places the ſame furious humour raged amongſt the *Eutychian* Hereticks, where they could get advantage. This ſame year being the 454 of our Lord, *Valentinian* and *Martian*, the Emperours publiſhed an Edict, whereby *They decreed that the Privileges granted to all Churches by their Predeceſſours, ſhould remain firm and inviolable. All pragmatick Sanctions, which through Favour or Ambition had been procured againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, they commaud to be void, and of no effect. And becauſe it concerned them in point of Humanity, to have a care of thoſe that ſtand in need, and take order they want not maintenance, the Salaries which divers ways had been formerly paid to the Churches out of the publick ſtock, they command ſtill to be continued and diſcharged without any failing or defalcation whatſoever.*

Privilegia quæ generalibus conſtitutionibus univerſis ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis orthodoxæ religionis retro Principes præſtiterant firma & illibata in perpetuum decernimuscuſtodiri.

Omnes ſane pragmaticas ſanctiones quæ contra Canones Eccleſiaſticos interventu gratiæ vel ambitionis elicitæ ſunt, robore ſuo & firmitate vacuatas ceſſare præcipimus, &c. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 2. l. 12. inſcript. Palladio Pp. Dat. Aetio & Studio Coſſ.

By this Edict it appears, that all Privileges granted by Emperours which were agreeable to the Senſe of the Church, conducing to Order and Government, and not contrary to the Canons were ſo far from being nulled and revoked, that they were ſtrengthened and confirmed, onely thoſe which had clandeſtinely and ſurreptitiouſly contrary to Eccleſiaſtical Decrees, been as were wreſted from Imperial Powers. What reaſon then *Baronius* hath to conclude that this Reſcript was purpoſely, and at the Requeſt of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome* granted againſt *Anatolius* and the See of *Conſtantinople*, the Reader will eaſily apprehend, ſeeing that the Primacy and Juriſdiction thereof, was ſo far from being procured *Contra Eccleſiaſticos Canones*, that it was founded upon the Canons of two ſeveral Oecumenical Synods, neither ought the Cardinal to object the Decrees of the *Nicene Council*, except he will plead that the ſame Power that makes a Law cannot reſcind it, or that the Church Univerſal ſuppoſed it to be in the Synods of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon*, aſwell as that of *Nice* cannot according to the Exigency of times, and Comportment of Affairs, bind and looſe and change its own poſitive Laws in things indifferent. The Canons of *Nice*, whatever *Leo* or thoſe of his party pretend, were of force to bind any particular Biſhop or Patriarch whatſoever, but not a Council as General, as Lawfull, and conſequently as Authoritative as it ſelf.

An Edict concerning the Ancient privileges to Churches.

32. But becauſe there is nothing in this Edict which can poſſibly perſwade the Reader to be of the Cardinal's opinion, he tells him that this which we find now in the Code he conjectures to be but a parcel of that which the Emperours publiſhed this year, meaning indeed that though there be no mention of *Conſtantinople* in this, yet in the other Part there was, and *Juſtinian* ſeems to have left it out at the publiſhing of his Code, becauſe he intended to make a new Law contrary to it, which is that of his thirteenth Novel, the ſecond Chapter. From this muſt neceſſarily follow then that *Juſtinian*, contrary to former Canons, and conſequently contrary to the four firſt Councils, and the practice before his own time, gave Prerogative and Precedence to the See of *Conſtantinople* after that of Old *Rome*; for if this fragment (as he would have it) which is left contradicted not that which is loſt, then nothing was therein forbidden but what was contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons; and *Juſtinian* again recalling what *Baronius* will have *Martian* to have diſanulled, muſt have acted contrary to the ſaid Canons, Councils and, as we may conclude, former practice. See therefore how bravely the forementioned Novel cited by the *Annaliſt* makes this out. In the firſt Chapter of that Novel the Emperour decrees, that * *The Holy Eccleſiaſtical Canons have the force or nature of Laws*, he means *thoſe which had been made or confirmed by the four Holy Councils*, viz. *that of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers aſſembled at* Nice, *the hundred and fifty at* Conſtantinople, *in the firſt* Epheſine *wherein* Neſtorius *was condemned, and at* Chalcedon *where* Eutyches, *together with* Neſtorius, *was anathematized. For the Doctrines of theſe four Synods we receive as the Holy Scriptures, and their Rules (or Canons) we obſerve as Laws:* this is the firſt Chapter of the Novel. Then follows the ſecond in theſe words: † *Therefore according to their Definitions we decree, that the moſt Holy Pope of the Elder* Rome *be the firſt of all Prieſts: and the moſt Bleſſed Archbiſhop of* Conſtantinople

* *Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere Sanctas Eccleſiaſticas Regulas quæ à ſanctis 4 conciliis expoſita ſunt aut firmata, hoc eſt in Nicæna 318, & in Conſtantinopolitana Sanctorum 150 patrum, & in Epheſina prima in quâ Neſtorius eſt damnatus, & in Chalcedonia in quâ Eutyches cum Neſtorio anathematizatus eſt. Prædictarum enim 4 Synodorum dogmata ſicut Sanctas Scripturas accipimus, & regulas ſicut leges obſervamus.*

† *Ideóque ſancimus ſecundum earum definitiones ſanctiſſimum ſenioris Romæ Papam primum eſſe omnium ſacerdotum: beatiſſimum autem Archiepiſcopum Conſtanti-*

being

being New Rome, *have the Second Place after the Holy Apoſtolick See of Old* Rome; *but be placed before all other Sees.* Theſe words, *Therefore according to their Definitions*, manifeſtly ſhew that what the Emperour *Juſtinian* did, was not contrary to the four Councils, but agreeable to, and founded upon their Decrees, and what the Emperour *Martian* prohibits being onely contrary to them, the Primacy of *Conſtantinople* could not be meant by that Part of the Edict. Then for the practice before *Juſtinian*'s time, let the Reader conſider what we have formerly ſaid of that ſubject, and how Appeals lay to the ſee of *Conſtantinople*, from another Novel of that Emperour.

nopoleos novæ Romæ ſecundum habere locum poſt ſanctam Apoſtolicam ſenioris Romæ ſedem: aliis autem omnibus ſedibus præponatur. Auth Collat. IX. *tit.* XIV. *Novel.* CXXXI. *p.* 184. *Cod Juſtin.*

33. In the latter Part of that Edict of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, they take care that the *Accuſtomed Salaries be paid to Churches*, and that ‖ out of conſideration that it became them as an *Act of Humanity* to provide for thoſe in diſtreſs, and doe their endeavour that maintenance may not be wanting to the Poor. Seeing therefore that Churches were long before this time endowed not onely with Titles, but with good Laws and Revenues; this Law ſeems eſpecially to provide for the Inferiour ſort of Clerks or Miniſters in the Churches, ſuch as the *Clerici copiatæ* formerly mentioned. That ſuch proviſion had been formerly made by Chriſtian Princes out of their Cuſtoms or Tributes throughout the Cities, which being taken away by *Julian* were reſtored by *Jovian* the Emperour, the * Hiſtory of thoſe Times bear mention. So *Numa*, as † *Livy* tells us, aſſigned Penſions to the *Veſtal Virgins* out of the publick Revenues, and the Kings of *Ægypt* paid the third part of their Tributes to the maintenance of the Prieſts, as we have in the Hiſtory of that Ancient Kingdom obſerved out of ‖ *Diodorus*: *Plato* thinks fit and juſt that thoſe who ſerve the Publick, ſhould be maintained at the Publick charge. But thus much did *Martianus* the moſt Religious Emperour for preſervation of the Doctrine of the Church in its purity, the diſcipline thereof in its true decorum and vigour, as alſo for the comfortable ſubſiſtence of the Miniſters thereof. And all this was in Relation to the Church it ſelf, in things Intrinſical and Domeſtick. Here it's convenient alſo to take notice what he did for her relating *ad extrà*, or reſpecting the old Pagan Superſtition, of which we have not heard a long time. The very ſame year therefore that he aſſembled the Council at *Chalcedon*, for the rooting out of Hereſie, he publiſhed an Edict for the utter deſtruction of Paganiſm, its Rites, Temples, Images and Sacrifices, commanding in the name of his Collegue and of himſelf, that *None ſhould dare to open thoſe Chapels which had now been long ſhut up, with an intention to pay there any Worſhip or Adoration. Let it be far from us in this Age* (ſay they) *to give the ancient Honour to infandous and execrable Images, to have the impious poſts of Temples trimmed with Garlands, profane Fires kindled on Altars, Incenſe to be burned thereon, Beaſts to be killed for Sacrifice, Wines to be offered, and Sacrilege to be accounted Religion. But if any one contrary to this Sanction of our Serenity, and the Interdicts of moſt Holy and Ancient Conſtitutions ſhall offer to Sacrifice, let ſuch an one be legally indicted before the publick Judge, and being convicted, forfeit both his Eſtate and Life. Let ſuch alſo as are Acceſſories or Miniſters in Sacrificing undergo the ſame penalties, that being deterred by the Severity of this our Law, they may forbear to Sacrifice for fear of puniſhment. And if the Rector of the Province after legal Accuſation and Conviction forbear to puniſh ſo great a Crime, let the Judge himſelf be fined * fifty Pounds of Gold, and as much his Office to the Exchequer. Given on the twelfth of* November, Martianus Auguſtus *and* Adelphius *being Conſuls.* Directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio.*

‖ §. 2. *Et quia humanitatis noſtræ eſt egenis proſpicere, ac dare operam, ut pauperibus alimenta non deſint: ſalaria etiam quæ ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis in diverſis ſpeciebus de publico hactenus miniſtrata ſunt jubemus nunc quoque inconcuſſa & à nullo prorſus imminuta præſtari: liberalitatique hujus promptiſſimæ perpetuam tribuimus firmitatem.*

* *Theod.* 4. 4. *vide quæ annotantur ad hanc legem per Interp.*
† *Lib.* 1.
‖ *Lib.* 2.

An Edict againſt Paganiſm.

Setting forth the Ceremonies thereof.

Nemo venerandi adorandique animo delubra, &c. Cod. Juſtin. l. 1. *tit.* 11. *l.* 7. *De. Paganis.*

* *Libra Argenti valet* 3 *l. Auri* 36 *l. obrizi* 37 *l.* 10 *s. continet libra* 12 *uncias ponderat grana* 6012. *Budæus de Aſſe lib.* 5. *& Brierwoodus noſtras de Nummorum pretiis c.* 21.

34. From the wording of this Law the Reader may obſerve, as to the ſtate and condition of the times, that the Old Pagan Superſtitions were not quite defunct, elſe there had not needed any ſuch Edict againſt the Superſtitious Ceremonies thereof. Yet that it was at the laſt gaſp appears by the long time the Chapels had been ſhut up, expreſſed by the word *Olim*, and eſpecially from the ſevere remedy provided by this Reſcript againſt the evil. For in this caſe there is ſome conformity betwixt the ordering of the Body Natural, and the Body Civil. In both, deſperate, acute and ſudden diſtempers muſt have deſperate remedies, quick and active applications, ſuch as ſearch, and either kill or cure. But in diſtempers of a ſtate which have been long and general, which uſe and cuſtome have rendred ſeemingly legal, aſwell as habitual, the Phyſician muſt proceed as in

in inveterate Diſeaſes which are founded in the Bloud, and radicated in the complexion of the Parts, in the curing of which he muſt proceed *pedetentim*, and Purge gently, leſt by evacuating the bad he drive out alſo the good humours, and practiſe rather an altering than a purging courſe, leſt in a very foul and plethorick Body the humours being ſet afloat and driven into a firmentation, prove too headſtrong and turbulent for nature to govern. This appears from what *Conſtantine the Great* preſcribed in this caſe, who at the beginning of the Reformation ordained the terrour of death as a Medicine againſt this Sacrificing Evil, puniſhing in like manner the Governours of the Provinces if they neglected to apply this Cautery to that Cancrous diſtemper. But his Succeſſours who had time and opportunity to ſee the opperation found it too violent and therefore laid it aſide till by applying of more gentle and altering Medicines the whole body was able to bear it, and therefore now did *Marcian* renew (rather than make any new Law) when the ill humours were ſo diminiſhed that by putting them into a motion and diſturbance no dangerous fever or other Symptome could be feared. But neither did this ſuddenly effect the cure without ſome other Applications as we ſhall ſee hereafter. In the mean time from this Law, the Reader may obſerve what were the Ceremonies of Paganiſm and the Worſhip of Idols in their Temples, and Chapels.

Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus univerſis claudi protinus templa, &c. Dat. Cal. Decembris. Conſtantio IV. *& Conſtante, A.A.Coſſ. viz. A. D.* 342. *Cod. Juſtin. lib.* 1. *tit.* 11. *l.* 1.

35. About this time *Proſper* a Prieſt of *Aquitain* in imitation of *Euſebius* compoſed his *Chronicon* wherein he briefly notes what paſſed from the beginning of the World to the eighth Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* (which was the laſt year of his Life) and that of *Anthemius* or the 455*th.* year of the ordinary *Æra* of our Lord. The third Edition as *Bucherius* and *Miræus* obſerve reached to this year. For there had been two former whereof the firſt ended at the 14 Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* which he bore with *Maximus* or the year 433, as appears from his ſumming up the *Epocha*'s of all the former years, which is not uſually done but at the end of Books. The ſecond Edition contained the ſpace of 12 years more reaching as far as the 6 Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and that of *Nonius* or the year 445, at which his ordinary Chronicon wont to be joyned with thoſe of *Euſebius* and *Jerome* receiveth its period. The third Edition reaching as low as the year above mentioned, of which *Miræus* mentions three ſeveral Manuſcripts, is much better than the two former, containing beſides a ſhort and pithy account of things from the beginning of the World the *Faſti* of the Conſuls from the 15*th.* year of *Tiberius* downward. But in this Age flouriſhed three or four ſeveral Perſons bearing the name of *Proſper*, concerning whom *Bucherius* diſputeth at large.

Proſper concludes his Chronicon.

In Chron. Belg. ad Ann. 455.

Ad Victorii canonem 6. *vide Miræum.*

36. This ſame year, *viz.* 455 before the Death of *Valentinian* did he and *Martianus* publiſh an Edict or a General Law as they call it whereby they reſtore Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to their Ancient Liberty of having and enjoying what ſhould be left by the Teſtaments of Women, which as we have formerly ſeen had been taken away by former Emperours. This Law directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Juſtinian* hath put into his Code, but the Note upon the Text tells us that at this day the Caſe is altered by two Authenticks immediately following which the Reader may conſult at his leiſure: The year following *Martianus* made another Edict, whereby he gave (*a*) liberty to the Actour or Plaintiff to implead the Clerks of *Conſtantinople* either before the Patriarch or the Secular Judge, for where the *Reus* or Defendant hath ſeveral Courts not privileged *jure Communi* or by Common Law the Election is in the power and diſcretion of the Plaintiff. The next year by a conſtitution in *Greek*, (*b*) he declares that thinking it to be a point both of Humanity and Piety he permits Hereticks to be buried in the Sepulchres of their Anceſtours. There's yet another Edict of this good Emperour which becauſe it reſpects pious uſes and is very ſhort, though it bear no date, we ſhall add to the former. This ordains that what is leſt to the Poor either by Teſtaments or Codicils ſhall not come to nothing as left to uncertain Perſons, but remain good and firm to all intents and purpoſes. For though their Perſons be uncertain yet the Poor never failing there are always certain objects of charity, and as *Baldus* noteth upon the place, the Poor are like a College, which repreſents a certain Perſon. The Legacy

Several Edicts of the Emperours concerning Teſtaments.

Generali lege Sancimus ſine vidua, &c. Cod. lib. 1. *tit.* 2. *l.* 13.

(*a*) *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 3. *c.* 25.

Dat. 8. *April. Varari & Joanne Coſſ.*

(*b*) Ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ὅσιον τοῖς λογισαμένοις, τὰς Αἱρετικὰς ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀπαλλάττειν ἢ νενομισμένας ταφὰς. *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 5. *l.* 9. *Vide tamen C. Sacris.* 12. *extra, de ſepultura.*

Id quod pauperibus Teſtamento vel codicillis relinquitur, non ut incertis perſonis relictum, evaneſcat, ſed omnibus modis ratum firmumq; conſiſtat. Cod. lib. 1. *Tit.* 3. *l.* 24.

gacy may be ſaid to be certain as left to God himſelf: it may be done alſo by privilege; or the Teſtamentary Executour, or the Executour by Law, *viz.* the Biſhop, may eaſily find out certain poor Perſons on whom to conſer the deſigned Legacy.

37. Thus went matters in the Eaſtern parts under the care and Inſpection of *Martianus* the Emperour. In the Weſtern and Southern there was no ſuch ſereni-

A Perſecution in the Weſt.

ty, a diſmal Cloud of perſecution having overſpread *Africk*, ſince the invaſion of that Countrey by *Genſericus* that *Arian* Captain. Moſt glorious were the confeſſions and ſufferings of many Martyrs as well here as in other places, as *Italy*, *Sardinia*, *Greece*, *Epirus*, *Illyricum* and *Spain*, or wherever the foreſaid Rover touched. *Deogratias* the Biſhop of *Carthage* removing in this direfull perſecution to a place of more repoſe and ſecurity, after he had ſteered that weather-beaten Church ſome three years, the Tyrant would ſuffer none to be choſen in his place, who having driven the Prieſts and other Miniſters of the Church ſeveral ways as they ſhifted for themſelves, commanded the Doors of the Church to be ſhut, and plainly forbade any Biſhops to be ordained in other Provinces, ſo that when *Victor* wrote the ſtory the number of 164 was reduced to three. But this good came of ſo great an evil, that theſe Orthodox Confeſſours retiring farther into the Inland Countries there preached the Goſpel, and though they became Martyrs many of them for ſo doing yet their Bloud as in other caſes proved the ſeed of the Church, many Barbarians who had never formerly heard of *Chriſt* being converted to the Faith and incouraged by the conſtancy of their Teachers. At ſuch time as this mighty Tempeſt raged in *Africk* a ſtorm was alſo raiſed in *Ægypt* by another and contrary ſort of Hereticks who, as *Genſericus* denied the Divinity of Chriſt,

De Perſecut. Vandal. lib. 1. *& Procopius de bello Vandal. lib.* 1.

Euagrius lib. 2. *c.* 1.

And ſtirs at *Alexandria* by the faction of *Dioſcorus*.

would not acknowledge his Humanity. Theſe were of the faction of *Dioſcorus* whoſe Depoſition as they extremely grudged, ſo they ſought all ways to be revenged on *Proterius* his Succeſſour. At length they underſtood that *Martian* the Emperour was dead, through whoſe incouragement they had been condemned in a Synod by *Proterius*, they came down to *Alexandria* headed by one *Timotheus Ælurus* formerly a Monk, ſince that a Prieſt of *Alexandria*, whom they Create Biſhop of that See though *Proterius* was yet living. But long they intended he ſhould not be, for ſetting upon him in the Church being then in the Baptiſtory on the high Feaſt of *Eaſter*, and the day whereon the Supper of the Lord was to be ſolemnized, they there Cruelly murthered him, dragged his dead body through the ſtreets, tore it in peices, taſted of his Intrails, and burning at laſt what remained ſcattered the aſhes in the Wind. The Villain *Timothy* to bring about theſe deſigns putting on black Clothes wandered up and down by night in the Cells of the Monks, and calling each of them by their names through an hollow Cane that his voice might not be diſcerned, told them he was one of the Miniſtring Spirits ſent expreſly to tell them all that they ſhould not Communicate with *Proterius* but make *Timotheus Ælurus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

Liberatus in Breviar. c. 15. *Theodorus lector collectan. l.* 2. *Epp. viror. ill. pro conc. Chalced.*

Proterius Biſhop thereof murthered by *Timotheus Ælurus* who ſeiſes on the See.

38. Being thus proſperouſly though wickedly ſeated in the Chair, out of fear of a Competitour, and leſt he ſhould receive the ſame meaſure he had given to others, he ſought to prevent his own ruine by the deſtruction of thoſe whom he had ſufficient cauſe to believe incenſed againſt him. Therefore did he rage in *Alexandria*, and all *Ægypt* with a cruel Perſecution againſt the Orthodox of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions, baniſhing ſuch Biſhops as he could not otherwiſe Maſter. On the dead Emperour he railed exceeedingly, reviled the *Chalcedonian Council*, and vilified the ſeveral Fathers aſſembled therein. The Orthodox Chriſtians herewith acquainted the new Emperour *Leo*, giving him a perfect account of what had paſſed. But thoſe *Eutychian Hereticks* were as buſie as they, writing Letters to the Emperour by Meſſengers of their own, wherein taking no notice at all of the Murther of *Proterius* they magnifie that peace and ſettlement which the Government of *Timotheus* had brought to the Church of *Alexandria*. And whereas the Emperour required that all Metropolitans ſhould give him an account of their Faith, to ſee how they ſtood affected to the Council of *Chalcedon*, they gave him boldly an account both of their own belief and that of *Timotheus*, profeſſing to receive the *Nicene Creed* and the *Epheſine* Synods (as well the ſecond or Predatory as the firſt) but abſolutely rejecting the *Chalcedonian*. *Leo* the Emperour not knowing how in this caſe to ſteer his courſe, by his Encyclical or Circular Letters conſulted not onely all the Biſhops (whereof *Anatolius* eſpecially) but other Perſons eminent for learning or Godlineſs at this time. *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch blaſted their project of having another Council aſſembled, by ſhewing that there would be no end in gratifying Hereticks by thoſe very things wherewith the univerſal Church had been once ſatisfied, and whereas they ſo much

Vide epiſt. apud Euagrium lib. 2. *c.* 8.

Leo Epp. 73, &c.

much talked of the Council of *Nice*, he proved that this Synod defining onely the Controverſies at that time, relating to the Divinity of Chriſt, when his Humanity was not once queſtioned, it was not ſufficient to own its Creed, but the Profeſſion of the Fathers of *Chalcedon* alſo, wherein matters relating to his humane Nature were determined. Not onely *Leo*, but all the reſt diſallowed of the Election of *Timothy*, as contrary to the *Canons* of the Church, and approved the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*. Onely *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Sida* wrote an Epiſtle to the Emperour, wherein he inveighed againſt the Election of *Timothy*, yet approved not the Council of *Chalcedon*, which things (ſaith *Euagrius*) are written by *Zachary Rhetor*, together with the Epiſtle of *Amphilochius*. *Simeon* alſo (he meaneth *Simeon Stylita*, who at this time lived in a Pillar) a Man of worthy Memory wrote concerning the aforeſaid Controverſies, two Letters, one to *Leo* the Emperour, another to *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, whereof that to *Baſilius*, being but ſhort, he reciteth. *Lib. 2. c. 10.*

39. This year being the 457 of our Lord upon occaſion of the Controverſie about *Eaſter* two years before, *Victorius* or *Victorinus* of *Limoſin* in *Aquitain* (both which at this time were held by the *Wiſegoths*) being then at *Rome*, as he himſelf witneſſeth in the Preface, publiſhed his Paſchal Canon, which *Bucherius* a Jeſuit cauſed to be printed at *Plantin*'s Printing-preſs in *Antwerp*, with a Commentary thereto adjoined of his own Labour and Study, in the year 1633. This year died *Baſilius* the lately mentioned Patriarch of *Antioch*, in his ſecond year, to whom ſucceeded *Acacius*: As alſo *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, after he had governed that See almoſt Nine years, into whoſe place was promoted *Gennadius* an eminent Prieſt of that Church, not the Eccleſiaſtical Writer, but a Man very Witty, Eloquent and Learned. The year following his Election was held at his City of *Conſtantinople*, a Synod of 73 Biſhops ſummoned out of the neighbouring Provinces, wherein the Legates of *Leo* being preſent, the late *Chalcedonian Council* was confirmed. The Acts of it are all loſt, one Canon made againſt Simoniacal Perſons excepted. This ſame year died *Acacius* the newly ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, and was ſucceeded by *Martyrius*. And the next after when *Leo* the Emperour was now fully ſatisfied concerning the *Chalcedonian Synod*, and the Hereſie aſwell as other Villanies of *Timotheus Ælurus*, he commanded him by a Reſcript directed to the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* to be baniſhed (ſeveral mention ſeveral places) and then was choſen into his place, another *Timothy* ſirnamed *Baſilius Solifaciolus* or *Albus*. At this time died *Simeon* called *Stylita* from his having lived in a Pillar about 80 years, who by *Theodoret* and others is celebrated as the wonder of the World, for his extraordinary Sanctity. To him ſucceeded in the like ſtrictneſs of Monaſtical Life, *Daniel*, who not far from the Borders of *Conſtantinople*, aſcended the Pillar. The year following was the laſt of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, who died on the Eleventh of *April*, a Man of unblameable Life, excellent Endowments of Mind and indefatigable Induſtry, not onely for the Primacy of his See (wherein he ſhewed himſelf zealous far above reaſon) but the good of Chriſtian Religion. Out of his Epiſtles the *Centuriatours* of *Magdeburg* have collected many Decrees, which the Reader if he pleaſe may conſult, there being nothing in them ſo highly material as to bring them into our Inſtitution. His eminent Parts, and his great diligence have got him in later Ages, both the Name and Reputation of the Great.

Baſilius Patriarch of *Antioch* dies, *Acacius* ſucceeds.

Anatolius Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* dies, to whom *Gennadius* ſucceeds.

A Synod held there.

Acacius of *Antioch* dies, *Martyrius* ſucceeds him.

Timotheus Ælurus baniſhed and *Timothy Solifaciolus* is made Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

Leo Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Niceph. l. 15. *cap.* 22. *Euagrius lib.* 2. *cap.* 11.

Apud Balſam.

Conſulas Surium ſi placet & Baronium ad hunc Ann.

40. After the Death of *Leo*, the See was vacant ſeven days, ſaith *Platina*, but rather ſo many Months as *Baronius* gathereth both from *Marianus Scotus*, and a *Roman* Council aſſembled under his Succeſſour, from which it appears that the Chair was not filled by another Biſhop, till *November* following. This was *Hilarus* the Son of *Criſpinus* a *Sardinian* by Birth, whom when yet a Deacon, *Leo* ſent one of his Legates to the Synod of *Epheſus*, being the 48*th*. Biſhop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the 45*th*. according to *Panvinius*, and as *Marianus* reckons the 46*th*. This Biſhop is very much commended, for vigorouſly executing his Paſtoral Office amidſt all the great Troubles, wherewith *Italy* in his time was imbroiled. For repairing the Churches which the Barbarous *Hunns* had defaced when they took the City. In his expences he was rather profuſe than ſparing. He built ſome Monaſteries, and added to certain Churches the Chapels which he called *Oratories*. He alſo as *Sabellicus* will have it collected the Pontifical Decrees into one Body, and diſperſed them into all Countries. To him certain Epiſtles are attributed, wherein he confirms the three General Synods of *Nice*, *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*, condemns the Hereſies of *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* and all others, and according to the Cuſtome of his Predeceſſours

Hilarus ſucceeds him.

deceſſours lately taken up, aſſerts the Primacy of his own See. In his fifth year he held a Synod in the Church of St. *Mary*, about ſome queſtions propounded to him out of *Spain*, concerning the Ordination of Clerks, and againſt Biſhops their deſigning of their Succeſſours. To the Decrees next after him ſubſcribed *Maximus* Biſhop of *Turin*, not that he was next in Dignity, there being ſome Metropolitans alſo preſent, but the Cuſtome generally was, that the Fathers took place according to their Seniority, not in Age, but Conſecration, yet ſo as the Principal Patriarchs were excepted. *Hilarus* (for ſo he is to be read, and not *Hilarius*) died on the tenth of *September*, when he had governed the *Roman* See five years and ten Months all but two days. Much about the ſame time died *Proſper*, having been Biſhop of the *Rhegienſes*, *Reienſes* or *Retenſes* in *Provincia Narbonenſi ſecunda* about 24 years, to whom ſucceeded *Maximus* Abbat of the Monaſtery of *Lerinum*. The ſame year alſo departed this Life *Criſpinus* Biſhop of *Pavia* in *Inſubria*, into whoſe place was elected *Epiphanius*, one equal to him in Sanctity, and his Superiour in Learning, in the Judgment of *Baronius*. To *Hilarus* the *Roman* Patriarch ſucceeded *Simplicius* the Son of *Caſtinus* a Citizen of *Tibur*.

Who holds a Synod at *Rome*.

Dies.

Proſper Biſhop of *Rhegienſis* dies, *Maximus* ſucceeds him.

To *Hilarus* ſucceeds *Simplicius*.

Tom. 2. Conc.

Papienſis aut Ticinenſis Notit. Eccleſ. univerſalis Dioceſ.

41. In the laſt year of *Hilarus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the tenth of his own Reign, *A. D.* 466 did *Leo* the Emperour publiſh a large Edict, concerning the Privileges of Churches, granting them ſuch as had been taken away by former Emperours, and conſtituting them Aſylums or Sanctuaries as formerly, to all out of *Conſtantinople*, Slaves excepted, and giving Rules to the *Oeconomi* of the ſaid Churches, how they ſhould order thoſe that fled to them, in reference to the ſatisfaction of their Creditours. Three years after, in the Conſulſhip of *Martianus* and *Zeno*, he publiſhed another Edict concerning the Election of Biſhops, making therein what Proviſion he could againſt Simoniacal Intruſion. This ſame year on the 13*th.* of *December*, he publiſhed another Law enjoyning the obſervation of Holy-days in general, but eſpecially of the Lord's Day, as to which he doth very much inlarge himſelf, in the particulars he forbids to be practiſed on it. The Emperour *Conſtantine*, as we have formerly obſerved in its due place, had commanded all Judicial proceedings and Servile works to ceaſe on this day, tilling of the ground excepted, by reaſon of the uncertainty of weather. Afterwards *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, prohibited all publick Shews upon this day, and added to what *Conſtantine* had commanded concerning Judges, that none ſhould arbitrate any litigious Cauſe, or take Cognizance of any pecuniary matters on this day. Five years after this, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius* publiſhing a Law concerning Holy-days, and reckoning up the Calends of *January*, the Birth-days of the greateſt Cities, *viz.* the *Old* and *New Rome*, ſeven Days before and as many after *Eaſter*, *Chriſtmaſ*-day, that of the *Epiphany*, the days of the Martyrdom of the Apoſtles, and their own Birth-days with the days of their coming to the Empire, reckon amongſt them *Sundays*, or rather, as their Anceſtours rightly called them the Lord's Days, wherein they forbid Arbitrations to be practiſed. *Theodoſius Junior* five and thirty years after, as the *Carthaginian* Fathers had deſired, ordained by another Edict, that aſwell upon the Lord's Day as on *Chriſtmaſ*-day, the *Epiphany*, *Eaſter*-day, and from thence to *Whitſuntide*, the Theatres and Cirques ſhould every where be ſhut up, that the Minds of Chriſtians might be wholly intent on the Service of God.

Several Edicts of the Emperour concerning the Lord's Day, and Holy-days.

Præſenti lege decernimus, &c. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 12. l. 6.

Lib. 1. Tit. 3. l. 31.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. 12. l. 3. A. D. 321.

Cod. Theodlib. 8. Tit. 8. A. D. 384.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. 12. l. 7. A. D. 389.

In eadem obſervatione numeramus Dies Solis quos Dominicos ritè dixere majores.

Cod. Theod. lib. 15. Tit. 5. A. D. 425.

42. So ſtood the Lord's Day in reference to Imperial Laws, till this Edict of *Leo*, wherein confirming what had been done as to Holy-days in general, he commands all Judiciary proceedings to be ſtopt on this day, wherein he will have Adverſaries meet without fear. Neither forbidding buſineſs doth he give way, as he ſaith, thereby to obſerve pleaſures, prohibiting the Theatre and Cirque to be opened, and the *Spectacula* of wild Beaſts. Nay if a Solemnity happen upon his Birth-day, or of his Promotion it muſt be deferred. If any ſhould be preſent at the *Spectacula* on this day, or any Apparitor Act contrary to what he had ordained either upon account of publick or private buſineſs, he puniſheth him with loſs of his Employment, and Proſcription of his Patrimony. Beſides theſe Laws reſpecting Religion made by this Emperour *Leo*, there are ſeveral others without date, which the Reader if he pleaſe may find in the Code of *Juſtinian de Sacroſanctis Eccleſiis, & de Epoſcopis & Clericis*, concerning Churches, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and their Profeſſions, which to relate would be too tedious for our preſent

Nec hujus tamen Religioſi diei otia relaxantes, obſcœnis quenquam patimur voluptatibus detineri. Nihil eodem die ſibi vindicet. Scena theatralis, aut Circenſe certamen, aut ferarum lachrymoſa ſpectacula, & vide quod notant Interp. ad hanc legem quæ eſt ult. Tit. 12. Lib. 3. Cod. Juſtin. de feriis.

Lib. 1. Tit. 2. 3.

preſent deſign, and make not ſo much for our purpoſe. Onely one we cannot but mention, and that is a Conſtitution whereby the extravagances committed during the Tyranny of *Baſiliſcus* were reſcinded, and thoſe things recalled which had been in uſe before his flight into *Iſauria* for fear of the ſaid Tyrant. For this *Baſiliſcus* ruling, as we have formerly written, matters in the Eaſt according to his will and pleaſure, rejected the Council of *Chalcedon*, and what *Leo* the Biſhop had written in defence thereof by his circular Letter written to all Biſhops, which *Euagrius* and *Nicephorus* call συλλαβαὶ ἐγκυκλίου. From *Acacius* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* the Succeſſour of *Gennadius* who oppoſed his doings, he took ſeveral Provinces, formerly ſubject to him, and had almoſt driven him from his See, as he had dealt with many Biſhops, as of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Epheſus*, *Tarſus*, and others. Therefore by this Edict doth he antiquate and make null, as we ſaid, all things done under the Tyranny againſt the God of the Orthodox Religion, againſt Churches, particularly thoſe under the government of the moſt Bleſſed and Religious Patriarch his Father *Acacius*, all Innovations in the Rights of Creation, expulſion of Biſhops, their Prerogative in Councils and out of Councils of Place, or as Metropolitans or Patriarchs. *As for the Sacroſanct Church of that moſt Religious City* (theſe are the Phraſes of the Edict) *both his Mother and of all Chriſtians of the Orthodox Religion, with the moſt Holy See of that Royal City he adjudgeth and decreeth in contemplation of the ſaid Royal City that it enjoy for ever all Privileges and Honours aſwell in Creation of Biſhops, as ſitting above others; and all other Rights which it was known to have either before or under his Reign.*

The Acts of *Baſiliſcus* the Tyrant made void.

Suidas in voce Βασιλίσκος *& vide quæ notantur per Interp. ad hanc legem quæ eſt* 16. tit. 2. libri, 1. de Sacroſanct. Eccleſiis.

Decernimus ut antiquatis ac infirmatis ſimulatus his quæ contra ipſum orthodoxæ Religionis Deum quodammodo facta ſunt; &c.

And precedence given to *Conſtantinople.*

Sacroſanctam quoq; hujus Religioſiſſimæ civitatis Eccleſiam & matrem noſtræ pietatis & Chriſtianorum orthodoxæ Religionis omnium & ejuſdem Regiæ urbis Sanctiſſimam ſedem, &c.

43. This Conſtitution is dated on the 17*th* of *December*, in the Conſulſhip of *Armatius* alone, who bore that Office with *Baſiliſcus* the Tyrant, who yet is not mentioned here, nor named in the *Faſti*, becauſe he was an Uſurper, and was condemned by *Zeno*. This Conſulſhip fell in the 476 Year of our Lord, and conſequently the third after the Death of *Leo* the Elder, ſo that it muſt belong to his Grand-Son the Young *Leo*, and made by his Father *Zeno*, though *Baronius* place it at the 472, and the 16*th* of the Old Emperour. However, it being made (as the Cardinal ſaith) in behalf of the See of *Conſtantinople*, and the precedence of all others next after the Patriarch of *Rome*, it is manifeſt that by the antiquating of Innovations, and reſtoring the ancient Rights of this Church, it had and enjoyed this precedence before the making of this Law. If it was procured through the ſolicitation of *Acacius*, and that *Simplicius* the *Roman* Biſhop was much concerned about it, be it ſo, If it was *Acacius* his due, as it verily ſeems to have been, he had more right to ſeek it than the other to grudge it. But this is certain aſwell from this Law as others, that this Privilege was granted in conſideration of the *Royal*, and if that was the Reaſon why the See of Old *Rome* obtained the Firſt Dignity, as we have ſeen it was from good teſtimony, certainly there was no reaſon they ſhould quarrel. But ſuch are the humours and paſſions of Men otherwiſe good: and as here we leave them, ſo we ſhall find them again engaged in this quarrel about the Primacy. About this time was *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that Man ſo famous for his nobility and excellent wit, made Biſhop of the *Arverni* or *Auvergnais* in *Gallia Celtica*. He had Married *Papianilla* the Daughter of *Avitus* the Emperour, and ſhe was ſtill living. Though in mighty eſteem, yet he thought ſo meanly of himſelf, that in his Epiſtles he often complains of his unworthineſs for ſuch a Calling, and betook himſelf from his wonted Feſtivity to a more ſober Converſation. Much about the ſame time alſo died *Gennadius* Biſhop of the *Rhemeſes* or *Soiſſons*, to whom ſucceeded *Remigius*, afterward called the Apoſtle of the *Franks*; neither this *Gennadius*, nor he of *Conſtantinople* was he whoſe Book is extant concerning Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and was of *Marſeilles* in *Provence*. As the Death of *Leo* the Elder wrought a great change in the State, ſo alſo in the Church, by reaſon that *Zeno* his Son-in-Law too much favoured if not the Doctrine, yet the Perſons of Hereticks.

Sidonius Apolinaris Biſhop of *Arverni* in *Gallia Celtica.*

Gennadius Biſhop of *Rhemeſis* dies.

Remigius ſucceeds.

Zeno the Emperour recalls *Fullo* a heretick, expelling *Martyrius* Biſhop of *Antioch* placeth him in the See.

44. He recalled *Fullo* an Apollinarian and Eutychian Heretick, who had been Baniſhed by *Leo*, and expelling *Martyrius*, who was formerly driven away by the ſaid *Fullo*, and again reſtored, placed him in the See of *Antioch*. *Timothy Ælurus* alſo that villanous Uſurper, and Baniſhed in like manner by *Leo*, he ſent back to the Church of *Alexandria*, whence he expelled *Timotheus Solifaciolus* the Orthodox Biſhop, and committed many outrages againſt ſuch as had owned

And alſo *Timotheus Ælurus* into *Alexandria* expelling *Timotheus Solifaciolus* the Orthodox Biſhop.

ed and received him. At this time the condition of the Churches in *Gall* was very ſad, the Arian *Goths* making havock of all things. And not onely there, but in the *Weſt*, generally things both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil had a very bad face, the Barbarous Nations overturning all, and filling all places with their Cruelties and Hereſies. Theſe diſaſters put an end to the *Roman* Empire in the Weſt, *Auguſtulus* being depoſed by *Odoacer*, and confined to a Caſtle near to *Naples*. The Church, bleſſed be God, had not juſt the like meaſure; but Church and State are ſo nearly allied, and ſo much ſympathize, that if the one languiſh, the other can ſcarcely be in an healthy condition. As the ſame cauſes produce the ſame effects in both, ſo aſwell the remedies are alike, as ſuch preſervatives as keep both in life and vigour. Therefore did Ancient and Primitive prudence as Twins cloth them with the like forms and faſhions of Government, which dayly experience applauds as moſt agreeable. And becauſe ſuch is their Alliance and agreement we ſhall limit and terminate our obſervations of both with the ſame Periods, thoſe matters laſt mentioned falling out the year preceding the depoſing of *Auguſtulus*.

Auguſtulus and the Empire in the Weſt overthrown by *Odoacer*.

FINIS.

THE TABLE.

A

ACacius *Biſhop of* Antioch 135, *dies*, ibid.
Aetius *and his Hereſie Condemned* 71.
Alexander *Biſhop of* Alexandria 39, *baniſheth* Arius 40, *ordains* Athanaſius *and upon his death appoints him his Succeſſour* 47.
Alexander *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *refuſeth to admit* Arius 43, *dies* 56.
Ambroſe *Biſhop of* Milain *is preſent at the Council held at* Aquileia 111, *oppoſes the Petition of the Pagans for reſtoring their Idolatry* 114, *forbids it in his Dioceſe* 120, *Baptizes* Auguſtine 124, *makes* Theodoſius *ſuffer for his cruelty* 131, *makes the Funeral Sermon of* Valentinian *the Second*, 134, *dies* 135.
Anaſtaſius *Biſhop of* Rome 134, *dies* 139.
Anatolius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 185, *dies* 205.
Ancyra *a Synod held there* 74.
Andæus, *and his Hereſie Condemned* 6.
Anthropomorphites *who* 50.
Antioch *a Synod held there* 57, *its Canons and Decrees* 58, 59, *another* 61, *a third* 77, *the Inhabitants and* Julian *quarrel* 87.
Apollinarius *and his Hereſie condemned* 77.
Apollo *his Temple at* Daphne *burnt* 87.
Arcadius *Roman Emperour* 114, *forbids Chriſtians to uſe Pagan Superſtition* 119, *demoliſhes the Pagan Temples* 137, *and puniſheth ſeveral Hereticks* 138, *baniſheth* Chryſoſtome *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 141, *but ſoon after dies* 143.
Archieroſyna *what* 119.
Arius *and his heretical Tenets* 39, *condemned by the Alexandrian Council* 40, *and that of* Nice 42, *rejected by* Athanaſius 48, *raiſes Tumults at* Alexandria *and* Conſtantinople 153, *and dies*, ibid.
Arſacius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 141, *dies* 142.
Athanaſius *his Birth-place* 46, *his Education and Preferment* 47, *ſeveral falſe Accuſations againſt him* 49, *which cauſeth him to be baniſhed* 52, *is ſent home* 56, *but condemned by the Arians, and baniſhed* 58, *received into Communion by the Synod and Orthodox Biſhops at* Rome 61, *cleared by the Council at* Sardica 62, *protected by* Conſtans *the Emperour* 65, *admitted to return* 66, *accuſed again by the Arians* 67, *ſummoned to* Rome, *and excommunicated at* Arles 68, *condemned by* Conſtantius 69, *writes two Apologies for himſelf* 70, *returns* 83, *is baniſhed, but returns the third time* 91, *is forced to ſhift for himſelf* 97, *returns* 98, *his Character and Death* 99.
Atticus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 142, *dies* 159.
Audientes *who* 124.
Auguſtine *his Birth-place and Youth* 102, *is reformed from his looſe courſe of life* 124, *ordained Prieſt* 134, *made Biſhop of* Hippo, ibid. *converts* Fœlix *the Manichee* 142, *dies* 163, *his Works* 164.
Auguſtulus *Roman Emperour in the Weſt depoſed* 208.
Auruſpicina *prohibited by the Emperour's Edict* 4.

B.

BAptiſm *how uſed in the Primitive times* 127.
Baſil *Biſhop of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia 95, *ſuffers under* Valens *his Perſecution* 96, *comforts the Orthodox Biſhops* 97, *dies* 102, *his Works* 103.
Baſilius *Biſhop of* Antioch 205.
Biſhops *what* 24, *the manner of Electing them* 25, *of Poſtulating them* 26, *their power in the Church* 33, *and other privileges* 34, 35.
Boniface *Biſhop of* Rome *pretends to the Title of receiving Appeals from the African Churches* 151, *which is rejected* 152, &c. *Preaches contrary to his own practice* 157, *his Works and Death* 158.
Bourdeaux *a Synod held there* 115.
Bricius *Biſhop of* Tours 135.
Burying *the manner of it, and place where* 89.

C.

CArthage *a Council held there* 135, *the Canons thereof* 136, *two more* 137.
Catechumeni *who* 125.
Cœleſtinus *Biſhop of* Rome *claims the right of Appeals from the African Churches* 151, *which is rejected* 152, &c. *ſends St.* Patrick *to convert the Iriſh* 169, *dies* 172.
Cœlicolæ *who* 143.
Cæſarea *a Synod held there* 51.
Chalcedon *a General Council ſummoned there* 185, *the ſeveral Seſſions, Acts and Decrees thereof* 186, &c. *and all confirmed by* Martianus *the Emperour* 198.
Choropiſcopi *who* 35.
Chryſoſtome *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 135, *is depoſed* 140, *recalled, but was after baniſhed* 141, *his Character and Death* 142, *his Corps tranſlated to* Conſtantinople 174.
Church, *its Polity, Government and Governours* 21, &c. *its diviſion* 29, *and* 65, *its maintenance* 37, *and juriſdiction* 38.
Churches *when firſt in uſe, with the method of placing the Congregation* 132.
Colleign *a Synod held there* 62.
Competentes *who* 125.
Confirmation *what and how uſed* 127.
Conſtans *Roman Emperour* 56, *calls a Council at* Sardica 62, *writes to* Conſtantius *concerning* Athanaſius *his return* 65, *is murthered* 67, *his Eccleſiaſtical Laws* 80.
Conſtantine *Roman Emperour* 1, *converted to the Faith* 2, *provides for the well being of Chriſtians* 3, *prefers them to places of Honour* 4, *forbids their partaking in the Sacrifices of the* Luſtra 6, *regulates ſwearing* 11, *reſides at* Bizantium, *alias* Conſtantinople 12, *adorns it with Churches* 13, *provides for the Inhabitants* 14, *his farther care of the Church* 15, *an account of his pretended donation to the See of* Rome 16, &c. *he confirms the Canons of the Council of* Nice 46, *is baptized and dies at* Nicomedia 53, *cleared from the aſperſion of Arianiſm* 54.
Conſtantius *Roman Emperour* 56, *favours the Arians, and perſecutes the Orthodox* 57, *baniſheth* Andæas *the Heretick* 60, *and diſplaceth* Paul *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, ibid. *calls a Council at* Sardica 62, *admits* Athanaſius *to return* 66, *baniſheth* Paul *from* Conſtantinople 67, *ſummons a Council at* Arles, *and at* Milain 68, *condemns* Athanaſius 69, *calls a Synod at* Sirmium 72, *another at* Ancyra 74, *another at* Seleucia 75, *another at* Conſtantinople 76, *is baptized* 78, *and dies*, ib. *his Laws Eccleſiaſtical* 79.
Councils *Oecumenical the firſt ſummoned to* Nice *in* Bithynia 41, *the ſecond to* Conſtantinople 107, *the third to* Epheſus 164, *the fourth to* Chalcedon 185, &c.
Creeds, *the Nicene Creed made* 43, *four made by the Arians at* Antioch 58, *one more at another held there* 61, *another at* Sardica 63, *another at* Syrmium 72, *another at* Nice *in* Thrace 74, *another at* Seleucia 75, *another at* Conſtantinople 76, *how many in all*, ibid.
Curatas *whence ſo called* 36.
Cyril *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem 89, *is preſent at the ſecond General Council* 107, *dies* 121.
Cyril *Biſhop of* Alexandria 146, *quarrels with the Prefect of the City* 148, *calls a Provincial Synod there againſt* Neſtorius 162, *is accuſed as an Heretick by him* 163, *preſides at the third General Council at* Epheſus 165, *receives the Eaſtern Biſhops into Communion* 169, *Dies* 177.

D.

DAmaſus *Biſhop of* Rome 94, *dies* 115.
Daphne *the Grove deſtroyed* 80.
Deacon *his Office* 37.
Diœceſis *what* 36.
Dioſcorus *Biſhop of* Alexandria 182, *preſides at the Council of* Epheſus 113, *is condemned by the Council of* Chalcedon 186, *baniſhed* 187.
Domnus *Biſhop of* Antioch 177, *appears at the Council of* Epheſus 183, *is condemned and depoſed* 184.

E.

EPiſcopal *Juriſdiction promoted* 95.
Evagrius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *outed by* Damophilus *the Arian* 86.
Eudoxius *Biſhop of* Germanicia *in* Syria *is tranſlated to* Antioch 71, *depoſed* 75, *ſucceeds* Macedonius *in* Conſtantinople 76, *is condemned by the Macedonian Sect in a Synod at* Lampſacus 92, *dies* 96.
Euſebius *Biſhop of* Cæſarea *furniſheth* Conſtantinople *with Church Books* 13, *vindicated from the calumny of* Baronius 55, *dies* 57.
Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia *ſides with* Arius 40, *ſlanders* Athanaſius 48, *is baniſhed* 50, *but recalled, he adds new Forgery*, ibid. *is tranſlated to* Conſtantinople 56, *dies* 60.
Eutyches *and his Hereſie condemned at* Conſtantinople 182, *quitted at a Synod held at* Epheſus 184, *condemned by the Emperour's Edict* 199, *by another his Works ordered to be burnt* 200.

F.

FAſtidius Priſcus *Biſhop of* London *his Character and Death* 161.
Fideles *who* 128.

Fla-

Flavianus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 182, *is baniſhed and dies* 184.

G.

GEnnadius *Biſhop of* Conſtantin. 205.
Germanus *Biſhop of* Auxerre *in* Gall *confounds the Pelagians in* Britain 160.
Gladiatours *their combating prohibited* 12.
George *intrudes into the See of* Alexandria 69, *his Character* 70, *Death* 83.
Government *paternal firſt inſtituted* 21, *that of the Jewiſh Church* 22, *that of the Chriſtian Church* 23.
Gratian *Roman Emperour* 102, *reſtores the baniſhed Orthodox* 103, *his Laws* 105, *calls a Synod at* Aquileia 111, *another at* Saragoſſa *in* Spain 112, *forbids Pagans to ſacrifice* 113, *takes away the Allowance for it, which cauſed them to murther him* 114.
Gregory *Biſhop of* Nazianzum 98, *is tranſlated to* Conſtantinople 103, *quits his See* 109, *his Character and Death* 128.

H.

HEreſie *and its firſt promoters* 77.
St. Hierome 104, *dies* 155, *his Works* 156.
Hillary *Biſhop of* Poictiers *is baniſhed by* Conſtantius 70, *writes againſt him, and is recalled* 76, *dies* 95, *an account of his Cradle*, ibid.
Hillary *Biſhop of* Rome 205, *dies* 206.
Honorius *Roman Emperour* 135, *forbids Pagan Superſtition and Worſhip in the Temples* 137, *condemns ſeveral Hereſies* 138, *but permits the ſecular Games and* Spectacula *to be celebrated* 142, *makes an Edict againſt the Jews and Pagans* 143, *another* 144, *a third* 149, *ſummons a Synod at* Ravenna 154, *dies* 158.
Hypoſtaſis *what* 104.

I.

IBerians *converted to the Faith* 48.
John *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem 121, *is of* Origen's *Opinion* 133, *dies* 149.
Indians-lower *converted to the Faith* 48.
Innocent *Biſhop of* Rome 141, *dies* 149.
Inſtructi *who* 128.
John *Biſhop of* Antioch 165, *is reconcil'd to* Cyril, *and the Orthodox* 169, *dies* 177.
Jovian *Roman Emperour* 91, *his management of Affairs and Death* 92.
Ireland *its Eccleſiaſtical Government what* 170.
Julian *Roman Emperour* 82, *his Polity and practice againſt Chriſtians* 85, *his care for the Temple of* Apollo *at* Daphne 86, *his Cruelty* 88, *he endeavours to rebuild the Temple of* Jeruſalem 89, *his Death and Character* 90.
Julius *Biſhop of* Rome 52, *calls a Synod there* 57, *receives* Athanaſius *into Communion* 61, *joyns with the Arians in making a new Creed* 63, *aſſiſts* Athanaſius *in his return* 66, *dies* 68.
Juvenalis *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem 183, *hath Patriarchal power confirmed to his See by the Council of* Chalcedon 189, *is outed by the Monks, but reſtored by the Emperour* 200.

L.

LAmpſacus *a Synod held there* 92.
Leo *Biſhop of* Rome 176, *dies* 205.
Leo *Roman Emperour* 205, *his Eccleſiaſtical Laws* 206, *and Death* 207.
Liberius *Biſhop of* Rome 68, *ſubſcribes to the Arian Creed* 73, *but declaring againſt the Arians is afterwards received by his Flock* 93, *dies* 94.
Luciferians *who* 84.
Lucius *the Arian Biſhop of* Alexandria 99, *is expelled* 102.
Luſtra *what* 7.

M.

MAcarius *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem 46, *dies* 50.
Marcus *Biſhop of* Rome 52.
Martianus *Roman Emperour puniſheth the Sect of Eutychians* 184, *ſummons the fourth General Council* 185, *condemns* Dioſcorus *Biſhop of* Alexandria 186, *baniſhes him* 187, *confirms the Confeſſion of Faith made by the Council* 189, *and all its Canons and Decrees* 198, *puts forth an Edict againſt the Eutychian Hereſie* 199, *another ordering the Books of* Eutyches *to be burnt* 200, *confirms the privileges of the Church* 201, *puts forth an Edict againſt Paganiſm* 202, *is farther kind to Churchmen* 203, *dies* 204.
Martin *Biſhop of* Tours 115, *is perſecuted by the Hereticks* 117, *dies* 135.
Martyrius *Biſhop of* Antioch 205.
Maximianus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 168, *dies* 178.
Maximus *Biſhop of* Antioch 185, *his Patriarchal Juriſdiction* 189, *concludes the Diſpute concerning* Athanaſius *Biſhop of* Paros 194, *dies* 205.
Maximus *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem 50, *refuſes to come to the Council at* Antioch 57, *dies* 67.

N.

NEctarius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinop. 109.
Neophyti *who* 128.
Neſtorius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 160, *his Hereſie condemned at a Synod held at* Alexandria 162, *he accuſes* Cyril *to the Emperour* 163, *is depoſed by the third General Council at* Epheſus 165, *and baniſhed* 167, *his Works burnt, and his miſerable Death* 173.
Nice *in* Bithynia, *a General Council held there* 41.
Nice *in* Thrace *a Synod held there by the Arians* 74.
Nynnianus Venedota *a famous Clergyman of* Britain 161.

Pagani

The TABLE.

P.

PAgani *who* 80.
Parœcia *what* 36.
Paul *Elect of* Conſtantinople 61, *is baniſhed and murthered by the Arians* 67.
St. Patrick *converts the Iriſh to the Faith* 169.
Patriarchs *who* 28, *their Power and Titles of Honour the ſame* 30, *with other qualifications* 31.
Pelagius *his Hereſie what* 146.
Peter *Biſhop of* Alexandria *is driven out by the Arians* 99, *reſtored and dies* 102.
Philippi, *the Arians meet there* 62.
Photinus *and his Hereſie condemned* 71.
Præcatores *their Tenets* 78.
Presbyters *who* 24, *their Office in the Church* 33, *their Original and ſeveral Names* 36.
Primates *who* 27, *their privileges and power* 32.
Priſcillianus *and his Hereſie condemned* 112, *he is executed* 115.
Proclus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 173, *dies* 182.
Proterius *Biſhop of* Alexandria 200, *murthered* 204.

R.

RHegium *a Synod held there* 176.
Rome, Conſtantine's *donation to that See* 16, *a Synod held there* 57, *which receives* Athanaſius *into Communion* 61, *another* 172.

S.

SAbellius *and his Hereſie condemned* 40.
Sardica *a Council held there* 62.
Secular *Games omitted* 3.
Seleucia *a Synod held there* 74.
Semiarians *who* 67.
Serapis *at* Alexandria *demoliſhed* 129.
Shriving *Prieſt what, laid down* 131.
Simplicius *Biſhop of* Rome 206.
Siricius *Biſhop of* Rome 115, *dies* 135.
Siſinius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople 159, *dies* 160.
Sixtus *Biſhop of* Rome 172, *dies* 176.
Sylveſter *Biſhop of* Rome 52.
Synarchia *what* 8.
Syneſius *Biſhop of* Ptolemais *his Works and Character* 145.

T.

THeodoſius *Roman Emperour is baptized* 105, *calls the ſecond General Council to* Conſtantinople 106, *and a Synod there* 109, *which places the Biſhop thereof next to him of* Rome 111, *he forbids the Pagans to ſacrifice* 113, *calls another Synod to* Conſtantinople 114, *ſuppreſſeth the Arians, and forbids Chriſtians to uſe any Pagan ceremony* 119, *endeavours to ſuppreſs Paganiſm by demoliſhing their Temples* 129, *is cruel, and for it undergoes Eccleſiaſtical cenſure* 130, *dies* 134.
Theodoſius *Roman Emperour* 140, *puts forth an Edict againſt the Jews* 142, *and againſt Hereticks* 144, *baniſheth the Jews from* Alexandria 147, *other Edicts againſt them* 149, *ſtops a Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in* Perſia 155, *by an Edict ſets forth the prerogative of* Conſtantinople 157, *ſeveral other Edicts* 158, *makes* Neſtorius *Biſhop thereof* 160, *ſummons the third General Council* 164, *baniſheth* Neſtorius 167, *promotes Union in the Church* 168, *commands the Books of* Neſtorius *to be burnt* 173, *ſets forth an Edict againſt Paganiſm* 175, *calls a Synod at* Epheſus 183, *dies* 184.
Theopaſchite *what* 55.
Theophilus *Biſhop of* Alexandria 117, *expoſeth the ridiculouſneſs of Paganiſm* 130, *baniſheth the Origeniſts* 138, *makes a breach 'twixt* Chryſoſtome *and* Epiphanius 139, *farther proſecutes* Chryſoſtome 141, *dies of a Lethargy* 146.
Tirones *who* 128.
Toledo *a Synod held there* 138.
Timothy *Biſhop of* Alexandria 102, *comes to the ſecond General Council* 107, *dies* 117.
Timotheus Ælurus *Biſhop of* Alexandria 204, *baniſhed* 205. *recall'd* 207.
Timotheus Solifaciolus *Biſhop of* Alexandria 205 *baniſhed* 207.
Tyre *a Synod held there* 51.

V.

VAiſon *a Synod held there* 177.
Valens *Roman Emperour* 92, *calls a Synod at* Lampſacus, ibid. *makes ſeveral Laws* 93, *is baptized* 94, *perſecutes the Orthodox* 96, *deſigns to maſſacre them* 97, *is ſevere toward Monks* 101, *burnt alive by the Goths* 103.
Valentinian *the firſt, Roman Emperour* 92, *makes divers Laws* 93, *dies* 100, *more of his Laws* 101.
Valentinian *the ſecond, Roman Emperour* 101, *his Laws* 102, *his farther care of the Church* 105, *prohibits Pagan Sacrifices* 113, *favours the Arians* 118, *forbids Pagan Superſtition* 119, *is murthered* 134.
Valentinian *the third, Roman Emperour* 159, *confirms the privileges of the Church* 201, *puts forth an Edict againſt Paganiſm* 202, *is farther kind to Churchmen* 203, *dies* 204.

Z.

ZEno *Roman Emperour* 207.
Zozimus *Biſhop of* Rome 150, *pretends to the right of receiving Appeals from the African Churches* 151, *which is rejected* 153, *dies* 154.

FINIS.